

















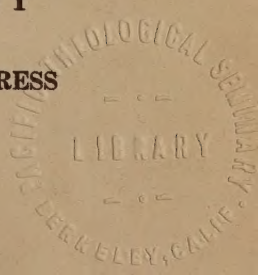
THE  
CONSTRUCTIVE  
QUARTERLY

A JOURNAL OF THE FAITH, WORK  
AND THOUGHT OF CHRISTENDOM

Edited by Silas McBee

VOLUME I  
MARCH TO DECEMBER, 1913

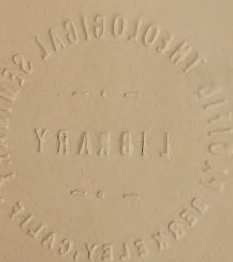
NEW YORK  
GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY  
LONDON  
HUMPHREY MILFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
1913





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# THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY

A JOURNAL OF THE FAITH, WORK  
AND THOUGHT OF CHRISTENDOM

MARCH, 1913

## Introduction

This journal has been founded on the conviction that a constructive treatment of Christianity will make for a better understanding between the isolated Communion of Christendom. It is called THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY because it attempts to build on what the Christian Churches are actually believing, doing and thinking. The destructive method has had its full opportunity and will continue to have it and ought to have it. But it has developed no power to unite and is most effective in promoting division.

The plan is to bring together members of all Communion who will write constructively of the Christianity they profess and practise in order that others may know their Communion as they themselves would desire to have it known. It is not neutral territory that is sought, where courtesy and diplomacy would naturally tend to avoid issues and to round off the sharp edges of truth and conviction, but rather common ground, where loyalty to Christ and to convictions about Him and His Church will be secure from the tendency to mere compromise or to superficial and artificial comprehension. The purpose is



## THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY

to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence, of mutual knowledge, of mutual desire for fellowship. In such an atmosphere it should be easier to believe in others at their best, without minimizing the real causes of separation.

The policy of the QUARTERLY that the statement and defence of one's Christianity must be made constructively is a severe test. It is a delicate, difficult and dangerous undertaking. It is construction of the most complex and exalted kind. For when positions are taken and defended that are to others simply impossible and even offensive, the temptation to break away will be great unless the liberty to reply destructively be allowed. But it is fair to believe that as we move forward with patient, aggressive faith and courage the tension will grow less as mutual knowledge increases and the family bond grows stronger.

Von Moltke's motto, "March apart, Strike together!" was the key to all his strategy. The great Field Marshal used the initiative and individuality of men and armies in order to secure unity of impact. Must the forces of Christianity always strike separately against the enemies of humanity? Is it not possible to lay the foundations for a greater unity by combining against the foes that threaten the very citadels of the home and society? When once the Christian Churches mean to understand, and devote their life to understanding, one another in Christ and His Church they will strike together with a scope and a power that no military symbol could ever express. A united Christianity would be incomparably greater than all its parts because it would be the manifestation of Christianity itself, the witness for which Christ prayed.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY recognizes the need that is finding expression in every organized Christian Church—the need of the impact of the whole of Christianity on the Race.

It recognizes that the obligation to witness to Christ is as wide as Christendom, that the need of that witness is as

## INTRODUCTION

wide as humanity, that only a united witness can meet this universal need.

The QUARTERLY has no scheme for propagating a system for the unity of Christian Churches. It will therefore have no editorial pronouncements. It offers itself rather as a Forum where the isolated Churches of Christendom may reintroduce themselves to one another through the things that they themselves positively hold to be vital to Christianity.

The QUARTERLY invites the free, living and deliberate statement of actual, operative belief.

Two conditions are imposed: First, that the Faith and Work and Thought of each Communion shall be presented in its absolute integrity including and not avoiding differences; and second, that no attack with polemical animus shall be made on others.

It is proposed that differences, like agreements, shall be fully set forth, explained and defended, so that all may learn to know what the differences are and what they stand for, and that all may respect them, in order to cherish and preserve whatever is true and helpful and to discover and grow out of whatever is harmful and false. This policy is intended to cultivate and stimulate loyalty to conviction—pre-eminently to the corporate convictions of the Communion to which men owe their allegiance. The policy is based upon the principle that loyalty to conviction and courage of conviction on all sides are essential to mutual understanding or confidence.

The QUARTERLY is and must be absolutely unofficial. The Churches are not and in the nature of things cannot make themselves responsible for it.

The QUARTERLY will be responsible for the kind of writers admitted to its pages, but the writers alone will be responsible for what appears over their own names.

The Editor has within the last few months visited and conferred with representative scholars and statesmen in

## THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY

five nations. The Editorial Board is composed of men of thought, scholarship or action chosen, however, not as individuals but as members of some organized Christian body and therefore representative of corporate Christianity. This is fundamental to the purpose of the QUARTERLY which is to be a medium for interchange of thought between organized bodies of Christians through individual representatives.

The QUARTERLY is designed for the people and not for an isolated class, professional or official. In this true and catholic sense it will be popular and not merely technical and scientific.

The aid of the members of the Editorial Board is assured for securing representative writers in their several spheres of influence, and spheres of influence will be enlarged by the addition of other names, especially from the Continent and the Orient.

A Board thus representative should be able to secure writers from all parts of Christendom. Such a Board could neither meet for conference nor settle matters of detail by correspondence. The Editor must therefore relieve the Board of responsibility for errors of judgment or other accountability which would ordinarily attach to a local Board. But if the Board is not to be corporately responsible, it will have corporate influence through the co-operation of its widely representative members in selecting writers and subjects and in developing surely, if slowly, the spirit and the atmosphere of constructive Christianity.

The immediate purpose of the QUARTERLY is to induce a better understanding and a truer sense of fellowship. Its final hope is the unity of the Family of God in The Body of Christ, where the liberty of the children of God will be attained.

THE EDITOR.

# A Constructive Treatment of Christianity

BY WILLIAM PORCHER DuBOSE, M.A., S.T.D.

Before venturing upon a construction, or even a constructive treatment, of Christianity, let me first carefully limit and define the term, as I purpose to use it. "Constructive" and "construction" may attach either to the verb to construct or to the verb to construe, and these two, though the same in origin, have a very different force in use. I do not undertake to construct but only to construe Christianity.

Christianity *is*, and is what it is: I cannot conceive it as at this late day either needing to be or capable of being "made" or "made over." Jesus Christ is Christianity, and He is The Same, yesterday, today, and forever. Nor can I see that He is not as nearly The Same to us all as any Reality can be which is subject to the deficiencies and varieties of our human construing, the imperfections of our understanding and the inadequacy of our spiritual appropriation and experience. There is nothing in the world, or out of it, that is the same to every man, or even to any two men,—not even God, or God perhaps least of all. However He is The Same in Himself, He is to us only that which, and so much as, each of us construes Him.

This therefore is only my own construction, or construing, of Christianity: probably no single reader will accept it as his own. And yet I believe that among us all, or all who will call themselves Christians, there will be a consensus or agreement, a unity, of faith and experience, so far as I shall express these, in comparison with which our differences ought to count as nothing. Our agreement will be as to the real end, matter, and fact of the Life in Christ. Our disagreements will begin and end with our theories, ex-



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planations, philosophies and doctrines, all which are in the sphere of our human construing, and outside that of the divine facts. Nevertheless, not only are all these too, all this human handling of the truth, inevitable and necessary, but the differences they engender are equally necessary to the completeness and totality of the truth. No man can see all the truth, or the truth on all its sides, and the more living and in earnest he is the more will he magnify the part he sees out of proportion with, and even to the exclusion of, what he does not see. There is a divine wisdom in the promise of truth not to the individual but to the Church. No genius or honesty or spirituality has ever exempted any individual from the possibility and danger of error. Our Lord has placed the security and conservation of His truth where it naturally and rationally belongs, in the reconciliation of differences, the inner and higher unity of outer and partial diversities, in the essential and ultimate oneness of the many and not in the excellence or superiority of the one or the few. The Church is divinely organized and constituted Unity,—a unity within which by free interrelation and interaction different points of view, impressions, emphases, perspectives, and so theories, doctrines, systems, etc., may correct, supplement, and complete one another and bring all to the essential and sufficient unity that not only belongs to them but can come only through their all-sided contributions. Incidentally we may say of Sects in Christianity that their evil is expressed in the word itself: they are organized and isolated differences and diversities. Their partial and emphasized good is withdrawn from communication to and influence upon others; their deficiencies, ignorances or errors are removed from supplementing or correction by others. They are destructive of that Oneness in Christ which is the essence and definition of Christianity, which is ours in spite of our differences, and within which our differences would quickly melt down into not merely pardonable or permissible but even contributory and complete diversities.

## CONSTRUCTIVE CHRISTIANITY

It seems to be the general experience and conclusion of missionaries that in such other civilizations as the Chinese, Japanese, or East Indian, our Western differences and divisions are incomprehensible and a serious hindrance to the reception of Christianity. While, on the other hand, these civilizations are as open and susceptible to Christian truth and life as our own is. There is as little doubt that at home, thinking, living and active Christians are growing more and more restive and dissatisfied under what they are coming to look upon as senseless internecine strifes and are demanding substitution of unity and co-operation for division and competition. And outside of organized and visible Christianity, there is a growing multitude of those who say that they have no use for the churches as they are, but nevertheless not only disclaim irreligion, but profess faith in God and in Christ.

Now the matters of our human disagreements, while outside the objective, divine and unchangeable fact of Christianity itself, cannot therefore be all swept away and done without. It is absurd to say that there can be a religion of God without a theology, or a life of Christ without a Christology, truth without doctrine, faith without creed, church without order or orders, sacraments or worship without forms. We do not know anything without body, or until we have embodied it: the most spiritual or the most abstract truth or idea must be in some way expressed, uttered or "outered," before it can be ours. We can know nothing of God Himself except through His Word,—that which in some way expresses Him, or that which eternally and universally expresses Him. There is no question that there is an objectively and transcendently true Theology and Christology, a true divine intention and meaning of Church and Sacraments; and that all these are to be more and more known by us,—and known in the sense and by the means of being expressed, embodied, realized. Spiritual or intellectual, immaterial and invisible forms of con-

## THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY

ception are just as much forms as material and visible ones, and we cannot know or do without them.

Our differences, therefore, and the matter and forms of our differences, have to be reckoned with, and the propriety and necessity of their being either composed and done away or else reconciled and harmonized is not to be surrendered to the difficulty or seeming impossibility of the task. The time seems to be ripe in Christendom for the assuming and entering upon that task, and I have no further suggestion to make upon the conduct of it. But preliminary to it,—admitting as we must the impossibility of simply wiping out our differences and divisions, and the necessity of in some way that is God's way settling them—our present day construing of Christianity must meet the needs and demands of the time with that in Christianity which is before and above and without our controversies, which is outside the field of our human versions and perversions of it. May we not interpret and accept the "Back to Christ"—with all its vagueness, diversity, and conflict of meanings, within and without the Churches—as not merely a desire of escape from the confusions of current Christianity, but something deeper and more positive, a feeling of the drawing of the Christ?

Our Lord says, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." He also says, "No man can come unto Me except the Father draw him." Not on these words alone do we base the assertion that there is a universal drawing of humanity to Christ—a drawing both from within and from without, both natural and supernatural, not only from the Divine without us to the divine within us, but also from the divine within us to the Divine without us. That is, religion has a double origin: it comes alike from God to us and from us to God. Therefore it can be treated equally as a human production and as a divine communication, as the act of God in man, and as the act of man in God. All attraction is on both sides, whether between matter and

## CONSTRUCTIVE CHRISTIANITY

matter, between man and woman, or between the soul and God. The assertion that there is a universal drawing of humanity to Christ is based upon the fact of the natural drawing of all life, of every form of life, to its proper end and destiny, to its predestined complement and completion. All acorns do not become oaks, because there lie many conditions and many hindrances between; but every acorn has an inherent impulse and disposition to be an oak.

I believe that the times are full of this natural and universal drawing to Christ. I believe that there is a great deal of Christianity in men outside of the Churches, to whom the Churches are a hindrance and an obstacle to their coming to Christ. It is because Christ is the reason and the meaning and the end of every man that all men are drawn to Him, unless hindered by conditions or by sin. It is a fearful thing if in any way the Churches are standing between men and Christ, if in any sense or with any truth it can be said, as was once said of the Church of God, "The name of God [that should be glorified] is blasphemed among men because of you."

It is this too general condition that we have to meet and deal with: we have to confess that at this late date of the Christian Era men are still asking, Who is Christ, and What is Christianity? We have more need than ever to get behind our logomachies, and be making straighter approaches and simpler answers to these questions. The way must be open to all true comers, no matter what or how, or how indirect, the drawing: Christ would have all men come unto Him. There must be made "straight paths for the feet, that that which is lame be not turned out of the way, but rather be healed."

There are three directions or points of view from which, prior to all differences among Christians, I should approach the matter of our common Christianity. The first I will call the Conceptual or Intuitional,—by which I mean Christianity viewed and considered from the standpoint

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of ourselves. Religion is primarily a matter of human conception — as well as of divine generation. There must be the womb or the soil as well as the seed, mother as well as father,—and the offspring is of the one as well as the other, or rather of the union of the two. Considering the former of the two sources, it is a truth, though only a half truth, to treat religion as a product or function of humanity itself, as having a human cause and origin. It is the highest instance of the natural impulse and effort of a finite being to find itself, to compass its end, to realize its nature and accomplish its destiny. The end of man is as far above and beyond that of any other being within our knowledge as his reason, his freedom, his personality is superior to anything else in nature, of which he is the head and crown. That God is the true and supreme end of man we know by the simple fact that the end of man can lie only on true lines of himself, and all these lines lead directly and only to God. The end of his mind is Truth, the end of his feelings or affections is Love, the end of his will and activities is Goodness and Good: and the completeness and perfection of all these is God. No finite spirit, seeking and striving to be all itself, can will or conceive for itself anything short of the infinitely True, Beautiful, and Good—infinite Wisdom, Virtue, Happiness—infinite Holiness, Righteousness, Life. God, so far as we can know Him, is the Infinite, Eternal, Perfect of ourselves, as we are the finite, incomplete, and imperfect of Him. If this is a conceiving or creating God in our own image, I admit it and justify it. It is the only way and form in which we can know God at all. When God would fully reveal or manifest Himself to us, it was necessarily on this same line—in a Human Son, One who was fully He and fully We. It is impossible to think of God except as the infinite and perfect of ourselves. If it was a human conception, then it was a true human conception or intuition, of God, of ourselves, and of our relation to God,



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that in the beginning laid the foundation of religion in the fact that we are created or constituted in the image of God; and that the beginning and principle of all spiritual instinct and impulse is the natural movement and effort of the spirit in us to fulfil itself in that image, to realize itself as Son of God, to become perfect as our Father in Heaven is perfect.

The spiritual nature and life of man has had its aeons, and may yet have to pass through aeons, of evolution, but we can take its bearings and read its direction. It is moving on to God, and even when it is not, or we cannot see that it is, we know that it ought to be doing so, that that Good is its goal. I have so far treated all this as pure human conception or intuition, but it may be this without being only this. It may be ourselves and yet God in us, or God in us and still completely and perfectly ourselves—as we see manifested in the divine-human person of our Lord. Whatever of higher or divine there is in all our truly spiritual selves and acts, the truth remains that the divine in this world works only in, with, and through the natural, and above all the human. All creation, natural and spiritual, is through evolution: everything that is made also makes itself,—is made to make itself through a process immanent and operative in itself. There is nothing natural or human in which or of which science, carried far enough, might not discover natural or human causes or conditions,—unless we distinguish between these, and recognize that conditions are never causes—that there is but one Cause. As nothing ever comes of God in things except through things, so nothing ever comes from God to man except through man, and except through the organs or faculties and laws of human transmission. If God has spoken to the prophet and through the prophet, how has He done so? It was the prophet's own consciousness and conscience of God that spoke in him in the name and with the authority of God. God was indeed in him and with him, but in his

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own consciousness and as his own conscience. The spirit of man, as any other part of him, is fallible, and there are false prophets; we must try the spirits whether they be of God. But that no more proves that the spirit of man is not a medium of actual relation with God and of true communication from God, than false impressions or conclusions prove that our senses or our reason are not proper instruments of natural fact and truth. Let any man's consciousness and conscience be that of God in a matter, and he will speak, and have a right to speak, in the name and with the authority of God. It will be no blasphemy in him to say, Thus saith the Lord.

Our Lord Himself had a human spiritual as well as natural genealogy. The human faith and character in Him that conquered the world and brings it into oneness with God, the human love that in Him was stronger than death and brought life and immortality to light, were older than His own supreme manifestation of them, and only culminated in Himself in the fulness of a time of age-long growth and preparation. He humanly inherited the faith, the hope, the love that so supremely characterized Himself. If in all these human endowments He also transcended their human origin and degree, so as in His sole person to manifest and to render possible and assured their ultimate triumph in our common humanity, if Christianity now claims as distinctly and immediately a divine as a human origin and operation, yet the divine in it is absolutely and perfectly along the lines of the human, is simply redemptive and complete of the human. Whatever our Lord humanly was, suffered, or accomplished in the matter of our salvation, was precisely what our nature demanded, what ourselves need, as constituting our salvation. He was all that we are, in order that we might through Him become all that He is, that we might become all ourselves in and with Him. All that was supernatural in Jesus Christ, His birth from above, His human life, sufferings, death, resur-

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rection and ascension, was but the process of our own further and higher nature and destination.

If it is necessary to construe Christianity thus to ourselves as a genuinely human conception, as an instinct and intuition of ourselves, born of the divine within us and looking for completion through union with the Divine without us, as the outcome of our own "feeling after" that we may "find" God—all this, however essential a part it may be of the religion of Christ, is but the ante-chamber, the pre-condition, of His Gospel. The Gospel, as such, comes wholly after any and all immanent or prevenient or merely natural and human want or search or anticipation of it. However much of religion may have come *of* us, as the groping and search of the divine in ourselves, the Gospel comes only and wholly as the response of the Divine from *without* us. Eliminate from Jesus Christ the truths and facts expressed in the distinctively and specifically Christian terms Incarnation and Resurrection, and you drop Him out of the category of Realizer, Revealer, and Giver, into that of, still, Seeker. He is not even, in any real sense, Seer; for it is manifestly true in itself, quite apart from our Lord's having said so, that "No man hath seen God at any time," or is able to know or empowered to communicate "the things freely given us of God" which constitute The Gospel.

It is not enough to say that, however truly human our Lord was, the very completeness and perfection of His humanity, the fact of His having humanly conquered sin and transcended death, proves a something more than human with Him and in Him. Not only in Christ but in Christianity every single term or element of properly-called Gospel means, and necessarily means, something more than human with us and in us through Christ. What then is it in Christianity that makes it distinctively and specifically a gospel, and The Gospel? It is not that it is the truest human guess at truth or intuition of truth. It

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is not that it is the rightest human rule or law of righteousness. It is not that it is the purest human spirit of love and goodness. It is neither the highest human example nor the most consummate exposition of all these that makes Christianity The Gospel. Of course if we carry them to the limit of the perfection which we claim for Christ, then at once all this truth and righteousness and holiness is lifted out of the merely human—even with all its natural divinity. We must say with Nicodemus, "Thou art a teacher come from God." But then such a divine teaching and example would not itself be a Gospel. Christ is more than a Teacher, and Christianity is more than a teaching.

The essence of Christianity is expressed in the word Incarnation, and its function in the fact of Resurrection and Eternal Life. We need of course to be told and shown, and to know, what truth and holiness and righteousness and life are; but that, however both humanly and divinely it were accomplished for us and by us, would not meet and satisfy our real need. What we want is not to know Truth, Beauty, and Goodness—though that is necessary by the way; it is to be true, beautiful, and good. We want God in us and with us,—not immanently and naturally as He is in everything, but personally and transcendently as He is only in those who are themselves in Him, whose faith and hope and love are in Him, and whose holiness, righteousness, and life are His in them. The beginning of the Gospel is God in Christ, the end of it is that God in Christ not only means but is God in Humanity, God in Us. By Us I mean not our mere being or nature, but our conscious, free, personal, and living Selves.

The Gospel not only makes God one with us in Christ, but makes all the human life of Christ ours. The essence of that life was, not merely its attitude, but the completeness and finality of its attitude, toward Sin on the one hand, and Holiness or God on the other. No spiritual intuition or conception of the end or destiny of man can picture it

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otherwise than as the final extinction in him of all that we call sin, and the fulfilling in him of all we call holiness: sin meaning all transgression or contradiction of nature, Self, or God, and holiness all fulfilling of nature and Self in God. The finality of Christ's attitude and act in us is that, as toward sin it was "unto death," that is, unto the human extinction of sin; and as toward holiness it was "unto eternal life," that is, unto the completion and perfection of nature and self, the fulness of life, in God.

The Gospel, finally, provides for such a relation of ourselves to all that Christ did, and was, and is in our humanity, such a relation to it and to Him of faith and hope and love on our part, and of love, grace, and fellowship or oneness with us on His part, as constitutes the most perfect assurance and guarantee, both human and divine, of its being made actually and entirely our own. So God becomes through Christ our Holiness, our Righteousness, and our Life,—and that so completely through ourselves, through the free action and co-operation of our own minds and hearts, our own wills and activities, that His righteousness or life in us is equally ours in Him.

Our task, then, in the second place, is to construe Christ as completely on the divine side as on the human, to see in Him as truly a Divine Act, an act of God's Love and Grace and Fellowship enacted in, with, and through human faith, hope, and love,—as on the other hand we see in Him a true human act, an act of human faith, hope and love, realizing itself or attaining its end of eternal life, through the love, grace, and fellowship of God working with and in it. The question is how best to emphasize anew, to bring afresh to human need and vision, this divine aspect of the person and work of Christ. I know no other way than the perpetual task of ever renewing and revitalizing the old way—the way of the Historic Christ, the Scriptures, and the Catholic Faith and Life of the Church. The truer our human powers of spiritual intuition and concep-



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tion, the better will we see the divine and eternal truth and necessity expressed in the terms Incarnation and Resurrection, the human and superhuman meaning of the Birth, Life, Death, and Life Again of Jesus Christ. The difficulties in the letter of all these facts will never, in a true and complete human experience, prevail against the spiritual necessity and inevitableness of their truth.

But we have yet, in the third place, to meet our sorest and most immediate need in the construction, or construing, of our Christianity. It is not enough that Christianity should be, in itself, true to, the very truth of, human nature, human aspiration, and human destination. It is not enough that it should have been historically true in Christ, in the actual fact of an Incarnation of God and a resurrection of humanity in His person. The greatest need remains,—namely, that Christianity shall be a living Fact today, co-ordinate and co-equal in us with what it was in Christ, and what it means and is for us. How shall we go about, not merely conceptually or historically, but actually and practically and presently, construing it for ourselves? I can only suggest some considerations that are as old as Christianity itself,—with the reminder that, as far back as St. John, the task of the individual, the task of each age and time, the task of conscious, intelligent, free, and responsible life forever, is to keep “That which was from the beginning” true and new and alive to the end. It is our business ever to make and keep Christianity as actual and active and living a thing as it was in Christ Himself. The weakness and unreality of so much of our present day Christianity is not so much the consequence as the cause of the doubt and scepticism and criticism to which it has been not unjustly subjected.

Christianity came once, but it did not come for once only: it came once for all, and for all time. It came to be as much in the world today as on the day of our Lord’s nativity or of His resurrection. We want the full sense

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and meaning, if we would realize the full actuality of that truth. We say that Christianity is the Incarnation of God. So far from true is it that the Incarnation ended, even on earth, with the human life and ascension of Christ, that neither did it begin with His birth. The Incarnation is the whole matter of the eternal spiritual—as distinguished from natural or immanent or encosmic—relation, and ultimate unity, of God and man. That process began on earth so soon as the very first inchoate spiritual interrelation and communion were possible and actual between God and man; it will end when humanity, so far as may or shall be, shall be of one spirit, one divine law, one eternal life with God. The expression is, We shall be “One Man” in Christ Jesus, One Humanity in the One Perfected Manhood. The distinctively Christian work of Christ on earth began properly and historically on the Day of Pentecost,—that is, with His session at the right hand of God and His return in the Spirit. All that went before, even the Death and the Resurrection, were only preparing the conditions and laying the foundation. The Life was being lived and made perfect for us, which was to be re-lived and perfected in us and with us and by us. If Christ in us now, in the Mystical Body of which He is Head and we are members, is not as living, and the same Christ, as He was on earth in His natural body,—then most assuredly has there been with us a solution, or dissolution, of the continuity of the Incarnation.

The actual and active presence and operation of Christ as human or universal salvation began properly on the Day of Pentecost. When Christ was glorified the Holy Ghost came, not to supply the place of His absence but to effect His truer, universal and permanent, presence. The supposition that underlay that inception of Christianity as the World Religion may be gathered from the New Testament at almost any point. Let us consider, for example, the tacit assumption of certain questions

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addressed by St. Paul to the Corinthians: "Is Christ divided?" "Was Paul crucified for you?" "Were ye baptized into Paul?" These questions assume the inclusiveness and universality of Christ. A new humanity, or stage of humanity, a new birth and a new life of humanity, has come into actuality in Him. He is no longer a divine Person only, but divine Humanity. Whatever of incarnation of God, whatever of regeneration and resurrection of humanity, was in Him and was His, was for us and to be ours.

How was this to come about? As a matter of fact it did come about immediately; He was the Head in heaven, and the Church through His spiritual presence in it was His Body upon earth. All that He had Himself accomplished and attained and become in the matter of human salvation, to the limit of the human death to sin and resurrection to eternal life, was now to be appropriated by, reproduced in and re-enacted by those in whom He returns to live on earth. In the fulness of faith it is assumed that all this is actually the case: so true and assured is all this to faith, that to faith it is already true in fact. And just that quality and character of faith is the sole condition and means of its becoming true in fact. "We are dead, We are risen, We have overcome, and are more than conquerors through Him that loved us." "In that He died, He died unto sin; in that He liveth, He liveth unto God: likewise we account ourselves to be dead unto sin and alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord." "As many of us as were baptized into Christ were baptized into His death. We were buried with Him by baptism into death, that as He rose from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so should we walk in newness of life." Now all this language—and it is the assumption and foundation of the whole New Testament—is either the most hyperbolic and extravagant of figures, or else it is that transcendent divine truth and reality which we best justify in our

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Lord's historical appearance upon earth by recognizing and manifesting it in ourselves as His permanent presence still.

Christianity has been sometimes represented as "Salvation by Sample or Example." We do see and know our own salvation perfectly enacted and represented in the life and death—or rather, in the death and life—of our human Lord. And since God draws us to Himself "with cords of a man," we may say that we are saved after the manner of Christ, by walking in His steps, by taking up His cross and following Him, by reflecting His likeness, and so being conformed to or transformed into His image. But faith makes Jesus Christ very much more than a mere example to us: it makes Him not only sample but cause and substance of our salvation. "Because I live, ye shall live also." "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." So that we may say, "I live no longer, Christ lives in me." And yet only then do we truly live, because Christ is the only true life and Self of every man.

My word and my spirit may go a little way in influencing and changing others; they may go beyond myself, for I cannot accompany them. God's Word and Spirit cannot go beyond Him: where they are He is, for they are always and livingly Himself. If we are in right relation (of faith, hope, and love) with Christ and His salvation, in the fellowship of His death and the participation of His resurrection, then God's presence and power in us will manifest themselves much more potently than after the manner of mere human influence and example. His Word and Spirit will new-create us into the substance and likeness of what we would be.

If to our newer or truer constructions both of the Human and of the Divine Christ, the Christ of our Intuition and the Christ of History, we are to add a newer and truer construction of Christianity Today,—we are to remember that the New of God is always the Old: the new-

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ness is in us, not in Him or in It. What we shall accomplish will not be wholly on newly invented or modern lines,—as though nothing of what we seek has existed before or from the very beginning: “Let that which was from the beginning abide with you and in you,” says St. John. If Christianity since Christ has been a continuous fact and factor in the world, if in any sense (actually or ideally) it has been and remains One,—it has done so and been so under the form and entity of the Christian Church and Sacraments. Whatever differences of interpretation or of appreciation of these may exist among us, we will agree that, at the very least, they are intended to signify and symbolize, to express and emphasize, what is essential and vital in Christianity as an integral and permanent factor in the world. And the Church and the Sacraments have no other significance than the continued presence of Jesus Christ Himself upon earth, and our human part and participation in Him—that is to say, in the Incarnate Life of God in humanity which He is. What else can the Church mean and be, than the Body of our Lord’s presence and operation upon earth? What is Baptism but our incorporation into that Body, being made participants in that Life? What is the Lord’s Supper but our actual, personal, continuous participation in that Life of God in Christ?

There is a line of cleavage in Christian thought upon the question, How far, on the one hand, the Church and the Sacraments only humanly *mean* what they mean,—and, on the other hand, how far they divinely *are* what they mean; and so ought to *be* to us all that they mean. All signs, symbols, types, or figures are only words, spoken to the eye rather than to the ear: different modes of expressing *things*. Ought we not to make a difference between God’s words (if we believe them to be such) and men’s words? Our words may only mean, but God’s words *are*. What we need in our Christianity is, To Take God at His



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Word, to believe that What He Says to us in Christ Is. It is as much a part of Christianity to know that Christ is in His Church, as it is to know that God is in Christ. If we truly believed that the Church is Christ's Body, the actual and sole organ and instrument of His life and work upon earth; if we truly knew that we are members of His body, partakers of His life, and doers of all that He is in the world to do; if Baptism were to our faith the death and life of Christ, and the Bread and Wine were His Body and Blood, instead of only signs of something not there,—how would the Gospel begin to manifest itself as that which in itself it is—as that which but for us it would be—the Power of God unto salvation, because a Righteousness of God in us through Faith!

With all our mutual understandings and agreements, there will always be certain differences among us, because of certain inevitable liabilities and dangers equally to be found on opposite sides of the above truth of the Church. Some will always be thinking that others are making too much of the outward and visible for the proper emphasis and operation of the inward and spiritual. The others will be equally sure that these are making too much of their own subjective states and selves, and denying or ignoring the objective divine presence and grace upon which the internal state is and ought to be directly conditioned. Are not these two opposite attitudes both necessary and wholesome offsets, and does not the truth and life of Christianity depend upon its ability to meet and compose such differences?

SEWANEE.

# Union Among Christians

BY WILFRID WARD,  
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The late Mr. Gladstone, who throughout his life was so profoundly interested in religious questions, said to the present writer in 1894: "The most important need of our day is to obtain unity among Christians, that they may successfully withstand the inroads of modern infidelity. And I cannot feel very kindly towards your Church, for she appears to me to be the great obstacle to such union, from her exclusiveness and her unconciliatory policy."

Certainly if we look at one side of her action, the Catholic and Roman Church does appear to be little ready to fraternize with other Christian bodies or to make light of her differences from them. Catholics entirely decline to kneel in Protestant temples, or even to pray in company with fellow Christians outside their own communion to the Christ whom they worship in common. They decline to let their children learn the Bible except from members of their own Church, though they fully believe in the inspired word. They will not allow Catholic school children to be taught the Christian religion by anyone except their own co-religionists, although the most important articles of the Christian faith are held by many others as firmly as they are held by Catholics themselves. Such peculiarities are often not unnaturally assumed to betoken narrowness unspeakable and to show that Catholics are unable to recognize any good outside their own Church. And such, apparently, was Mr. Gladstone's view of the matter.

Yet there are other obvious facts that may well make the hasty critic pause before passing such a verdict. For this exclusiveness, this apparent narrowness, is found not only among Catholics who belong to the more rigid school

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of Ultramontanism, but in those whose liberality is well known. It is perhaps natural for me to refer to a correspondence which I have for some years past been studying minutely—that of the late Cardinal Newman. Few readers of his published letters can, I think, have failed to be touched by those written in his old age to his Evangelical friend, Mr. Edwards—letters so full of the sense of brotherhood among Christians—in which he assures his correspondent that he has found in the Catholic Church the full realization of just that simple worship of Christ which he first learned in his childhood from Evangelical teachers. Again, when his old friend, Principal Shairp, of St. Andrews, died, Newman wrote to Professor Knight a letter he had not the strength to finish, in which he expressed his earnest hope that the future had in store that very union among Christians against infidelity on which Mr. Gladstone had set his heart. Yet we find in the record of Newman's intercourse with Mark Pattison in these very years a firm disclaimer of any such latitudinarian sympathies as should make light of distinctively Catholic dogma or treat it as a matter of comparative indifference. And to the same years belong his successful efforts to secure for the Catholic workers in a Birmingham factory facilities for the separate exercise of their religious worship and freedom from the obligation to attend the prayers of their Protestant fellow-workers. Such tokens would seem to show that the exclusiveness which some would ascribe to narrowness and to the absence of brotherly feeling towards other Christians may co-exist with an intense desire for union against the common foe and with keen sympathy with fellow Christians in the aims and ideals held by all.

But it may be said that Newman's mind was characterized by a liberality not shared by the average Catholic. It is the Catholicism of Manning rather than that of Newman—as we are often reminded—which represents the existing Church of Rome. Newman's fellow Catholics as a body

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have (it will be said) all his exclusiveness and little of his wide sympathy. In reply to this suggestion I would point out that it was Manning and not Newman who wrote in the early sixties the beautiful tract "On the workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England." While I do not deny that among Catholics, as among others, there are to be found many various degrees of breadth of sympathy in individuals, this is not determined by the difference between the more liberal and more Ultramontane schools of thought. The exclusiveness does not, in either school of religious thought, betoken narrowness of sympathy. It does not mean, as Mr. Gladstone so confidently supposed, any want of ability or disposition to co-operate with fellow Christians against the spread of infidelity. On the contrary, it exists in those to whom this is a specially cherished object. In the old Metaphysical Society, founded in 1869, the three Catholic members were all strict Ultramontanes—Manning, Father Dalgairns and W. G. Ward. Yet the avowed object of the society was that all its Christian members should act and argue in unison against the agnostic members, and the Catholics found themselves on the same platform as Dr. Martineau, Mr. R. H. Hutton and Dean Church. Indeed—and here I speak from personal memory of the enterprise—some of them used expressly to maintain that the Christian faith had in every age its special foe, and that the same militant spirit which made St. Dominic organize his "hounds of the Lord," his "*domini canes*" against the Albigenses should in later times inspire the united Christian phalanx against the agnosticism of the Huxleys and the Tyndalls.

What, then, is the true import and *rationale* of the exclusiveness of Catholics? of their slowness simply to amalgamate with other Christians? Why, if they wish to co-operate with others against the common enemy, are they not more ready than they actually are to put out of sight points of difference, to join in common worship, to send

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their children to schools in which the essence of Christianity is taught, though not the distinctively Catholic doctrines? Why do they seem so slow to recognize that in the great battle for Christian faith forms of the creed are minor matters compared with its essence? The reply may be put in various ways. The one which I think best appeals to the modern mind is the view which is illustrated in Cardinal Newman's "Essay on Development," by his comparison of the Catholic Church to a living organism. An organism has many parts performing various functions which cannot be regarded as equally important elements in its life-work. Yet its power to do its life-work effectively depends on the whole being kept alive and vigorous. And for this object functions not directly connected with its most important work are indispensable. Cicero's digestive functions are certainly a very minor matter in our thought of Cicero as a world power. Yet they may have played an all-important part in the general well-being without which he would not have left us the writings by which his greatness was established. The Catholic Church no doubt claims to be the one indefectible guardian of the Christian revelation. Her exclusiveness is largely based on this claim. But it has also much of its *raison d'être* in reasons which are the conditions of efficiency for any organism. Her creed and ritual and organization is a complete and living whole. Once you begin to tamper with it and to suggest that only those parts of her creed should be insisted on which she shares with other Christians, you threaten the vitality of the living organism and the individuality on which its power largely depends.

The same consideration holds in its measure with other Christian bodies. In point of fact, no denomination with any force in it is content with professing the common measure of Christian beliefs. Each holds them in its own way, with the associations and in the forms to which its



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history has given birth. Rightly or wrongly, on true lines, or on lines only partly true, or on false lines, each has developed into an organic system with a distinctive character. On this depends its *esprit de corps*. Tennyson once said, "You must choose in religion between bigotry and flabbiness." A sect maintaining only points of agreement with rival sects would be "flabby" and ineffective in its religion. *In point of fact, the very beliefs held in common have their edge and force in individual believers as parts of the different living systems in which they are found.* Thus the refusal to make co-operation depend on amalgamation in organization and in worship, or on the dismissal of what is distinctive of the several denominations and the retention only of what is common to all, may be grounded simply and solely on the interests of vitality in religion. To obliterate what is distinctive of the various communions means that even the doctrines which they *do* hold in common, and which are rightly considered the most important, lose three-quarters of their influence and effectiveness. There is not in existence sufficient agreement among Christians to enable us to create forthwith a new religious organism, a new corporate Church, which should inspire the necessary *esprit de corps*. We must utilize the existing *esprit de corps* in the sects. Therefore, if we would strengthen the force of common Christian beliefs it can only be by a co-operation between the denominations, which should not depend on destroying their distinctive and differing elements. It is a choice between an agreement amid difference in a religion which is inspired and alive, and an agreement pure and simple which is uninspired and comparatively dead and inoperative.

The above expresses, I think, one-half of the underlying principle on which Catholic exclusiveness is founded. It is one-half of the ground on which undenominationalism stands condemned of being ineffective as a religious force. Therefore, when I find the value of the denominational

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principle recognized as it is in the *prospectus* of the quarterly for which I am writing, which has been founded for the express purpose of promoting Christian union, I feel that Mr. Gladstone's forecast to which I referred at the beginning of my article has met with a remarkable falsification. In place of finding in the Catholic exclusiveness the great enemy of effective union among Christians, experience and observation have taught the founders of this Quarterly that to adopt the denominational or exclusive principle in its measure is necessary to any really practicable and successful common action among the Christian communions against modern unbelief.

Let us take, by way of illustration of what I have already said in general terms, a very prominent and distinctive Catholic ideal—that of the monastic life. If we take it in its fullest expression, as including the active as well as the contemplative orders, we have in this ideal the inspiring force of more than half the greatest achievements of the Catholic Church in the past. From the Benedictines in the fifth century to the Jesuits in the sixteenth you have in the history of religious orders the story of the greatest successes of the Catholic religion. These orders are all based on certain ways of carrying out the ideals of the New Testament. To Mr. Kingsley and to his successors in our time they seem poor and unmanly ways. Are we for this reason to waive the monastic ideal as unessential—as a point of difference which it would be well to sink, with the object of combining and agreeing with such as Mr. Kingsley against the infidel? Probably far more will be done to check infidelity by the zeal and *esprit de corps* of even one among the hundreds of Catholic religious orders than by all that the religion in common between Mr. Kingsley and the Pope would be likely to effect—not because the points in common between them are not the most important ones, but because in the monastic vocation you have the inspiration and the faith that can move

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mountains, while Mr. Kingsley and the Pope are not likely to combine so as to create any parallel *esprit de corps* or self-denying zeal in their followers. Zeal is needed as well as truth, heat as well as light. Nothing is more *important* than belief in God. Yet a miscellaneous collection of theists would probably be comparatively lukewarm and ineffective apostles. But if Mr. Kingsley or—to give a more probable instance—Herr Eucken, of Jena, publishes a fine essay against materialism and a great vindication of man's spiritual nature, if Hegel writes convincing words on "self-realization by self-denial," let us by all means stand by them and gladly use their arguments and extend their influence. Do not, however, let us think that we shall do this more effectively by abandoning the distinctive ideals which have created our own heroes and done our work in the past. And in this matter we have our own precedents to fall back upon. In the thirteenth century, when pantheism and free thought were a real danger in Christendom, St. Thomas Aquinas was glad enough to adopt the arguments of the Jewish philosopher Maimonides on behalf of theism. But he had no thought of a theistic church of which Jew and Christian were to be common members with the object of crushing Arabian pantheism. On the contrary, St. Thomas reproduced the arguments of Maimonides in his *Summa Theologiae*, which contained the fullest and most minute account of the distinctive Catholic dogma which has ever been published.

It will certainly be objected to in the above remarks that they ignore a principal difficulty in the path of Christian union which the more liberal Christians with whom Mr. Gladstone sympathized had tried to meet by minimizing points of difference between the sects. The difficulty in question is that in very many cases these distinctive doctrines are doctrines which speak of mutual hate and positive disunion. Luther protests against the superstitions and corruptions of Rome. This protest is what stirred up

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and still sustains the *esprit de corps* of Lutheran Protestants. Rome anathematizes the doctrines of Luther. The zeal of Alva is fed by the bonfires with which he burns the heretic. Sectarian tenets do not constitute merely that individuality of creed which gives edge to conviction and enables agreement amid difference among believers to be the more effective in the fight against unfaith. They are a source or a direct consequence of mutual hostility between the believers themselves. If, then, you grant that the full force of religious zeal is largely dependent on the *esprit de corps* of the various religious communions, and that this *esprit de corps* would evaporate if their distinctive doctrines were dropped and only "our common Christianity" were retained, that is an argument not only, as it professes to be, against latitudinarianism, but against the possibility of any effective union among Christians. In emphasizing sectarian tenets you are encouraging those specific beliefs which tell directly for disunion—nay, for positive strife between Christians. You are breeding not effective "hounds of the Lord" to fight the infidels of the day, but rather Kilkenny cats who will fight until they have devoured each other.

It is to be hoped that the best detailed reply to this objection will be found in the future history of this Quarterly. Its promoters trust that it will reveal a very real and effective sense of Christian brotherhood and a very sensible abatement of the hostile attitude which would a hundred years ago have made any scheme for union among the sects Utopian. But, speaking generally, the answer is, I think, implied in the second rule of this Quarterly, that each sect, while advocating its own views in full, should refrain from attacking its neighbours. Even the exclusive Church of Rome may recognize that there is an element of truth in the positive side of most heretical movements. Catholics are not concerned with maintaining that there were no abuses connected with the sale of indulgences in the six-

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teenth century. They condemn those who then worked for revolt, but they do not deny that element of justice in their protest which told of the need for reform. Indeed, the whole of the Catholic counter-reformation of the sixteenth century, associated with such names as St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Philip Neri, drew its inspiration from indignation in the Roman communion itself against those very abuses which led to the formation of the Protestant sects as a counterblast. The underlying principle of this Quarterly, as I understand it, is that many of these old controversies are not now actual or urgent, as they once were. For Catholics a new foe is more dangerous than Protestantism, for Protestants the same new foe is more dangerous than Catholicism. A new motive for combination exists which is likely to make the positive and true side of the tenets of each sect more prominent, while the negative and aggressive side is likely to grow less, and even to disappear in some cases, if all parties endeavour to bring this consummation about. The ideal aim is that every group of Christians should preserve its *esprit de corps*, but should at the same time refrain from mutual hostility. And though, like all ideals, this is not likely to be completely realized, some approximation may be made towards its realization. When a Catholic and a Calvinist have been fighting on the same side for a time in the battle against unfaith and have come to look at each other with friendly and understanding eyes, to be desirous each of finding in his fellow Christian's creed strong points telling for union and not weak points for attack, the Calvinist discovers that a good deal which he has been in the habit of regarding as his irreconcilable quarrel with Rome on Grace and Predestination is tolerated in the Catholic Church, and is found in the doctrine of St. Augustine and even in that of St. Thomas Aquinas. Protests against formalism and externalism in religion which inspired the zeal of Luther against Rome will be found to have inspired equally his



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arch-enemy, St. Ignatius Loyola, in fashioning the famous "Spiritual Exercises."

Nothing but experience can determine the exact issue of the endeavour before us. Therefore, to discuss this matter further would be premature. Real but at present unconscious points of agreement will, it is to be hoped, come more clearly to light under the growing influence of a common zeal against the revival of pagan ethics and the destruction of faith in the unseen which now threatens the modern world. If the attention and energy of all Christians is concentrated on the crusade against these movements which threaten all religious belief and principle, the force and heat of religious zeal will gradually be transferred more and more to this common crusade. An immediate attempt to bring down the existing sects to a dead level of positive belief would, on the contrary, put out the flame instead of changing its direction. And, once extinguished, it might be hard to rekindle.

How far combination will be possible against a common enemy, how far allies who fight under the same banner will find that they have all along agreed more than they had supposed even in matters they had regarded as points of difference, how far good will and mutual trust can allay apparent differences which bad will and suspiciousness had a large share in creating, remains to be seen. I have said enough to show the nature of the experiment and the grounds on which it may commend itself to one like myself who is a member of the Ancient Church.

LONDON

# A Message from the Russian Church

BY ARCHBISHOP PLATON,

*North American Ecclesiastical Consistory, New York.*

I answer your letter briefly, because your plan is clear without words and needs no approval as you personally need no encouragement from me. If I write thus to you, it is only because of your wish to have a word from me concerning this undertaking of yours.

Not only do I approve your work, not only do I greet with my whole heart your intention, I also warmly admire the very idea of your Quarterly, because I am quite sure that if it is seriously carried out, it will enable members of various religious confessions to become acquainted with the peculiarities of the latter, which will lead to the mutual understanding, to intimate intercourse, and thus, God helping, will create a common ground or conditions, under which or out of which will arise the possibility for all of us to talk about union in a serious way.

No one could possibly disagree or dispute that it is not the differences between our confessions which prevent us from joining like brothers on the road, which all who believe in Christ may and must tread on their journey towards Christ, having equal rights both to use the road and the means of locomotion over it; but that in an equal if not in a greater degree we are prevented from coming together by the mutual estrangement and intolerance which exist between the members of the various Christian confessions and which are the consequence of our entire lack of being acquainted with each other, our ignorance of each other and in many cases our mutual misunderstandings.

The Church to which I belong has not the spirit of intol-

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erance; it is not ill with pride. Quite the contrary, I cannot pass in silence the readiness for concession which its members sometimes allow in a degree to all appearance greatly exceeding all that could be necessary. In confirmation of my statement I could refer to many facts; but think that it will be sufficient to remind you of the reception recently given in Russia to the four bishops of the Anglican Church. By what other Church could bishops of an alien confession be received in the same way?

Owing to the experience of my life in this country, I have lost all illusions concerning the value of compliments in the mutual intercourse of the Churches, and the grandeur of this reception may, therefore, seem to me somewhat bigger than it was; however, it is of great value and therefore very cheering that the character of this reception leads us to the perfectly correct conclusion, that in Russia there are great numbers of both ecclesiastical and lay believers, who pray for the union of the Churches and work for it.

The four Anglican bishops informed the Orthodox Russians, in a telegram sent on their way, that they would pray for the union of the Churches.

Both amongst us and amongst you there are persons—and their number is, as you know, great—who pray for the union of the Churches and are prepared to think that this union will be achieved sometime for us, though without us, by God Himself.

There are some among us, who pray for the union, yet do not believe in it, do not think it possible.

Yet there are people of a different kind, with whom you are acquainted, with whom you have conversed, whose opinions on this subject you know. These people, I am convinced, will give a warm greeting to the appearance of your Quarterly, as they will see in it the realization of a step towards the practical solution of the question of the union of the Churches, the greatest of all the great questions of the world.

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This question ought to have taken such a development long ago, a development, which is to bring about doubtless practical results. This was a long felt need, which actually itself asked for. If you like, it was exactly such a development I alluded to in my Philadelphian address before the numerous and select gathering of your learned divines. This is the only condition under which vitality and activity will be acquired by the societies for the union of faith, whose operations and their results have heretofore obviously been out of proportion to their aims and problems.

Of course, it is natural to all those who believe in Christ to treat each other like brothers and to long to be united in the holy feeling of love for them. This is true. But it is equally true, that it is not natural for good Christians to be indifferent as to who among them believes and how they believe in Christ.

You know what is the attitude of the Roman Catholics towards this question.

As to the Orthodox, I may tell you that their overwhelming majority feel perfectly sure that all those who believe in Christ are bound to believe in Him in the Orthodox way.

In your own midst, as far as I know, broad views of the subject do not enjoy any great popularity. It is not without foundation, that in your midst, such views are placed near to, if not identified with, religious indifferentism.

It is impossible, therefore, not to sympathize with this idea of yours, not to wish you the greatest success, and in advance not to thank you for it.

Your Quarterly has a prototype in Origen's Tetrapla which could only be planned by the head of a genius, a great student and a great Christian confessor, who lived at the dawn of Christianity, who knew nothing of all these divisions, which breed animosity and, at times, even hatred. In them, the word of God appeared in four languages in parallel columns. And your publication will contain the

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parallels of the theological Christian thought among four nations.

For people, who desire and can give proper value, here is a chance to compare, to learn, and to be convinced!

It is, however, necessary that this enterprise of yours should stand on a serious, strictly scientific basis, and be placed perfectly objectively, without preconceived tendencies and partiality.

Only this attitude on your part may give to your publication the moral weight, which, given the scientific value of the work, will be the best adapted to assure for it a wide spread.

And every Christian, who treasures his faith, will wish the widest spread to a publication of this kind with his whole heart.

As without the help of God people labour in vain, wishing success to your work, I now call the blessing of the ever-acting grace of God to your help.

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*Postscript:* Since the above was written I have visited Russia and have secured the promise of the co-operation of some of the most distinguished scholars of the Russian Church as contributors to THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY.

ARCHBISHOP PLATON.



# A German View of the *Sola Fide*

BY FRIEDRICH LOOFS,

*Professor of Church History in the University of Halle.*

Nothing in Protestantism is more incomprehensible to non-Protestant Christians and to modern irreligion with its merely ethical interest than the thesis of the Reformation, that we are justified *sola fide*, by faith alone. And nowhere in the Protestant world has this thesis been more intransigently expressed than in German Lutheranism.

Must we Lutherans give it up or modify it in order to be comprehensible to other Christians? By no means. We must make it comprehensible. Then there will be revealed in this thesis, so strange and repellent to non-Protestant Christians and to modern unbelievers, a truth that has an ecumenical acceptance.

Luther seems to have been of the opinion that he first gave to the thought of justification which he found in St. Paul the sharply defined form to which the "alone" added by him to the Bible text Rom. 3, 28, gives expression.<sup>1</sup> And for a long time after him Lutherans thought the same. It was not known that the thesis: "We are justified by faith *alone*" has its history also in the Catholic Church. Later studies in the history of dogma have taught us better.<sup>2</sup> In the pre-Augustinian Church of the West that thesis was nearly common property and traces of this conception may be followed even into the Middle Ages up to the time when the renaissance of Augustinism in scholastic theology brought victory to the Augustinian formularies.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*, 1530 (Erlangen Edition, *Deutsche Schriften*), 65 p. 104 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare F. Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*, 4th edition, Halle, 1906, pp. 387 and 419.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Loofs, *ibid.* p. 524, note 6; and for the altered opinion §65, 6a p. 560.

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A precise parallel to Luther's thought is, to be sure, not found here. For the ecclesiastical writers referred to above were concerned entirely with that "justification," that is, with that gracious reception of the sinner, which took place in baptism: there God forgives man—this was the opinion of those writers—all foregone sins with no other condition than that he unite himself faithfully to the Church, accept the faith (that is, the teaching) of the Church. Luther's ideas are essentially different, as we shall see. Our interest in the emphasis upon justification by faith *alone* in the early Western Church and in the Church of the Middle Ages ends, therefore, in the recognition—not unimportant, indeed—that the formula which Luther employed was not absolutely unheard of and that others before him had thought it right to make the thought in Rom. 3, 28 unmistakable by the addition of a *sola* to *fide* (alone by faith).

Whether Luther's thoughts had parallels in the pre-Reformation time is a question that can be raised only after what Luther understood by *justificari sola fide* (being justified by faith alone) has been investigated.

In this investigation the first thing to establish is that with Luther the concern is not only nor even chiefly with what the non-Christian experiences when he becomes a Christian through baptism. Luther is concerned first and especially not with any theory or dogmatic teaching with regard to a definite single or repeated event or occurrence in a Christian's life. His concern is with directing the *self-examination of a Christian*<sup>4</sup>, that is, with the question on what the Christian, who again and again observes his own imperfection and sin, can base the assurance that he has a gracious God, can be certain of the love of God. It is *this question* which is answered by the *sola fide*. The faith with which we have here to do is not an acceptance of the church doctrine—that Luther presupposes for every Christian, so

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<sup>4</sup> Compare A. Ritschl, *Die Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, III., 3rd edition, Bonn, 1889, p. 153 seq.

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far as he holds the doctrine of the Church to be founded on the Bible;<sup>5</sup> the faith with which we are concerned here is rather nothing other than the trust in God's grace in Jesus Christ, nothing other than the taking to oneself of the forgiveness of sin which God for Christ's sake offers to man (compare II Cor. 5, 20). And it is a complete misconception to describe this faith as the *condition* of justification. For faith, according to Luther, is no act of man which God rewards through the forgiveness of sins; faith is nothing other than the taking to oneself of the forgiveness freely given.

Now just as a condemned man to whom pardon is granted can take to himself that pardon *alone* by the ears of the body and of the spirit, so, according to Luther, man can appropriate God's forgiveness only *sola fide*. Whether he have few or many good works—that is for this purpose and moment as indifferent as whether in the comparison made above, the condemned man who receives pardon has sound or lame arms and legs. For here the sole concern is to bring peace to the conscience—which, when it is tender, can never be satisfied with its own moral condition—through the assurance that God, for Christ's sake, will not regard our sins and imperfections, will in spite of them let us be accounted His children. I know of no statement of Luther's which brings out this sense of his conception of justification by faith alone more distinctly than a post-script which Luther in 1531 added to a letter from Melanchthon to Johann Brenz: "I, my dear Brenz, am accustomed, in order that I may the better understand this matter, to imagine that there does not exist in my heart such a quality as that which men call belief or love; rather do I set in their place Jesus Christ, and I say: *He* is my

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<sup>5</sup> On this assumption and on the question in what relationship now, in the present day when this assumption is no longer possible, the true saving faith stands to the dogmatic faith, see my treatise, "Die Bedeutung der kirchlichen Dogmen für das evangelische Christenthum," in "Deutsch-Evangelisch," I., Berlin, 1910, pp. 78-99.

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justification.”<sup>6</sup> Two passages from one of his sermons are also especially instructive in this regard: “So, one may say to Moses: If you attack me where it is right, I will gladly hear and follow you . . . so far you may . . . bid me be obedient, modest, patient, do good to my neighbour and help the poor, bless and praise God; but if you wish to presume to go further, where you do not belong, in my heart and faith, there I will neither hear you nor see you, for there I have another great, unspeakable treasure, which is Christ with His Baptism and His Gospel.”<sup>7</sup> And: “Therefore look only to this, that you be not led from the path nor lured from this sphere; but though he [Moses] hold up before you many things of the Law as though it, too, were the Word of God, to which you owe obedience, you may answer him and say: Hear you well that now I will not know nor hear of any Law, for *we are now in the circle and upon the place* where one does not ask: What I may do or leave undone. I know well beforehand (with or without your commanding) that I have not done, neither do I do, that which the Law demands; but the question is of this: How shall a man seize upon a gracious God and forgiveness of sins? There will I remain in the arms of the Lord Jesus and hang on His neck and creep into His Baptism.”<sup>8</sup>

But, decidedly as Luther insists that every dependence on good works shall be put aside when the question is raised on what we may found our worth before God, just as closely moral transformation is, for him, united with “faith.” And this moral transformation does not merely stand beside faith as a second thing which must be added to the faith; it is rather most intimately and inseparably bound up with it.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ego soleo, mi Brenti, ut hanc rem melius capiam, sic imaginari, quasi nulla sit in corde meo qualitas, quae fides vel caritas vocetur, sed in loco ipsorum pono Jesum Christum et dico: Haec est justitia mea.* (Dr. Luther's Briefwechsel, ed. E. L. Enders, IX. Calw and Stuttgart, 1903), 20.

<sup>7</sup> Erlangen Edition, Deutsche Schriften XIII., 2d edition, p. 67 seq.

<sup>8</sup> Erlangen Edition, Deutsche Schriften, XIII., 2d edition, p. 70.

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Luther tells in a sermon<sup>9</sup> how he always thought in the time before he went into the cloister: "Oh, when will you become righteous and do enough so that you will get a gracious God!" Luther sought *both* in the cloister: he wished first to become righteous and second to get a gracious God. He did not find either so long as he thought the first was the necessary condition of the second. But when he *sola fide* (by faith alone) had participated in the second, then he knew that just by that fact he had secured also the necessary condition for the first. And for his whole life Luther held fast to the belief that through just that faith which takes to itself God's unconditional gift of grace, man is born again in his inmost soul. The thought, as he puts it, is not hard to understand. "Good Works", he says in one place<sup>10</sup> "must be done with a happy heart and a good conscience toward God." Only this inner motive makes the works good, in his view. All good works must, therefore, as he once says, receive their virtue, as it were by loan, from the faith in which they are performed.<sup>11</sup> "Good works", Luther therefore often said, "do not make a good man, but a good man does good works."<sup>12</sup> And in order to bring out this thought Luther liked to cite the parable-like words of Jesus about the good tree which brings forth good fruit (Matth. 7, 17 seq; 12, 33). Faith—this is his opinion—faith that counts itself as nothing, that puts aside all thought of good works, that same faith is just the factor that "makes the tree good"; it creates the person that can do good works, the good man, renewed in heart, who has the capacity to "bring forth good fruit." To him who has understood this it will not be wonderful that Luther says that good works and faith can no more be separated from

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<sup>9</sup> Erlangen Edition, Deutsche Schriften XIX., 2d edition, p. 152.

<sup>10</sup> Sermon von der Reue (Erlangen Edition, Deutsche Schriften, XVI., 2d edition), p. 37.

<sup>11</sup> Sermon von guten Werken (Erlangen Edition, Deutsche Schriften, XVI., 2d edition), p. 124.

<sup>12</sup> For instance, *De Libertate Christiana* (Erlangen Edition, *Opera varii argum*) 4, 238.



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one another than burning and shining can be separated from fire.<sup>13</sup>

In the "Augsburg Confession" of 1530 and in its "Apology" this understanding of justification by faith alone has also found expression. Just that faith, which is nothing other than a reception of the grace of God, is here designated as the beginning of a new life<sup>14</sup>; and quite explicitly the "Augustana" says that the evangelical doctrine of faith shows how we are enabled to perform good works;<sup>15</sup> and the "Apology" declares: For that purpose are we justified that we as righteous men may begin to do good.<sup>16</sup>

Hence in the original Reformation-thinking on justification by faith alone, the two things, "to become righteous" and "to get a gracious God" are most intimately connected. The first is the consequence of the second. "Faith alone justifies", said Luther, "but it is never alone."<sup>17</sup>

Both could exist side by side because, and so long as, the doctrine of justification was dealing not with an objective theory about an act of God in itself, but rather with an assertion of faith about what God had wrought in the believer. For the faith which relies alone upon the grace of God cannot at the same time consider that it in itself is the beginning of the new moral life, the source of all good works; it is like the eye which sees, without seeing itself, like the humility and childlike single-heartedness which only exist so long as they themselves are not conscious of their own moral worth. Faith, as a function of believing man, and the conviction that one possesses good works that are of value before the holy God are mutually exclusive. Ob-

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<sup>13</sup> Vorrede zum Römerbrief (Erlangen Edition, Deutsche Schriften, 63, 125).

<sup>14</sup> Apologie III., 129 (Die symbolischen Bücher, ed. J. T. Müller, p. 130, 129).

<sup>15</sup> Art. XX., 35.

<sup>16</sup> Apol. III., 227. ed. Müller, p. 146: *Ideo justificamur, ut justi bene operari et obedire legi dei incipiamus.*

<sup>17</sup> In Gen. 15, (Erlangen Edition, *Opera exegetica*) 3, 305 and 306; compare Loofs, Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte, 4th ed. p. 765, note 3.

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jectively, however, looked at, as it were, from the point of view of God, faith and good works, faith and developing moral maturity, belong inseparably together.

Even Luther and Melanchthon themselves have not always mastered the difficulties which lie in the disparity between the subjective self-consciousness of faith and its objective condition<sup>18</sup>. That is very natural. "Doctrine" from all ages had been a framework of objective tenets. It seemed as though the "doctrine" of justification must be framed on that analogy. But then the danger threatened either that out of regard for the objective condition, *viz.* that faith is never alone, subjective belief would be stinted of the comfort which justification by faith alone offered; or else that out of regard for troubled consciences the objective condition would not come to its due.

It is, therefore, indeed excusable that in after-time the development of doctrine in the Lutheran field yielded to the second danger. Yet it is surely to be regretted. In the long contests over "the necessity of good works" men became less and less capable of perceiving that faith's subjective ignoring of good works is something different from their absence, and that their presence is something different from reliance on them. Even the doctrinal settlement which this contest attained in the so-called "Formula of Concord" of 1577 did not escape the perplexities of the matter. For where the Formula of Concord rejected the clause that none had ever been saved without good works,<sup>19</sup> it put itself, though that was far from its intention, in contradiction not only with Holy Scripture but with the fundamental conceptions of Luther as well. And Lutheran orthodoxy has remained in the paths of the Formula of Concord. The doctrine of justification lost itself more and more in "objectivity"; the doctrine of regeneration and

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<sup>18</sup> Compare Loofs, *ibid.* par. 79, 7; 83, 7c. Calvin has come out better with the difficulties, but it is not my task to examine that here.

<sup>19</sup> Epitome art. IV. *negativa* 1, ed. Müller, p. 533, 16.

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sanctification was put alongside of it; and the inner connection between justification and sanctification, though still recognizable to the scholar even in the orthodox systems, grew less and less clear. So the misunderstanding could arise against which Pietism directed itself, as if, in order to be righteous before God in time and eternity, nothing more was necessary than this, that one have "faith"; that is, that one accept the Biblical-ecclesiastical doctrine.

That the Lutheran doctrine of justification, so misunderstood, was and is sharply rejected by all non-Protestant Christians and by all non-Christians with solely ethical interests, is intelligible and—gratifying. For this is certain, that it is the ultimate purpose of the ways of God with us men, that we become new men, a people of His own possession, zealous of good works (Tit. 2, 14).

But who judges the water of a spring by the turbid wastage, exposed to all sorts of pollution! The fundamental beliefs of the *original* Reformation view of justification by faith alone do not merit this rejection; indeed, they must find acceptance with all men of ethical interests, disregarding for the moment the Catholics. Rightly understood, therefore, these fundamental beliefs can attract instead of repelling, unite instead of separating.

Every man of ethical interests knows that no outward work is good in itself. Even the greatest munificence toward the poor is not "good" in itself. If it is meant to divert public notice from the manner in which the giver won his riches, or if it springs from thirst for honour, it is morally objectionable. Kant says in the first sentence of his *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*, nothing in the whole world is truly good but a good will.<sup>20</sup> But how do we get it? Not simply by letting it be described for us by

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<sup>20</sup> Werke, herausgegeben von der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften IV., Berlin, 1903, p 393; Es ist überall nichts in der Welt, ja überhaupt auch ausser derselben zu denken möglich, was ohne Einschränkung für gut könnte gehalten werden, als allein ein guter Wille.

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Kant, by letting him stamp his "categorical imperative" on us. Self-seeking is in the blood of all men. How shall we get free of it? The doctrine of justification, rightly understood, gives the answer. For however many caricatures of faith are current in the world—and to the world belong under these circumstances even the churches and the religious meetings—this still remains true; a man who truly has *that* faith which, renouncing all individual merit, trusts itself wholly to the grace of God, that man can be master of self-seeking; indeed, he is already master of it at the decisive point.

For modern men this faith has, to be sure, something strange. It is the faith in the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake. And *sin* is an unmodern word. But the thing is there, although the word is unmodern. Yes, in the consciousness of modern men the thing is there. It is reflected in the lack of singleheartedness and in the host of introspections which press upon modern men. Thousands of men feel that they would advance morally if they could be emancipated from this constant introspection, self-criticism and self-reflection, if they could be free from their Ego. Faith, as understood by the Reformation, frees one from the Ego, because the man who has such faith unlearns to wish to be anything of himself. He relies only upon God's grace. And just that makes him fit for selfless, truly good action.

Just this, too, fills him with social conscience. For this is the foundation of an equality between men which embraces absolutely all: all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God, being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus (Rom. 3, 23, seq.).

Christian fellowship, also, rests more safely upon the basis of this faith than upon creeds and platforms. For if this is the one great thing, that we should become righteous before God by such faith—then what matters the strife over things on which salvation does not depend!

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Even toward those who do not yet understand the meaning of "for Christ's sake", and toward all who are yet far away, this faith works for tolerance and peace. For this faith is not a work of man; no man can inherit it, no man can work it out for himself through study, no man can purchase it through a *sacrificium intellectus*. It springs up in the heart when God's message of grace reaches men as *God's* message. All who have a really earnest purpose, all who know of moral aims and moral activity in themselves are on the path in which they can meet the truth of God if they will keep their eyes open. Yes, no one among us knows of how many among them is already true what the Master in Mark 12, 34, said of the Scribe: He is not far from the Kingdom of God.<sup>21</sup>

But can Roman Catholic Christians, also, comprehend justification by faith alone? That seems debarred by the position of the Roman Church against the Reformation doctrine. But here, as so often, one can see more than the seeming. The formulas of Catholic dogma on justification are certainly different from those of the Reformers. But post-Reformation Catholicism has in its teaching done away with many mediaeval things that were especially objectionable to the Reformers; and in the Middle Ages there were already theologians less objectionable than those of the end of the fifteenth century. If Luther had (as was not the case) really known Thomas Aquinas (died, 1274), whose authority is now much greater than in Reformation times, he would have been able to find points of contact with him. A later Lutheran thought it possible to claim Thomas Aquinas as a witness for the truth of Evangelical dogma.<sup>22</sup> That was, to be sure, a hopeless undertaking.

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<sup>21</sup> A fuller elaboration of this thought and of the foregoing paragraph is given in the essay cited above on page 38, note 5.

<sup>22</sup> Joh. Georg Dorsche, *Argentoratensis* (died, 1653) *Thomas Aquinas, dictus doctor angelicus, exhibitus confessor veritatis evangelicae Augustana confessione repetitae*, Frankfort, 1656.



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For according to Thomas belief in the grace of God in Christ, that is, the accepting knowledge of this grace, becomes efficacious assurance only through the supplemental love for God. That is still today the orthodox Catholic dogma. And the roots of the differing formulations go deep, deeper than it is possible and profitable to trace here.

But for Luther, too, right faith includes love to God, and Melanchthon in the "Apology" calls love an effect of faith.<sup>23</sup> In his Little Catechism Luther derives the fulfilment of all Commandments from the just fear of God and love of God,<sup>24</sup> while in many other places he describes faith as the power through which follows the fulfilment of the Commandments<sup>25</sup>. Hence, in his opinion, faith includes just fear of God and just love of God. And as for what the Tridentine Council says in contradiction to the (falsely understood) Evangelical doctrine of justification, that it is not a mere ceasing to sin but also the sanctification and renewing of the inner man<sup>26</sup>, Luther could have accepted that during the whole course of his life, and Melanchthon could still have done so at the time when he wrote the "Augustana" and its "Apology." Some theological training, therefore, is necessary to set forth without resort to ready-made shibboleths the differences which after all do exist between the justification doctrine of Thomas and the Tridentine Council, on the one side, and the thoughts of Luther, on the other. To a layman one could so present the thing that the difference would seem infinitesimal. And everyone who knows the limitations of our human conceptual power, especially in regard to the things of God, will be guarded against stressing over much the significance of variation in theological formulas. Even in the negotiations for mutual understanding during the Re-

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<sup>23</sup> Apology VII., 116, ed. Müller, p. 108.

<sup>24</sup> "Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, dass wir . . ."

<sup>25</sup> *e. g.* in the "Sermon von guten Werken" (Erlangen Edition, Deutsche Schriften, XVI.), 2d edition, pp. 118-220.

<sup>26</sup> Sessio VI., cap. 7.

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formation time formulas were devised for this very doctrine of Justification which in the judgment of many might have satisfied both parties!

Not to the dogmatics but to the piety of both camps must one look if he would measure how far-reaching is the possibility of mutual understanding. And here there has long been evidence that true Protestant piety, resting upon *sola fide*, can feel at home in high-thinking Catholic piety. The converse has also happened.

And here we have to do not only with experiences of the personal life which elude observation. What has been asserted can be demonstrated from historic documents. On the Evangelical side there is evidence in the judgments of Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, Tauler, Johann Schefler, Michael Sailer and others. For a kindred judgment on the Catholic side the same Bernard of Clairvaux (died, 1153), who knew some of Luther's thought on justification by faith, and Francis of Assisi (died, 1226) seem to give occasion. Let the latter only be briefly examined here.

Francis of Assisi, out of whose labours the Franciscan or Minorite Order grew, was certainly an orthodox Catholic Christian; those modern accounts which veil this modernize him. And yet not only has this simple-hearted follower of Jesus become dear to many Protestants who know precisely what the Evangelical faith is; but, even more, I believe his piety can also throw across a bridge for Catholics to an understanding of Evangelical piety, including the conviction of justification by faith *alone*. His oldest biographer relates that Francis once, at the time of the beginning of his new life, looking backward over his badly spent youth, repeated many times in prayer the words of the Publican: God be merciful to me a sinner (Luke 8, 13). Then, says the biographer, an unspeakable joy began to fill the inmost soul of Francis, *certainly* of the forgiveness of all his sins came upon him, confidence

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for a new life in the grace of God was given him.<sup>27</sup> Joy, joy in the Lord, was the undertone of his devotion. Did it spring from that consciousness of the forgiveness of sins, or from the knowledge of the many merits which the saint had earned for himself? Surely not from the latter! For to the question what he thought of himself, Francis once answered: "It seems to me that I am to a greater degree a sinner than any one in the whole world."<sup>28</sup> And that this was no mere phrase another story bears witness. Francis once declared that he believed if God had shown to a thief or to an unbeliever such goodness as He had shown to him, either of them would have been more truly devoted to God the Lord, than he.<sup>29</sup> Not upon the consciousness of his merits rested the joyousness of Francis. It rested upon the fact that he had experienced that which Luther calls justification *sola fide*, by faith alone. Francis was conscious that he had heard this from God: "Be glad and rejoice in your weaknesses and humiliations and be *as confident* as if you were already in my Kingdom."<sup>30</sup> To his companions he based his joy upon the fact that God, the Lord, had made him, His unworthy servant, while still here in this life of the flesh, *certain* of (his coming into) His Kingdom.<sup>31</sup> He knew, also, how to make his companions fit for such joyousness. Even in the late traditions they were still telling how he was able so to console Brother Rufinus that he "was afterward so convinced of grace and *assured* of his salvation that he became a wholly different man."<sup>32</sup>

We Evangelicals find in all this evidences of a piety which

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<sup>27</sup> Thomas da Celano, *Vita prima*, I., XI., 26, ed. Alençon, Rome, 1906, p. 29; *Infusa est sibi certitudo remissionis omnium delictorum et fiducia exhibita est in gratiam respirandi . . . , spiritu innovatus, jam mutatus in virum alterum videbatur*. Compare, *justificatus de peccato*, ibid II., I., 89, p. 92.

<sup>28</sup> *Speculum perfectionis*, ed. P. Sabatier, Paris, 1898, cap. 60, p. 110.

<sup>29</sup> *Speculum perfectionis*, ed. P. Sabatier, Paris 1898, cap. 45, p. 81.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. cap. 100, p. 196: *Ita secure te habeas ac si jam esses in regno meo*.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p. 197: *Dignatus est me indignum servum suum adhuc viventem in carne certificare de regno suo*.

<sup>32</sup> *Fioretti di S. Francesco*, ed. Luigi Manzoni, Rome, 1900, cap. 29, p. 98.

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is allied to Evangelical piety. Should it be impossible for a Catholic to pass similar judgment?

Perhaps this will be possible for him if he learns to regard the *justificari sola fide* (the justification by faith alone) as what it really is. It is not only—what is beside the point here—the basis of all genuine Evangelical dogmatics, it is the fundamental experience, the upholding consciousness, the daily inspiration of Evangelical piety. Now, so surely as we believe that in it we possess nothing apart, above all other true Christians, so surely may we hope that a true comprehension of this *sola fide justificari* will have wider reach than the confessional polemics of the last four centuries suggest.

# The Church of France Today

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In 1905 a new period opened in the history of the French Church: the civil power tore up the Concordat, and the Church was "separated" from the State. Concordatory government under one form or another had for nearly four centuries ruled the Church of France: the Concordat of Francis I. and, after it, that of Bonaparte had secured to the State certain prerogatives in the Church, to the Church an official position in the State. Suddenly, in the first years of the twentieth century it was felt that the concordatory edifice was giving way. The idea of "separation," proclaimed in the manifestoes of the Republican party since the end of the Second Empire, and relegated to the background by that party as soon as it had come into power, became a part of the government programme. This idea triumphed from the outset and its victory was a brutal one: the separation was not negotiated with Rome; it was effected apart from Rome, and without any deference to Rome; the treaty known as the Concordat which united France, as a power, with the Papacy, as another power, was not even officially denounced; a law amounting to a furtive abrogation of it was passed, that was all. It seems to be the fate of the Church of France to be obliged to repair some great wreckage at the beginning of nearly every century: at the beginning of the seventeenth, the ruin resulting from the religious wars; at the dawn of the nineteenth, the heaped-up ruin of the French Revolution; and since 1905 there has been the devastation consequent upon the almost complete dispersion of the congregations of men, the partial dispersion of the congregations of women, the law by which the Church lost the revenues of the *Pompes Funèbres*, and finally the Law of Separation.



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## I.

From time to time, since the year 1880, whenever the budget of public worship was debated, certain currents of malevolent and systematic avarice had been perceptible in the French Chambers. Some sections of the budget were entirely omitted, others curtailed. Notwithstanding these retrenchments—which, indeed, were not always in accord with the spirit of the Concordat—the Church of France was still receiving from the State, in 1905, an annual sum of 35 millions (\$7,000,000). A certain number of terminable pensions to priests over forty-five years old, who previous to 1905 had filled ecclesiastical offices with state salaries for at least twenty years; also 310,000 francs paid in subventions to former ministers of various religions and their families—this is all that remains in 1912 in the obligations of France out of the old budget of religious worship.

The archiepiscopal and episcopal residences, the presbyteries and theological seminaries (*grands séminaires*) were to be given up by their occupants within one year.

The parochial *fabriques* (boards for the maintenance of church buildings) and *menses* (funds for personal support of clergy) possessed 228,597,000 francs; the cathedral *fabriques*, 10,688,000 francs; the archiepiscopal or episcopal *menses*, the chapters and seminaries, 93,334,000 francs. Pursuant to the Law of Separation, all this property was to be transferred within one year to what were termed *associations cultuelles* to be constituted “in conformity with the regulations applying to general organizations of public worship,” and, should any question arise as to the legal composition of one of these bodies, the decision was to rest with the State. Rome judged that the rights of the hierarchy were not sufficiently safeguarded in the methods of operation of the *associations cultuelles*, Catholics were forbidden to form such associations, and the Church of France with silent and docile heroism gave up these 331,-

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000,000 to become the property of official eleemosynary and benevolent institutions. In this way nearly 50 millions of foundations for Masses, included in the total of 331 millions, were lost.

The homes and retiring pension funds for aged and infirm priests were valued at 19,123,000 francs. These 19 millions and even the 50 millions of foundations for Masses the State was willing to surrender to "approved ecclesiastical mutual-benefit societies"; but Rome suspected such *mutualités* of being *cultuelles* in disguise, the idea of forming them was abandoned, and thus the aged priests were in their turn plundered by the State.

All that the State left the Church was some use of the religious edifices—a use tolerated rather than legally defined. The *curé* in his church is an occupant under a precarious title: he is not a legal tenant, still less a proprietor. The question of repairs gives rise to frequent conflicts between the *communes*—the legal owners of these buildings—and the ministers of religion. The Church is not at home: the State has left her in her temples for fear the voter might be irritated at seeing those temples closed. That the bishop is turned out of his residence, the theological seminary out of its seat, that the *curé* does not figure in the budget, is a matter of indifference to the greater number of voters, or passes unnoticed; but the sudden closing of all the churches would have entailed the risk of a revolt, and the State took care not to run into any such danger.

Thus, so long as her temples stand, the French Church may continue as a mere resident, giving shelter to the ceremonies of her religion in these secular edifices: this, and no more, is granted her. And in this domicile, the tenure of which is so fragile, she is, strictly speaking, condemned to live in poverty from day to day. The Church is not a person before the law of the State; she has not the right to possess or to inherit; there is not in France at the

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present moment any legal means by which the Church can acquire a new patrimony for herself. A Catholic, who, dying, wishes to leave a certain capital for Masses, can only leave it to some particular person who shall in turn transmit it to another person. These transfers of property will be burdensome and it is possible that the heir may be one who will refuse to recognize the religious intention of the bequest. The Church of France is a ruined person whom the State refuses to consider as a person at all—to whom it denies the right to economize or to acquire—who, in point of fact, has not juridical existence.

Nevertheless the State says to the victim of woeful spoliation, afflicted with this form of *diminutio capitis*: You are free. And indeed she is free to build new places of worship without being obliged, as in the days of the Concordat, to ask leave of the State; free also to rearrange diocesan and parochial boundaries as circumstances may require; free, lastly, in the bestowal of spiritual offices—the bishop chooses his parish priests without reference to anyone; the Pope refers to no one for his choice of bishops. Anti-clerical *maires* are astonished to see new steeples rising within their jurisdictions: they thought that the Law of Separation would kill the Church, and in their innocence exclaim: “Here she is lifting her head; how are we to end this latest convulsion?” M. Briand answered one of these gentlemen, who was also a deputy: “You passed the Law of Separation, which guarantees freedom of worship.” This deputy had imagined that the Law would supply him with weapons against the Church at the same time that it plundered her, but, on the contrary, it disarmed him. It also disarmed the susceptibilities of the State in connection with the nomination of this or that bishop or *curé*. While aiming at vengeance upon the Pope or at his chastisement, certain of his adversaries who were suspicious of “Ultramontane influences” have, quite to the contrary, sanctioned and finally completed the full sovereignty of the Pope in

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the Church of France; and the very independence of that Church in regard to the State consecrates and finally completes her docility towards Rome.

### II.

How does she use for the good of souls the liberty which is thus expanding in superb impulses of obedience?

She approaches souls with a conquering gladness worthy to be noted and admired. Paris under the Concordat lacked churches: one parish like Notre-Dame-de-Clignancourt showed an aggregate of 121,000 souls; the limits of Sainte-Marguerite counted 96,000; those of Saint Ambroise, 90,000; Saint-Pierre-de-Montrouge, 83,000. In thirty-eight parishes of Paris the proportion of priests to inhabitants was notoriously insufficient,—only one priest to 5,000 faithful. Observers pointed out, moreover, the almost complete absence of practical religion in the suburbs of Paris, and in 1899 a priest inviting the attention of Catholics to “this China which surrounds Paris and numbers nearly 2,000,000 inhabitants,” concluded his appeal thus: “To say that there is nothing to be done, is to be wanting in faith; there is everything to be done. But too often we had to deal with government officials who applied the Concordat and manipulated it in a way hostile to the interests of apostolic work: where there was everything to be done, it was often difficult to do anything, and the erection of a chapel, still more a parish, met with administrative difficulties often insurmountable.

Seven years have elapsed since the Law of Separation, and some very precise data enable us to measure the expansive force acquired by the Church during that time in the single diocese of Paris. The Paris of 1912 contains nine more parishes than at the time of the separation, and these nine parishes comprise 250,000 inhabitants. These are imposing figures: they represent a population almost equal to that of the whole city of Bordeaux. In the

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country surrounding Paris in 1912 there are fifteen more parishes than at the time of the separation, and these together contain 215,000 souls. Lastly both in Paris and in the adjacent districts, twenty-four subsidiary chapels have been opened to meet the spiritual needs of 166,500 souls. Combining all these figures we shall find that more than 630,000 souls, condemned seven years ago to an almost incurable religious destitution, in a very short time saw God draw near to them and take up His abode near them. And this number of 630,000 souls is greater than that of all the souls in the city of Marseilles. Let us suppose the population of Marseilles just as it is, and let us suppose, for the sake of example, that for some reason all proximity to God were lacking there—we should be sadly surprised by such a deficiency. Seven years of Cardinal Amette, coadjutor and afterwards Archbishop of Paris, has been enough to fill up this deficiency. The task is not complete: some forty other parish boundaries are already sketched out on the surface of this vast diocese and the archiepiscopal authorities expect that, in five, or at most in ten, years, these forty additional parishes will be in working order.

These churches, these modest chapels, seem to be springing up out of the ground, and we see the faithful, little by little, coming to them. Here, again, figures are eloquent when we consider that these figures represent human souls. In one suburb of Paris, twenty years ago, but a single family was to be found willing to go the distance necessary to attend the services at a parish church a mile and a quarter away. Now 4,000 altar breads are used during the Paschal season in this same neighbourhood. In another neighbourhood in the outskirts the number of dying persons ministered to by the priest has been multiplied by five in the last four years and the number of first communions multiplied by six, thanks to the erection of a subsidiary chapel. It cannot be doubted that these dying



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men and women who are now beginning once more to hail the Church as a school of right dying, these first communicants coming to the Church as to a school of right living, are yet only the smaller portion of the vast masses that had become pagan, estranged from the Catholic apostolate by adverse circumstances. But an active, fervent minority, animated by the Spirit of God, is in itself a powerful agent to effect a popular change; and in the new parishes of Paris vocations to the priesthood may already be seen awakened. These ignorant masses, who see the priest coming to them, are gradually becoming familiarized with him: the Mass does not attract them yet, neither does Vespers, but if the priest projects upon a screen in his church some films showing the history of Christ, the crowds throng to this new kind of ceremony which they call picturesquely enough "the cinema Mass" (*la messe du cinéma*), and, for the first time, the Name of Jesus sounds in their ears.

Similar distressing conditions existed and still exist in many large cities of France, and the bishops more or less everywhere have set to work to apply remedies. The Church, it must be repeated, has no legal existence, and cannot become the legal owner of the very edifice which she constructs; therefore expedients have been devised by which God becomes purely and simply a tenant in these edifices. Generally speaking, the property belongs to stockholders. In the diocese of Paris these stockholders form two corporations (*sociétés anonymes*) which have rendered the Church precious service in acquiring and managing suitable properties, and which collect from the Church by way of rent four per cent interest on the invested capital. These are the subterfuges to which the Church of France is driven under the present régime.

### III.

Nowise discouraged, she labours to begin again from the foundation the work of christianizing the people. A

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Catholic Congress like that assembled at Paray le Monial in October, 1909, through the initiative of Mgr. Villard, Bishop of Autun, attests the present eagerness of the Church of France to adapt her methods of religious teaching to the spiritual needs of the various populations, and to bring to perfection what may be called the pedagogy of the Catechism. Examinations in religious instruction, such as those recently inaugurated by the Archbishop of Paris, are a very original institution: here we see the Church endeavouring to cultivate among the élite of her young people a high esteem for the intellectual element in the Catholic Faith, and arm them with religious knowledge for the conquests which it will be theirs to make. These examinations comprise no fewer than six grades. One year after the regular first communion the candidates may obtain, by means of this examination, the elementary certificate of religious instruction; next year, after twelve months of study the results of which are tested by a jury, they may aspire to a more advanced certificate. These are the first two degrees of the tests. In 1912 the first-grade examination was taken by 1,613 boys, of whom 1,121 were successful; for the second grade there were 596 candidates, of whom 414 passed. At the same session 1,126 girls obtained the elementary certificate; 493, the more advanced. The requirements of the judges are constantly increasing: the zeal of the candidates and the good will of their families indeed permit of a raising of the standard. While in 1911 the percentage of candidates who passed was 80, in 1912 it was only 67.

Those who hold the two certificates may next attempt a third round in the ladder, that of "elementary competition" (*concours élémentaire*) in religious instruction. The increased difficulty of the examination will be appreciated when it is understood that in 1912, among the questions set for the girls, were liturgical questions on the ceremonies of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, and his-

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torical questions on St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul and St. John Baptist de la Salle.

The "higher competition" (*concours supérieur*) in religious instruction, the next step, in 1912, opened to the young candidates still more vast horizons: they had to explain in their compositions how Jesus has proved that He is the Son of God, how the sacraments sanctify, what a miracle is, what a prophecy is; historical questions were asked on the Prophets and on the predictions which announced the Christ; they had to develop the series of acts and gestures which the priest goes through at the moment of consecration and then to relate all that the Church does for the dead, first in the house of the deceased, then before the altar, then at the cemetery. They were even invited to solve a little case of conscience, to test their dexterity as moralists; and, as a sort of challenge to the subtlety of these young theologians, they were interrogated on the cases where a sacrament of the living may become a sacrament of the dead, and a sacrament of the dead a sacrament of the living, but they were able to take up the challenge very neatly.

For the honours competition (*concours d'honneur*) the subjects given to the girls for composition were even more formidable. They were confronted with this hypothesis: "A Jew, impressed by the prophecies of the Old Testament, wishes to become a Christian, but is undecided whether to become a Catholic, a Protestant, or an Orthodox schismatic. He asks you for enlightenment. To convince him, how would you make use not only of the Gospel, but also of the Old Testament?" It is plain to be seen that the winners in this competition must be apologists. They were also asked to write upon the Biblical prophecies relating to the Blessed Virgin and on the various words spoken by Christ to His Mother, then to explain in what the development of dogma consists; again, to define the rights of the State in the collation of ecclesiastical benefices; lastly, to

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give the liturgical meaning of the ornaments worn by the priest at the altar.

To attempt such an examination one must be deeply interested in religious science. In 1912 thirty-two girls faced it, and thirty-one passed. The elementary competition produced 203 successes out of 379 candidates; the advanced, 85 out of 94. Still higher is the diploma *brevet* of religious instruction awarded by commissions which sit twice a year, stirring up the zeal of the young people of both sexes who desire to take part in the free teaching of the diocese. Last June there were no fewer than 250 candidates for this diploma, which attests that the holder has not only thoroughly mastered the difficulties of the Catechism, but also, and more particularly, has the capacity to become a good teacher.

Those who have passed the tests with the greatest success are given *mention d'éloge* and *mention très honorable*; their names echo under the vaultings of Notre Dame, and each of them receives a prize from the Cardinal's hands. Thus opens, in the Paris of 1912, an era of religious teaching which seems destined to be even more brilliant than that inaugurated by Abbé Dupanloup eighty years ago. Diligent attendance at the "catechisms of perseverance" was formerly attested by the handing-in of an "analysis" which reproduced either as a complete résumé or as an extracted portion the instruction given by the priest: in the production of these tasks mothers and governesses often had as great a part as the children, or a greater. But nowadays religious instruction appears to the young people of Paris as a science implying successive initiations of increasing difficulty, and demanding a personal intellectual effort which is certified by a jury. In the laïcization of the schools the State had hoped to wean away the intelligent classes from the Faith: what was the use of these things about which the teaching State had ceased to ask questions? But the Church has raised up examination rooms and examina-

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tions, and candidates come thither, and even come back again when they fail at the first trial; and from this seeding of young scholars a harvest of apostles will issue.

### IV.

At the same time the Church, availing herself of the articles of the famous Falloux Law still in force, maintains, to the extent permitted by the law and her resources, institutions of primary, secondary and advanced teaching. The law, forbidding all employment of members of religious congregations in teaching, has singularly hampered the Church's activity in this field. She still keeps up the struggle, however, and holds her ground more or less successfully. She seeks out, and often finds, secularized members of these congregations, or else lay persons of good will, to take the places of her Brothers and her Sisters. And these good people equip and organize themselves, and form combinations in such a way as to assure for private teaching a renewed prosperity under the new form which the law permits and circumstances compel.

The disbanding of the congregations was a severe blow. In these marvellous organisms, created with foresight by the old spirit of Christian charity, each individual can count upon all, and all upon each. Mutual aid in case of accident, of sickness, of old age—all this acted spontaneously in the congregations by the very fact that they followed the common life. Needs were restricted, expenses were limited; the individual's care for the future—for next week's bread and butter—did not intervene to slacken or confuse the impulse of self-sacrifice.

The Church of France is now provided with individuals who, under control, stand perfectly ready to teach independently of the State<sup>1</sup>; but what these individuals lack regarding the future is the personal security insured by

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<sup>1</sup>*Independently of the State*—the only possible way of conveying in English *enseignement libre*, which does not mean "free teaching" as we understand it (*enseignement gratuit*).—TRANSLATOR.



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embodiment in a congregation and the satisfaction of belonging to a corps which will sustain, support and protect them. In addition to this, teachers of this new kind, of both sexes, have, or may have, families to take care of; it is their duty to consider this and to do all in their power to make the remuneration of their work sufficient to meet these responsibilities. Hence a very considerable increase in the expenses of parishes and dioceses.

But the Church has looked the situation in the face without either discouragement or fear, and in the diocese of Paris, since the first of October, 1910, the profession of independent teachers has been well regulated. Salaries have been fixed, conditions of promotion have been established, even a system of retiring allowances is being organized. Our wish is that this occupation may no longer seem hazardous or precarious, that it may be adequately remunerated and crowned with an old age free from care.

Thus it is that independent teaching, which had been supposed wounded to death, seems to be facing the future with some confidence; precisely at the time when it was expected to have lost heart and to be well-nigh dissuaded from trying any longer to exist, it is seen to be making a fresh start in some dioceses through the initiative of the priest charged with the direction of independent education and the pedagogical conferences of all the clergy engaged in educational work. The diocese of Angers which has eight establishments of independent education was the cradle of this fertile innovation, and the year 1905 marks its point of departure. In 1905-06 the conferences were, in theory, occupied with the utility of pedagogy, the duties of the superintendent, the duties of the teacher and, lastly, physical education; practically, they considered in detail the means of eliciting in the children spontaneous acts of piety, methods of correcting exercises and the latest ideas of the teachers of gymnastics. In the programme of 1907 I find discussions on education in purity, on the superintendence

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of play-hours and on various systems of punishment. In 1908 the Abbé Crosnier, director of independent teaching in the diocese of Angers, induced all the priests occupied in that diocese with the mission of educating the young to meditate first before God and then among themselves on the means of developing the apostolic spirit and on how they must "idealize" every vocation in the eyes of the world. Another year, 1909, they had to turn their attention to the most efficacious tactics for communicating to their pupils the spirit of energy and the spirit of loyalty. Then, after a long discussion on these grave and absorbing responsibilities, they passed on to other problems, such as the number of examinations that may be held with advantage in the course of a school year, or the superintendence of movements when pupils pass from one exercise to another. In 1911, the subject of aesthetic training gave occasion to some valuable exchanges of views and an examination of the relations between the physiological condition of children and their education seemed to open up a way to new studies.

Who would suppose that these priests, discussing and labouring in this way, are persecuted men, uncertain of the morrow? They speak and work as if their teaching enterprises had a long future in prospect, and they are right. Their splendid effort constantly to increase their efficiency as educators cannot fail to conquer the world's good opinion. There is something touching in the serenity and calmness of this six years' experiment. And when we read, in the Abbé Crosnier's book, *A travers nos écoles chrétiennes*, the successive annual reports, in which the whole teaching body of a large diocese set forth their combined reflections, experiences and aspirations, we must foresee that, in spite of the most reasonable grounds for apprehension, this wish to live will perpetuate life.

The diocese of Arras imitated the diocese of Angers: it had its pedagogical conferences, and in September, 1911,

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it even had its "Pedagogical Week." Twenty young priests, destined by the bishop to enter the diocesan houses, were gathered at Boulogne-sur-Mer for six days to receive lessons and hints on their art from competent speakers. The Church was taunted with wishing to teach by divine right: without minimizing her right, without concealing any of it, she brings to its service all the resources of human technique. They haggled with her for the privilege of forming a teaching body; she replies by organizing centres of Catholic pedagogy in the name and for the glory of Him whom Clement of Alexandria, eighteen centuries ago, called the "Divine Pedagogue."

A chair of pedagogy has been established in the Catholic Institute of Paris, and it disputes with the materialistic psycho-physiology the monopoly of studies relating to the nature and the training of the child. And in this Catholic Institute, which since the Law of Separation has been able to keep a roof over its head only by burdening itself with a very heavy rent, we have seen within the last three years a complete system of teaching the history of religions called into being and placed in the hands of chosen specialists. With such things before our eyes, it would seem that the very poverty of the Church of France lightens her and adds force to her impulses—and her impulses are creative impulses.

### V.

For the Church of France remains a pauper. The resources which come to her from day to day and, if one may use the expression, from hand to mouth,—the only resources of which she can legally dispose—are still inadequate to her needs. The *denier du culte*, instituted in various dioceses to secure the support of the clergy and the expenses of keeping up the churches, meets with generous support everywhere; but the stress in many dioceses is still greater than the liberality which sustains it. In the cities this trouble is being obviated; out of the superfluity of

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the rich parishes the bishop can supply what is lacking for the life of the poor ones. But what is to be done in the predicament of some country parishes, isolated, lost in the depths of rural districts, where the *curé* receives only insufficient—sometimes ludicrous—contributions? Some bishops have tried the experiment of taxing every parish, but this only partially succeeded: in the diocese of Bayonne, for instance, 224 parishes furnish the contribution demanded of them by the episcopal authority, while 277 furnish it only in part. The Archbishop of Chambéry declares that he needs 60,000 francs more; the Archbishop of Auch lacks 40,000 francs. The Bishop of Le Puy, who calculates that 75,000 francs will be needed and warns his flock of it, obtains only 26,936 francs. And there is ground for alarm when we learn that in several dioceses the generosity of the faithful tends to slacken rather than to increase. The diocesan exchequers are far away from the people and the workings of them remote from popular observation; a certain slothfulness of spirit hinders thought; the faithful see that the Church is living, and, the spirit of parsimony doing its part, they come to believe that to live the Church does not perhaps need quite so much as they had at first intended to lay aside for her.

The Church of France sees the danger and calls attention to it, but without insisting on it too much. After all, these *curés* and *vicaires*, whom, in the concordatory period, a hostile press had represented as loving money, have taken a singular revenge on their detractors: without a murmur they have given up the 350,000,000 francs which the Church might have kept by accepting the *cultuelles*, and from day to day they are expecting some little casual remittance from the faithful, some subsidies from the diocesan office.

When we hear them utter a cry of alarm, it is not occasioned by the lack of money, but by the fewness of vocations. This is the danger that makes them anxious, the danger they are trying to repel. Immediately after the

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separation this danger seriously threatened; country families were too often turning their sons' thoughts from the priesthood which no longer enjoyed the prestige of public officialism or the benefit of an official salary. Expelled from her seminaries in 1906, the Church had hastened to re-establish in every diocese a house of studies for future priests: were these houses not to be filled? In 1910 the management of the *Alliance des Grands Séminaires* reported that since 1905 the number of seminary students had decreased by one-half. But the very confidence which the Church exhibits, the multiplication of posts occupied by her, the extension of her apostolic enterprises, are convincing the families most anxious for their human interests that the priesthood, in spite of the crises it has passed through, is assured of an enduring, even a glorious future. For the last two years boys have been crowding in greater numbers to the classes of the *petits séminaires* where they make their remote preparation for the priesthood. Until this generation of children shall have grown up the Church of France seems doomed to suffer heavily for lack of recruits; but the actual condition of the *petits séminaires* warrants the expectation of a mitigation of the crisis within a certain definite period.

### VI.

Coincident with this great dearth of money and of men, it is marvellous to see in France increasingly intense social activity on the part of the Church such as has never before been seen. The *patronages* for the training of the generation coming to maturity, are at the height of prosperity; added to these are the vacation colonies, where priests have the opportunity to associate with young souls for periods of some length. All this is new, and it is all developing profusely.

All the "*post-scolaires*" attempts of the State to play the part of rival are obtaining but very mediocre results. M. Edouard Petit, an Inspector General of Public Instruc-



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tion, publishes annual reports on these attempts, and the very optimism which inspires them lets an immense amount of uneasiness peep through their pages. Children whom certain *laïques* teachers had flattered themselves they had drawn away from priestly influence have been coming to the parochial *patronage* to seek that very influence.

The erection and the conduct of the *patronages* in the last fifteen years have given rise to a whole series of studies and numerous discussions in congresses. We have had "Patronage Days" when the Directors of the leading institutions for young people exchanged experiences and views; we have had exhibitions where visitors might closely examine by means of tables and statistics the arrangement, apparatus and progress of the *patronages*. A review has just been founded called the *Revue de Patronages*. Thanks to this initiative, the art of creating a *patronage*, of organizing it, of adjusting the responsibilities of the young people with due respect to them, the art of preparing for civic life and strengthening the germs of religious life, are on the way to become a true branch of pedagogy.

In many *patronages* a double training is aimed at: the apostolic and the associational. The Church trains these young men, on the one hand, to defend the honour and interests of the Faith among their fellows; on the other hand, to defend in the civic life, in the name of the Faith, the economic and social claims of their brethren. Thus is the young Christian's horizon enlarged in the *patronages* as they now are. "You must be a good man," his father or mother said to him when he left home, "and your future will be the gainer." But behold, in the long run, this young Christian finds himself swept on by good influences which are stronger than even the thought of his own future—a zest for religious activity, an enthusiasm for social usefulness.

In the *patronages*, too, vocations to the priesthood discover themselves; and some of the boys again take an inter-

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est in professional matters which marks them as destined to become excellent "leaders," in the best sense of the word, for the Christian associations of the future. Thus understood and thus operated, the *patronage* is not only an institution conducing to moral healthfulness, it forms part of our apparatus for the active spread of God's Kingdom.

A step higher are two institutions in which the Catholics of France find light and strength for their social activity. On one side the *Action Populaire* of Reims multiplies pamphlets on economic questions and on religious activities, and sends representatives to the different diocesan congresses to tell those who attend them of the social and religious tasks that have to be accomplished. In it we have a centre of great interest, rich in initiative; out of it all sorts of ideas swarm, and it equips men of good will to be at the disposal of Catholic enterprises. Here, in March, 1912, a meeting of priests from twenty-seven dioceses lasted eight days, with mutual enlightenment and comfort. Then, on another side, there are the *Semaines Sociales* (Social Weeks), which have been held annually since 1904, in some corner of France, thus parading from one end of the country to the other the teaching of Catholic doctrine on the social question and the teaching of Catholic methods for the relief of the masses. The year 1911 saw the inauguration, in the Lyons district, of the *Semaines Sociales Agricoles* (Farmers' Social Weeks), where some sixty young men, destined to become the leaders of social activity and representatives of Catholic ideas in their villages, assembled for instruction and exercise. The annual congresses of the Catholic Association of the French Youth, which numbers 120,000 members, always bring up some social question for study: in 1912, the question was that of organization of professions. Certain diocesan organizations, particularly in Paris, at times set themselves a social programme: the question of the housing of the labouring classes, for instance, occupied the congress of 1912. The parochial com-

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mittees already formed in many parishes of the capital are invited by the Archbishop to study the social conditions of their respective neighbourhoods and thus collect for him materials for a social map of Paris.

The poor *curés*, isolated in the remote country districts, and fairly excusable if they are saddened by the sight of the decay that has come upon the practice of religion in many rural population, find grounds for hope when they witness from a distance all these original efforts bringing young and splendid energies together. As for the sectaries hostile to the Church, they are alarmed at these things: they see the Church, whom they had thought to cut off from civil society by proclaiming her separated from the State, —they see her, on the contrary, bending with ardent charity, in a spirit of the most exacting and precise justice, over the economic miseries of the society in which she lives, and which God calls her to lead.

The social work of the Church of France thus reopens to her influence the depths of the laic world. They had thought to exile her from that world by a law: by a course of social action, the spirit of which is defined by the Gospel, and its main lines traced by the pontifical teachings, she has resumed her place in the light of day. Sometimes we speak of the "*curé* of the Concordat," so easily treated as a State functionary, in contradistinction to the "*curé* of the Separation"; the latter is a newcomer, utterly careless of earthly interests, indifferent to political contingencies, concerned only to be at the disposal of the throng, as the servant of God's servants. And the glorious thing for the Church of France is the thoroughly apostolic ease, the glad disinterestedness, the joyous and fruitful energy with which the "*curé* of the Concordat" has transformed himself into the "*curé* of the Separation."

PARIS.

# Reforms of Pius X

BY THE REV. JOHN J. WYNNE, S. J.,  
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In August 1912 Pope Pius X entered on the tenth year of his pontificate. He had come to the Conclave from Venice, where as cardinal and patriarch he had spent nine years after a similar term as Bishop of Mantua. In both places he had devoted his labours to the improvement of mental and spiritual life in the seminaries, to the religious instruction of adults as well as of children, to the development of social works, to the formation of Catholic Congresses, and to the restoration of religious worship by the reparation of church edifices and insistence on proper liturgical chant.

Faithful and efficient though his services had been as priest, prelate, and patriarch, for forty-five years, outside of Austria, he was little known except in the dioceses of Treviso and Mantua. He was an obscure ecclesiastic to the world at large, in which his predecessor had been a central luminary. Very naturally those who had come to recognize, not without some admiration, the salutary influence of Leo XIII on public opinion in matters beyond the spiritual and ecclesiastical domain, expected, if not hoped, that his successor would be one identified with his policies, or, like him, alive to the importance of meeting the issues of the day, of applying the teachings of the Church to the needs of the times, of adjusting its external organization and discipline to suit its own new relations with governments, of calming the unrest of the masses, and of enabling Catholics, lay as well as clerical, to take their due share in popular movements without sacrificing, the one, the reserve proper to their calling, the other, the allegiance owing to ecclesiastical authority or loyal adhesion to the doctrines of their faith.

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There is no denying the disappointment, feigned or sincere, which followed the announcement of the election of Pius. He had been only a parish priest, a bishop of an unimportant, if at the time troublesome, diocese, a patriarch, it is true, but in a jurisdiction so preëminently Catholic that there had been no opportunity for him to handle problems, face situations, direct movements such as were familiar to Catholics elsewhere at the dawn of this century. What now would become of the diplomatic policies of the Vatican, especially with the nations once Catholic which were for breaking their Concordats with the Church? Were Catholics to lack the inspiration they had begun to find in the encyclicals of Leo on Government, Labour, Education, Reunion of Churches? As usual the press, which had learned to exploit Leo's messages, was apparently more keen and mistrustful in this matter than Catholics themselves.

The new pontiff was not slow to announce his message, and characteristically the announcement came with a simplicity, a directness and definiteness, which have been emphasized by all subsequent messages, showing that from the start Pius X has had but one thing in view, the one purpose of his soul, he terms it, to reëstablish all things in Christ; and to that he has made everything else subserve.

This first message dated 4 October 1903, was delivered in the form of an encyclical letter. As in every document that has come from Pius since, comparatively little space is given to establishing a doctrine or a principle—these are taken as granted by the members of the hierarchy to whom such letters are usually addressed; but the chief space is given to practical suggestions and directions. The principal means by which the Church must endeavour to reëstablish all things in Christ is the proper formation of the clergy, by carefully selecting the candidates, by training them strictly in the seminaries, by directing them in the first exercise of the ministry, by safeguarding them against



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rationalism, by showing preference for those who keep up interest in their studies without losing their zeal in active ministry. The one maxim he gives for priests already advanced in their calling is to influence their people by charity, and, especially when preaching, to avoid bitterness, needless controversy and everything severe or sharp. As the laity must also have their share in this reëstablishment of all things in Christ they are exhorted to help bring it about both as individuals and as members of organizations, seeking to influence others more by example than by words.

When issuing this Encyclical Pius X had doubtless in mind many things that would promote Christian life. Indeed, we shall find him frequently referring to this his first message when recommending other salutary practices. For the time he confines his attention to the one thing paramount in his opinion for the welfare of religion, a pious, learned and zealous priesthood. To this he constantly reverts with a particularity that is traceable to his own days as rector and spiritual director of the Seminary of Treviso.

In a letter to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, 5 May, 1904, he insists on a four years' study of theology for all the seminarians in Rome prior to ordination to the priesthood and on residence in one or other of the seminaries there for all who are studying theology, even for priests, who with permission of their bishops come to make special studies. Residence in some ecclesiastical college, not a seminary, will not do. This is followed up by an instruction to the same Cardinal, 16 July 1905, requiring all who are to be ordained in Rome to submit to an examination which is to be determined by the Vicar. A few months later, 2 March 1906, he enjoins that the study of Scripture be pursued throughout the course of four years; that it be so divided as to have all cover the entire ground of scriptural study during the course, and also that some be set apart for advanced studies in the subject. It was chiefly for the

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purpose of providing such special or advanced courses in the city of Rome that the Pontifical Biblical Institute was founded by Pius X.

No detail of seminary life escapes his attention either in the scheme of studies, or in the matter of discipline. At his order a programme of studies was issued by the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, 5 May 1907, for the Italian Seminaries, wherein a notable regulation was that the studies preparatory to theology proper must conform to the course prescribed by the government in public or secular Latin and High Schools. Already, 22 December 1906, he had warned those in charge of seminaries against receiving readily candidates who had been in other seminaries, especially if they had been dismissed. Again, 28 July 1906, he appeals to the Bishops of Italy to see to it that their seminarians be trained in obedience; that liberalism in matters of doctrine be discountenanced; that the number of those they ordain exceed not the needs of their dioceses; that the time of the seminarians be spent at their studies proper, and that light or impertinent reading, especially periodical literature not bearing on their studies, and most of all rationalistic publications, be not admitted; that seminarians and priests also be urged to cultivate preaching, and to devote their sermons to the Gospel, not to subjects fit for the theatre or rostrum.

Finally, his latest letter on this his constant theme, 16 July 1912, based on the report of the last Apostolic visitation of the seminaries, testifies to the fact that his exhortations have already borne fruit. This letter, reviewing and confirming as it does most of the prescriptions previously made by Pius X, may be regarded as setting forth his ideal of a seminary for Italy. It must not however be thought that in all these provisions for seminary life in Italy, the Pope has overlooked other nations. On the contrary, what is substantial in all these documents is of general application. No doubt, owing to political conditions in Italy, and

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to circumstances by which the local seminary had in many places come to provide secular as well as ecclesiastical training, there was greater need of reform there; but there was and always will be room for improvement everywhere in this vital element of religion, and it is evident that Pius X considers it the most far-reaching interest of his pontificate.

Perhaps when directing most of his injunctions on seminary reform and improvement to the bishops of Italy, the Pontiff had in mind a motive which he had urged upon the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, when directing him to see that the churches of Rome observe the *motu proprio* on sacred music. It was fitting, he remarked, that this reform should begin right at home, in order that Rome, the city of so many colleges, and the centre visited from everywhere, should set an example to the rest of the Catholic world. In this Pius was again only repeating what as a parish priest, bishop, and patriarch, he had attempted to the best of his ability against the abuses that had prevailed so commonly in this matter. So far as external worship was concerned it might be said to be the only abuse. In all other respects, in the observance of the ritual, in the offering of the sacrifice of the Mass, in the attendance of the faithful at the same, as also at other public ceremonies, there was nowhere in the Catholic world any serious complaint to consider. Time and again the predecessors of Pius X had issued directions for reforming abuses in the chant admitted during liturgical services, never without some result, but yet never universally observed, partly on account of the unsettlement of the times, partly because of the serious technical difficulties in the way, but chiefly because of the enormous difficulty in restoring a traditional chant which had been interrupted by the suppression of its original monastic centres and by the revolution after revolution in the countries in which it had been most cultivated. Even after Pius X had issued his *motu proprio*, 22 November

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1903, reiterating it in a special manner to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, 8 December, 1904, and after the differences of opinion had been cleared up, to many it still seemed as if the Pope's action had been premature, since the very instruments for carrying it into effect, the *Graduale* and *Kyriale*, for instance, were not yet forthcoming. Still it was all important that abuses should be stopped at once, instead of letting them grow; it was all important, too, that the prescribed reform should be announced as of the Pope's own personal as well as official motion. As with the seminaries, so also with the chant, Pius X repeatedly has come back to the subject, and, if his ideal has not yet been universally attained, at least one rarely now, if ever, has to listen to the travesty on religious music that had grown fashionable in many places before his famous *motu proprio*.

In line with the reforms in liturgical chant were the changes in the number and observance of the principal feasts of the Christian Calendar year, and the new arrangement of the psalter in the Roman Breviary, the former again by a *motu proprio*, 2 July 1911, the latter by an Apostolical Constitution, 1 November 1911. For the sake of uniformity among the faithful in different countries, and in view of the exigencies of modern life, particularly among those who live by their daily wages, Pius X lessened the number of days which the faithful had been obliged to observe as days of precept, and should these or any patronal feast which is observed as of precept in any place fall on a day of fast or abstinence, he dispensed with these obligations.

Uniformity was again an object in the new arrangement of the psalter in the Roman Breviary, as well as economy of time, by reducing the number of psalms to be recited especially on Sundays when priests are so busily occupied throughout the day; but the chief purpose was so to distribute the psalms over the days of the week, and so to

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increase the number of ferial days that as a rule every priest reciting the office would read most, if not all, the psalms each week. This is a return to ancient usage, which had gradually yielded to the increasing number of minor feasts occasioning frequent repetition of certain psalms, antiphons, versicles and hymns, to the almost entire exclusion of those for ferial use. As the Mass of each day must conform to the Divine Office, provision has been made to return to the use of earlier days so far especially as the Sundays and ferial days are concerned.

In thus rearranging the Divine Office, it should be noted that, while referring to the Vatican Council for the origin of the suggestion to bring about this reform, the Holy Father goes back centuries for the model of the new psalter in the important particular of having the psalms so distributed that as nearly as possible they may all be read each week. In like manner in providing for the spiritual welfare of the laity he goes back to the very origin of Christianity, and by the decree of the Congregation of the Sacred Council, 20 December, 1905, he reëstablishes the discipline dating from Apostolic times, the practice of frequent Communion among the laity, a practice never entirely abandoned, but lost sight of at various periods, as for instance, when the abuse of benefices resulted in neglect of the daily Mass; when the troublous time of the Reformation made the custom extremely difficult and often impracticable; or when Jansenism introduced a spirit at variance with proper reverence for the Holy Eucharist. This decree was soon followed by another, 15 August 1910, insisting that the year for the first communion of children be not deferred beyond the time they are capable of discerning between right and wrong, and of understanding the august nature of the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

Already as early as April 15, 1905, Pius had dwelt, in an encyclical letter, on the need of teaching Catechism as a means of overcoming indifference in matters of religion.



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Against the ignorance which causes this he bade pastors and priests generally, but especially preachers, to labour by setting forth in the simplest manner the truths of Christianity, by establishing Catechism classes in their parishes on Sundays, and special classes preparatory to the Sacraments of Penance and Confirmation, taking every day in Lent, and, if necessary, after Easter also, to train children for their first communion. The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine is to be established in every diocese with branches in every parish; adults are not to be overlooked, nor children attending schools in which there is religious teaching. Catechism is recommended as a powerful antidote to the social unrest and disorders now so prevalent.

Chief of all the disorders threatening the human race is the desecration of the marriage tie by the spread of divorce. To simplify the Church's regulations in regard to marriage, and at the same time to safeguard the integrity as well as the sanctity of the matrimonial contract, Pius X in the decree *Ne Temere*, 2 August 1907, has applied to the entire Church legislation which, though meant to be of general application, has hitherto been considered as of special or local attention only. This decree determines the formalities that constitute betrothal, removes as far as possible the danger of clandestinity, lessens thereby the possibility of marriages that are invalid because of some impediment nullifying the contract, and safeguards the contracting parties from hasty and ill-considered unions that too often terminate in separation or divorce.

Other acts and documents of Pius X might be adduced here by which he attempts to provide for the spiritual welfare of the faithful and preserve them from many evils attacking the very life of human society. They are interesting as showing how, while following his own initiative, as we have described above, he has never lost sight of the pontifical acts of his illustrious predecessor. It reveals a

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striking continuity in the papacy, of lines of conduct, or policies, as some regard them, as well as of succession. Within five months after his elevation, 18 December 1903, Pius X issued a *motu proprio* on Social Democracy, or popular Christian movements, especially in Italy. It is really an analysis and reiteration of the famous Encyclicals of Leo XIII on this subject, among them the *Rerum Novarum* and *Graves de Communi*. He bids those in charge of such movements to eliminate politics, to organize or rather unite these movements in an Association of Catholic Congresses. He enjoins on all who write on these matters, to do so with charity, to stand for harmony, to avoid terms that might offend the poor. In this sphere, while striving to perpetuate what Leo had done, he was consistent again with his own course when Bishop in Mantua and later when Patriarch in Venice. Nor did he stop with words. When through neglect of his advice the Congresses were dissolved, he at once brought about by his encyclical, 11 June 1905, a new organization for popular, economical and political works, so constituted that all branches must work in harmony.

It is however in the supreme task of his pontificate that the continuity of the papacy stands out most clearly. In condemning Modernism, or rather in stamping it out of the Church, he has only brought to a conclusion a task long ago begun by Pius IX and continued by Leo XIII. The movement and doctrines which in our time have been designated as Modernism can be traced back to the Liberalism against which Pius IX contended, and to the many erroneous theories, socialistic and doctrinal, against which Leo XIII issued his splendid encyclicals. It was only in the last years of Leo XIII that these tendencies and theories began to claim a theological basis and to acquire a more or less systematic form. Although shortly after the election of Pius X rumours were rife that these errors were to be condemned, it was not until 17 April, 1907, that this

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was intimated publicly by His Holiness in an address to the new Cardinals. From this date one pronouncement after another has followed in rapid succession, some doctrinal, most of them disciplinary, but all of them unmistakably plain in what is condemned, and just as plain in the reasons given for the condemnation and in the doctrines inculcated. Chief among these pronouncements were the decree *Lamentabili*, 3-4 July 1907, a syllabus of 65 modernistic errors; the Encyclical Letter *Pascendi*, 8 September 1907, the first and only thorough systematic statement of the tenets of Modernism and their refutation in detail; the *motu proprio*, *Sacrorum Antistitum*, 1 September 1910, containing specific directions for carrying out the prescriptions of the *Pascendi*, and for safe-guarding seminarians and students in religious congregations against modernistic errors. Since the advocates of these errors had acted deceitfully and cunningly in trying to disseminate them, a form of oath reprobating such tenets was prescribed for all who in any capacity exercise ministries which might afford an opportunity for inculcating these false teachings.

While thus actively engaged in providing for the purely spiritual life of the Church, Pius X has not been idle in its administrative affairs. Here again it is to be remarked that his zeal begins at home; in fact, with his own office and with his own immediate hierarchy and assistants. Scarcely was he made Pope when he ordained that thereafter in the election of the Roman Pontiff the veto of any civil power should not be recognized or invoked. By his appointment, an apostolic visitation of the dioceses of Italy was begun; the work of the special Commission appointed by Leo XIII to reorganize the Roman Congregations was completed, and its results promulgated, 28 June 1908; new arrangements were drawn up for the election of bishops and for their visits *ad limina*, and for the removal when necessary of parish priests and the holders of benefices, 2 July 1910; the Vicariate of Rome was entirely reconsti-

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tuted; the official gazette of all the transactions of the Roman Curia, the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* was published 1 January, 1909, and has since appeared twice a month. Indeed these and other enactments are only a portion of the task of adapting canon law to present conditions, preparatory to a complete codification of the Law of the Church, for which a special congregation was appointed as early as 19 March, 1904, the work having already so far progressed as to be now undergoing final revision.

Before entering, therefore, on the tenth year of his pontificate, Pius X has already brought about all these changes, improvements—reforms to use the word in its best sense—in the training of the priesthood, in the liturgy, in the spiritual formation of the laity, in the preservation of sound doctrine, and in the administration of the affairs of the Church. In all this, it appears that he has been working out a definite programme, giving prominence, of his own initiative, to measures which he had promoted as priest, bishop and cardinal, but continuing also the work of his predecessors. He has not been satisfied with teaching; he has also enacted laws, and with all vigilance and energy he has seen that they are observed. Although as a rule his ordinations have so largely originated with himself that characteristically he has issued so many of them in the *motu proprio* form, it is not to be inferred that he has acted on any occasion arbitrarily, simply exercising his supreme power without deliberation and consultation with his advisers and the aid of his Congregations—not to mention other instances in point, the codification of Canon Law has been submitted to all the bishops in the Church, now over 1200 in number. It is this extraordinary power of presiding over such vast, world-wide, deliberations, and of taking into his counsel the thousands who are to be his adjutants in carrying out his measures, that wins the confidence and ready obedience of clergy and laity.

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Howsoever one may estimate the value of the enactments of Pius, surely no one can deny that they are constructive in the best sense, in that they have preserved in its integrity what the Church regards as the deposit of faith; brought Pontiff, hierarchy, clergy and people into the closest union; expedited the routine business of the Vatican; enhanced the beauty of the liturgy; strengthened religious knowledge; and magnified in the eyes of the faithful the three great sacraments—Matrimony, Holy Orders, and the Holy Eucharist.



# Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland

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In this article it is proposed to give an account of the history and the present position of the movement towards the reunion of Scottish Presbyterianism. The subject is of interest, not only to Scotland, but to a world-wide confraternity of Churches which acknowledge the Scottish Church as their mother, which have inherited her religious and ethical spirit, and which have closely followed her model in the matter of doctrine, constitution and worship. Still more particularly are these concerned with her efforts in the direction of union, since the story of Presbyterianism in the English-speaking lands beyond the seas was largely a reproduction of the divisions and conflicts which had taken place in Scotland, while on the other hand it is partly owing to the later aspirations and example of the Presbyterians of the Dispersion that the trend towards union has grown in strength in the Presbyterian home-land.

The modern period of the Scottish Church—dating from the Revolution Settlement of 1690—falls into two sub-periods marked respectively by a centrifugal and a centripetal tendency. During the first of these sub-periods, extending from the close of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a series of conflicts which broke up the old Church into numerous divisions and subdivisions. In the nineteenth century there began a process of re-consolidation (of good augury for the success of the present conferences) which if completed would have the effect of gathering the main body of Scottish Presbyterians

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into a Church that would be substantially national in reality as well as in name.

### I.

After the Revolution Settlement of 1690, which gave the Church a fresh start with a Presbyterian polity and the Westminster Confession, there was practically "one face of the Church" in Scotland. Two inconsiderable minorities only stood outside out of the settlement—a body of Episcopalians, and a Cameronian remnant which regarded it as a heinous sin of omission that the Covenants had been dropped from the national testimony. By an Act of 1712 the Episcopalians acquired a legal title to worship God in their own way, and in 1743 the Cameronians were sufficiently equipped to organize a Reformed Presbyterian Church Court. The *fons et origo mali* was the action of the Parliament of 1712 in passing a measure which, in opposition to the spirit of the Revolution Settlement, and in face of the strong protests of the Church of the day, restored to lay patrons the right of presenting ministers to vacant charges. The Church at large would have been content to vest patronage in the heritors and elders—subject to some check from congregation and Presbytery, but a zealous minority held that the matter lay with the congregation by divine right, and they gave effect to their protest by seceding, and eventually forming the Associate Presbytery. Within this Original Secession controversy soon broke out as to the lawfulness of the oath taken by burghesses, with its implied approval of the existing establishment of religion, and in 1747 the conflicting parties separated into the Burgher Associate Synod and the Anti-Burgher Associate Synod. Certain ministers of the National Church continued to feel scruples about settling a presentee in opposition to the will of the congregation, and in 1761 another group of ministers, who had been driven out after collision on this point with the Church Courts, were in a position to form the Relief Synod. A generation

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later the Secession Church underwent further subdivision. In 1799 the Burgher wing gave rise to two new sects known as the New Lights and the Old Lights—the schism being due to a different estimate of the functions of the Civil Magistrate. In 1806 the Anti-Burghers subdivided over the same issue. With the new century the evangelical party gained the ascendancy in the Church of Scotland; and as evangelicalism and popular sympathies went together, the Church conceived a fresh antipathy to the Patronage Act, and sought at least to limit the evils by a re-assertion of the ecclesiastical power of government in a matter of spiritual concern. In 1835 the Assembly passed the Veto Act, which instructed Presbyteries in dealing with a presentation to give effect to the opposition of a majority of heads of families. The same Assembly enacted that ministers of chapels should be advanced to equal status with parish ministers. These Acts being held by the Civil Courts to be *ultra vires* of the Church as by law established, the conflict issued in the Disruption, in which 451 ministers renounced their connection with the state-allied Church, and carried with them a large proportion of the best of its membership into the Free Church of Scotland.

Before the period of disintegration had come to a close the work of reunion had already begun. In 1820 the two main sections of the Burghers and the Anti-Burghers were amalgamated in the United Secession Church. In 1847 the latter combined with the Relief Synod to form the United Presbyterian Church. In 1839 the minority of the representatives of the Original Secession—the Old Lights—had as a whole rejoined the pre-Disruption Church. In 1876 a considerable number of the descendants of the Cameronians joined the Free Church. By far the most important episode of the re-constructive movement took place in 1902, when the two main streams of Free Churchism came together to form the United Free Church of

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Scotland. This was not accomplished, however, without some further schism. In connection with the passing of the Declaratory Act, which gave a certain measure of doctrinal relief to the modern intellect, there took place a small secession from the Free Church which is identified as the Free Presbyterian Church. The Union of 1900 was bitterly opposed by a small minority of Free Churchmen who succeeded in the Law Courts in making good their claim to the name of the Free Church, and also to as much of the property as their Church could prove itself capable of administering and utilizing.

The spirit of unity meanwhile was also asserting itself in the policy of the Church of Scotland. It got rid of patronage in 1874, and it was not unnatural for it to suppose that, with the disappearance of the institution which had been the occasion of all the divisions, the way had been paved for the return of the denominations to the original communion. But it soon appeared that a measure which would have been more than sufficient to avert the divisions was insufficient to heal them. The United Presbyterian Church had come to stand for the view that the root of the evil was, not the emergence of abuses in the Establishment, but the very existence of a State-tie. The Free Church distinguished between the occasion of the Disruption and the underlying principle, and did not find that the situation had been materially changed by an act of the State which implied, equally with its former acts of oppression, that it fell within its province to legislate in the affairs of the household of faith. The Church of Scotland was not supported by these Churches in its efforts to get rid of the ancient incubus of patronage, and when in 1878 it invited them to a frank and friendly conference with a view to reunion, the invitation was courteously declined with a reference to conflicting ideals. As they had not yet managed to unite with one another, it was entirely reasonable that they should regard the solution of this problem as

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their prior duty. After the Union of 1900, and the settlement of the material troubles which it brought upon the United Free Church, it was believed by the leaders of the Church of Scotland that the time had come for renewing the overtures of conciliation. It is true that there were circumstances which made it seem a rather hopeless undertaking. For nearly twenty years there had been a Dis-establishment campaign, to which the non-established Churches had given their official support, and the struggle had inevitably done more to rouse angry passions than to foster brotherly love. On the other hand each had had a sufficient measure of success or failure to make it possible to negotiate with dignity: the United Free Church could say that the Liberal party had taken up the cause, and the Church of Scotland could point out that they had failed to evoke hearty popular support for the agitation. From the point of view of the Church of Scotland there was at least this to be said for her position, that she had abundantly prospered whether because of or in spite of her connection with the State, while recent events had shown that the position of a voluntary Church in relation to the State was not wholly satisfactory. Above all it was felt that the divisions were a cause of scandal and a source of weakness, and that the social and religious conditions of modern Scotland made it a duty to see whether it was not possible to consolidate the joint-resources of the Churches in a stronger institution which would more effectually undertake the service of God in the service of the Scottish people. The leader of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Scott, of St. George's—following on important pioneer work of Dr. Mair—brought an overture before the General Assembly of 1907 recommending that the United Free Church be invited to a conference on the situation with a view to a settlement. In what follows we shall trace the course of events so far as they have been disclosed in public documents and in resolutions of the General Assemblies.



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### II.

The overtures to the General Assembly suggesting a Conference with the United Free Church did not lead to immediate action, as it was felt that the situation was one of extreme delicacy as well as gravity, and that it required to be handled with the utmost deliberation and circumspection. The Committee, however, to which the matter was remitted, decided to recommend that the business be proceeded with, and the following invitation was addressed to the other Presbyterian Churches.

"The General Assembly resolve to request the other Presbyterian Churches to confer with them in a friendly and generous spirit on the present ecclesiastical situation in Scotland; and more especially in the meantime, with a view to discover in what manner a larger measure of Christian fellowship and co-operation than now existing may be secured, and the way further prepared for that closer union for which many hearts now eagerly long and pray."

In its acknowledgment the United Free Church declared it to be her duty "to meet with ready and serious consideration proposals in the direction of Reunion consistent with the principles of her spiritual freedom." A Committee was appointed to consider the invitation, and the Assembly exhorted the faithful people of the Church to continue in prayer for the guidance of the promised Spirit of God.

This Committee having reported in 1909, the General Assembly of the United Free Church expressed its gratification at the communication from the Church of Scotland, but declared itself "unable to entertain the suggestion that conference on Co-operation offers the path best fitted to lead to Union." At the same time they declared their readiness "to enter into unrestricted conference with their brethren of the Church of Scotland on the existing ecclesiastical situation, and on the main causes which keep the Churches apart in the earnest hope that misunderstandings and hindrances may be removed, and the great object of Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland thereby advanced."

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The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on receiving this reply, could not insist on putting in the forefront the provisional policy of co-operation, and contented itself as regards this point with recording its thankfulness for the large measure in which the spirit of fellowship and co-operation already prevailed. For the rest it accepted the form of words in which the United Free Church had defined the scope of the Conference, and expressed its hope that the goal of reunion would eventually be reached. Committees to confer, consisting of 100 on each side, were thereupon appointed by both Assemblies.<sup>1</sup>

During the subsequent twelve months a preliminary survey of the ground was made by two Sub-Committees. The work of this year was purely educational, and hardly entailed any greater advantage than that members were familiarized with the point of view and the difficulties of the conferring Churches. The identical report which was presented to the ensuing Assembly was somewhat colourless, but it contained two significant features. It gave an indication of the earnest purpose of the Conference by putting in the forefront a weighty statement on "the ecclesiastical situation" which had the significance of a powerful appeal to seek for union as a condition of more effectually coping with the spiritual needs of modern Scotland. It further stated that there was a large measure of agreement as to the nature of such freedom as inherently belongs to the Church, and as to the matters to which it applies, and that noteworthy agreement as to

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<sup>1</sup>The original Conveners of the Church of Scotland Committee were Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod and Lord Balfour of Burleigh. On the lamented death of Dr. MacLeod he was succeeded in the Joint Convenership by Dr. Wallace Williamson of St. Giles. Dr. Henderson of Crieff, and Dr. Robson, formerly of Inverness, were the first Conveners of the Committee of the United Free Church, and on the death of Dr. Robson the vacant position was taken by Dr. Young. Rev. Mr. White, of the Glasgow Barony, and Professor Martin, of the New College, have acted as Clerks to the Conference. The record of the personnel would be incomplete without a reference to the veteran Dr. Mair, and to the work of the Procurator, Sheriff Johnston, to whose "genius" the Conveners have publicly ascribed certain salient features of the constructive policy of the Church of Scotland.

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principle had even been found to prevail on the subject of the national recognition of religion.

The deliverances of the 1910 Assemblies were couched in terms which were eminently sympathetic and hopeful in tone. The Assembly of the Church of Scotland recorded its satisfaction at the frankness and cordiality of the proceedings, and was willing to believe that some progress had been made. The deliverance of the United Free Assembly was similarly phrased, except that it urged that a completed report should be presented, if possible, to the next Assembly. In accordance with these findings the Committees were re-appointed.

On the resumption of the Conferences in 1910-11 it was decided to continue the deliberations in full meeting of the Committees, and the discussion proceeded to range over the same ground as before. It became evident that real progress had been made when the Committees attempted to crystallize their views and proposals in view of the approach to the Assembly. When the joint-report for presentation to the Assemblies took shape it disclosed a remarkable approach on the part of the Church of Scotland to the Free Church position regarding spiritual freedom. It was indeed made clear that the Church of Scotland repudiated the notion that it had betrayed the principle of freedom by entering into and maintaining its compact with the State, but it recognized that union was impossible unless the United Free Church claim of unfettered spiritual action was accepted as the proper application of the principle, and an undertaking given to seek to embody this provision in the future constitution of the Church.

The definition of its attitude towards spiritual freedom was given by the United Free Church in the following terms:

"That the principle of the Church's Spiritual Freedom, in subjection to Christ alone is fundamental:

"That by the Spiritual Freedom of the Church is meant that the Church has received her powers of spiritual government from her Divine Head; that

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she is exclusively responsible to Him in her exercise of these powers: and that she must, in loyalty to Him, discharge her spiritual functions in His name, and by His authority alone:

"That these powers are given to the Church in matters spiritual only, to be exercised for spiritual ends over those freely uniting themselves to her, as spiritual persons to be subject to her in the Lord: and do not extend to civil affairs."

The pronouncements of the Church of Scotland in vindication of her past included the following:

"On the general subject of Spiritual Freedom, it was stated by the representatives of the Church of Scotland that they hold, as a fundamental principle, the spiritual freedom of the Church; that the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of His Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of the Church officers, distinct from civil magistrate; and that she has always claimed and possesses the inherent right to exercise the powers God has given to the spiritual office-bearers in the Church concerning discipline, doctrine, worship, and government.

"On the other hand, it was pointed out that it is illegitimate to confound the religious principle of spiritual freedom with the ecclesiastical policy of separate action, according to which it would seem to be unlawful for the Church to exercise its spiritual powers in any form of arrangement with any external authority. It was pointed out that the emphatic assertion of spiritual freedom made in the Westminster Confession is not incompatible with the acceptance by the Church of certain restrictions upon the separate exercise of her inherent powers. The principle of spiritual freedom is not felt to be contravened by these restrictions, inasmuch as the special relations with the State have been voluntarily entered into for good and wise ends, and can be voluntarily relinquished.

"It was further stated that it has not been felt by the Church of Scotland that her inability to take separate action in certain matters has entailed serious disadvantage to her work, or that it has carried with it any sense of subserviency or humiliation. The establishment of the Church in Scotland is based upon a series of Statutes of the Scottish Parliament. These Statutes the Church regards with satisfaction in so far as they secure the recognition of the Reformation by the State, the acceptance by the State of the Presbyterian Constitution which the Church had shaped for herself, the recognition of a Spiritual Freedom larger and in a more satisfactory form than is enjoyed by any other Established Church in Protestant Christendom, and the advantages of orderly and friendly relations with the State."

The constructive policy of the Church of Scotland was introduced and set forth as follows:

"At the same time it was recognized that the United Free Church, in view of her history, and of her different conception of the practical bearings of the common principle of Spiritual Freedom, regards the existing Constitution of the Church of Scotland as a main cause of separation. The conviction was repeatedly expressed that the difficulty is removable: and (although the Church

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of Scotland is not conscious of any real hardship or practical limitation arising from her present relation to the State in the fulfilment of the whole commands of her Divine Lord and Head) that in the circumstances of the present day, and for the sake of reunion she is prepared to seek, and recognizes the expediency of procuring, the recognition of powers of separate action which would be a practical satisfaction of the conception of spiritual freedom entertained by the United Free Church, and would, at the same time, be quite compatible with the historic position of the Church of Scotland.

"The following points were emphasized in the course of the discussion:

"(1) The Church of Scotland would, it is believed, approve of a fresh declaration of Spiritual Freedom being embodied in the Constitution of a reunited Church in such comprehensive terms as would include all matters spiritual, always consistently with the Word of God and in fidelity to the substance of the Reformed Faith, being the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith contained in the common Standards of the conferring Churches. This freedom would include the power of the Church to modify the Constitution under the conditions laid down in the Constitution itself.

"(2) The United Church must be free from all external authority other than that authority of the State in matters secular from which no institution or individuals can exempt themselves, and of which no State can effectually divest itself. The relations of the State to the Church must not be such as to limit the spiritual freedom of the Church as defined and claimed in her own Constitution.

"It was also suggested that, should negotiations reach the stage of framing a basis of Union, the Constitution referred to, having been framed and agreed to by the negotiating Churches, would be acknowledged by Parliament as the Constitution of the Church of Scotland to be reconstructed and reunited on that basis."

Reference should also be made to the test that had previously been essayed as to the measure of agreement in principle by the formulation of propositions on the relation of spiritual freedom to creed. The following resolutions on this matter were adopted in conference:

"The supreme Standard of faith and practice is the Word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

"It is an inherent right of a Church to frame or adopt her subordinate Standards, to declare the sense in which she understands the same, to modify them from time to time, and to define her relation thereto: always in conformity with the Word of God, and with due regard to the liberty of the individual conscience.

"And it ought to be recognized as the right of a Church, as she shall see cause, to exercise the above power, in conformity with the safeguards for deliberate action and legislation provided by the Church herself, without any external interference.

"The aforesaid freedom is maintained by the Churches now in conference in fidelity to the substance of the Reformed Faith contained in their common Standards, and in order to secure their living and effective testimony to the same."



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On the second main subject of the National Recognition of Religion the representatives of the Church of Scotland initiated the discussion by an exposition of their standpoint. After laying down the general principle that a nation has the special duty of paying national homage to God in acts and provisions directly expressive of the national faith, they expressed the opinion that in Scotland the most effective and satisfactory form in which this could be given effect to was by the continued recognition of a Protestant and Presbyterian Church as representative of the life of the nation. Reasons were given for conserving for a reunited Church this national function and character. The four propositions which follow were formulated as a general description of the national character as now possessed by the Church of Scotland, and which they desired to retain, subject to such modifications as were agreed on in the interests of spiritual freedom.

“(1) That the reunited Church shall be recognized by the State as national, bearing the name of The Church of Scotland, preserving her identity with the Church of the Reformation and the Revolution Settlement as contemplated in the Treaty of Union, and exhibiting a national testimony to the Christian faith.

“(2) That she shall be recognized as a Church undertaking a provision of religious ordinances and pastoral care co-extensive with Scotland, and adapted to the territorial distribution of the population.

“(3) That the Courts of the Church shall continue to be recognized by law as possessing a separate and exclusive jurisdiction in matters spiritual.

“(4) That the ancient endowments shall be conserved for the United Church in order that, with necessary readjustments, they may continue to be used towards the support of religious ordinances under a territorial system.”

In addressing themselves to the same subject the United Free Church representatives expressed their adhesion to the principle of national religion, but indicated other ways than the establishment of a Church in which it could be given effect to. The opinion was indicated that the most satisfactory way in which the State can recognize the Church is to guarantee to it freedom of action in the spiritual sphere, and it was added that this should be accorded to all Churches. They further said that the State-connection had been responsible for much damage and division,

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and that many of the former provisions were unsuited to modern conditions. They welcomed the conciliatory statements and constructive proposals of the Church of Scotland, but they were not prepared to discuss their merits until they should have assumed a more definite form.

This document was sent up to both Assemblies as a joint-report. The General Assemblies adopted deliverances in almost identical terms, expressed gratitude that so excellent a spirit prevailed, and that the cause of Reunion had been advanced, commended the reports to the earnest attention of the whole Church, and re-appointed the Committees to watch over the matter and report in the following year.

During the ensuing year the Conferences were suspended, but an important step was taken by the Committee of the Church of Scotland which in the month of April communicated to the other Committee a Memorandum along with a covering letter. The purpose of this memorandum, which was outlined by Sheriff Johnston, was to enable the United Free Church to appreciate more fully the nature of the constructive policy previously sketched by the Church of Scotland, and to map out the possible course of legislation. The essential points emphasized were that the Church should proceed to shape a constitution in consistency with the accepted ideal of spiritual freedom, though always on the footing that "the constitution should contain nothing inconsistent with the claim of the United Church to recognition by the state as national." The scope of the powers of the Church in relation to doctrine, and the lines within which it could alter its constitution, would depend on the provisions which it might resolve to embody in the constitution. Thereafter this self-imposed constitution would be recognized by Parliament as the constitution governing the Church's exercise of its spiritual powers and defining the sphere of their exercise. The re-united Church would not find that the special State rela-

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tions, which it had been sought to maintain, interfered in any way with the freedom which was claimed in its own constitution.

While seeking to conserve the national character of the Church of Scotland, the Memorandum renewed the expression of the hope that other Churches might be given an improved status in the eye of the law, and suggested that there should be a statutory disclaimer of any exclusive claim of the Church of Scotland to recognition by the State in Scotland as a Christian Church.

The attitude of the Church of Scotland towards the ancient endowments was defined in the following paragraph:

"The Church of Scotland maintains that the endowments are to be conserved for the United Church, and will go forward in the matter of Union only upon the footing that the United Free Church and the Government of the day, which is to make itself responsible for the necessary legislation, accept the position that the endowments are not to be secularized. But the details of the manner in which the ancient endowments are to be dealt with under the new conditions must be entrusted to a strong and sympathetic Parliamentary Commission."

The Memorandum next outlined a suggested course of ecclesiastical and Parliamentary procedure which would follow upon the drafting of an agreed constitution for the reunited Church. Upon this followed a sketch of the preamble of a Bill. In this preamble the object is declared to be "to remove any obstacle which present law may be deemed to place in the way of the union" of other Presbyterian Churches with the Church of Scotland; and the governing conditions are re-stated, that the continuity of the Church as national will be preserved, that its spiritual freedom will be guaranteed in the general sense of the United Free Church, and that the endowments will "continue to be devoted to religious uses, and to the maintenance of a territorial ministry throughout Scotland." Suggestions were also made as to the scope of the contemplated Parliamentary Commission. In a concluding para-

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graph it was suggested that there might be a declaration that the recognition of the Church of Scotland as national should not be construed "to the prejudice of the recognition by lawful authority of any other Church in Scotland as a national Church protected by law in the exercise of her spiritual functions."

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland expressed its approval of the action of its Committee in transmitting the above Memorandum to the representatives of the United Free Church, and the Committee was re-appointed to continue conference. In the deliverance adopted by the United Free Church Assembly it was stated that it had received the Memorandum with cordial appreciation of its far-reaching importance, and with a recognition of the obligation to give deliberate and sympathetic consideration to its contents. The Assembly re-appointed its Committee with instruction "to regard as a primary question how far agreement is possible on the subject of State-relationship in harmony with the principles of the respective Churches."

### III.

At the present juncture of affairs it would obviously be improper and unwise to add much to our narrative of the march of events, and of the development of the Conferences. It may, however, be allowable, in as objective a way as is possible for a representative of the Church of Scotland, to touch upon some of the difficulties which emerge in the effort to find a satisfactory basis for the reunion of the two Churches.

1. The most hopeful feature of the situation is that there is agreement in principle as to the nature of the spiritual freedom which is to be asserted and claimed for a reunited Church. There are, it is true, differences of opinion in the Church of Scotland as to the extent to which spiritual independence, as it has been interpreted by the

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United Free Church, is desirable or practicable. The Church of Scotland has repeatedly declared that, although it has certainly restricted its power of separate action through its compact with the State, it is not conscious of this as entailing any bondage in present circumstances, inasmuch as there is nothing of great importance that it desires to do which it is prevented from doing by the state-connection. It is not desiring, *e. g.*, to make a new Confession, and it is therefore no hardship to be unable to try its hand at the task. As regards the future, there are those who think that a measure of freedom is no gain, but rather a source of weakness and danger, which would leave a Church theoretically free to move away from its allegiance to the fundamental doctrines of the Reformed Faith. And yet again, it has still to be ascertained whether the State would recognize the claim of any Church, whether established or non-established, to alter to any degree that it might think fit, and with immunity from all supervision and control, the content of its constitution. Upon those points there is the possibility of disagreement, though happily there are views which mediate between the extremes. On the head of doctrine the United Free Church zealously affirms its loyalty to the substance of the Reformed Faith, and it might well agree further that the revision or replacement of the Confession should only be undertaken by an Oecumenical Council of the Presbyterian Churches. But the important thing to be observed is that the stage at which these important matters will be threshed out will be the stage—if it be reached—at which the Churches will try to frame their future constitution. The important matter is that there is unanimity that the constitution which the State will be asked to recognize will be that which it will have had no hand in framing, but which will come before it as the result of the spontaneous exercise of the Church's own mind upon the task of finding the best combination of the essential and the expedient.



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2. The question of the relations of a reunited Church with the State confessedly presents difficulties. The latest instruction of the United Free Assembly, as we have seen, is that the attention of its Committee in conference should be primarily directed to the subject of State-relationship, from which it may be gathered that the issues raised under this head have not been fully formulated and explicated. The difficulties which are felt at this stage on the side of the United Free Church seem to be mainly two—Is the maintenance of a State-connection compatible with that ideal of spiritual freedom which it regards as the *sine qua non* of a settlement? And can it be maintained consistently with brotherly consideration for the rights and the well-being of other branches of the Christian Church in the land?

(a) As regards the first of these questions it is important to observe that the properties and limitations of an Established Church are a very varying quantity, and that they come into collision in very varying degrees with the theory of the spiritual freedom of the Church. The establishment of the Lutheran Church, and also of the Anglican Church, entails such a measure of subjection to the State as to make it appear to the German and the Englishman that state-interference is of the essence of the connection. But the Church of Scotland, even as at present constituted, possesses the reality of liberty over a very wide realm of spiritual action; and it cannot reasonably be maintained that the carrying of the process of detachment a stage further would be out of accord with the essentials of the position which she has throughout claimed to occupy as the national Church. On the general question, there is conclusive evidence that establishment is not necessarily inconsistent with spiritual freedom, in the fact that the Church of Rome has frequently entered into alliance with the State, but has never admitted—unless in the case of a temporary *concordat* with France, that she assented to any

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limitation of the free exercise of her inherent spiritual powers. There does not, in fact, seem to be a compelling reason why state-connection should involve the state-control of a Church, any more than that the system under which a State embraces Universities in the machinery of its public life requires it to interfere with the teaching of literature, or with the cultivation of science and philosophy. It may also be said that there is little likelihood of the State desiring to govern the action of the Scottish Church in regard to spiritual matters, except perhaps to provide that as a National Church it must continue to occupy the ground of Protestantism. It should be added that the Church of Scotland will be satisfied with the measure of Establishment which would survive from its historic past and its present position after those statutes or statutory provisions have been repealed which are found to be inconsistent with the new policy of unfettered spiritual action. It deprecates the attempt to frame new definitions of the Church's relation to the State.

(b) The second main question, as has been said, is whether the state-recognition which is contemplated would involve injustice to other Churches. This question is approached by different minds from different points of view, and there is naturally a somewhat grave conflict in the consequential judgments. The point of view from which it is approached by the Church of Scotland is that our highest criterion of right in the matter is regard for the honour of God and the welfare of the people of Scotland; and that it is the duty of the nation to glorify God by maintaining a national testimony to the national faith, and by recognizing, and in a sense employing, the one adequate instrument that is available for the spiritual well-being of the whole population of Scotland. It is admitted that in the circumstances of other countries, such as the United States and the British Colonies, it would neither be desirable nor practicable that the State should select one Church to testify

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its faith and second its ethical mission; but it is contended that each country must be guided by its own conditions and traditions, and that in Scotland the Presbyterian Church occupies a position in which it is providentially marked out for this useful and honourable national function, and in which it can discharge it without injustice to any other. If the question be approached from the point of view of the rights of other Churches it undoubtedly seems plausible on grounds of equity that they should be allowed to compete for support and for opportunities of service on absolutely equal terms. At this point it is evident that we come upon an antithesis which grows out of arguable differences of opinion as to the function and the obligations of the State. How far is the State to be regarded as a collective personality, and how far is it entitled and bound to assume religious and moral responsibilities, and to recognize and avail itself of the best machinery which lies to its hand for promoting the highest good of the whole? It is now common ground that toleration must be granted to any society that calls itself Christian, provided that its doctrine and discipline do not work out in lawlessness, or to the detriment of the moral life of society. But it is another question whether it is the duty of the State, irrespective of historical traditions and of actual conditions, to take up an attitude of thoroughgoing neutrality towards all forms of religion, and all sections of the Christian Church. In a new country it may be eminently reasonable to make a prolonged experiment as to the social value of different types of religious faith and ethical theory under conditions of perfect equality of opportunity, while yet the eventual outcome of the experience may be that one Church emerges as so fully expressive of the collective faith, and as capable of rendering so signal service to the higher life of the people, that it is in the interest of society to own it as in a special sense the national organ of religious faith and ethical culture. Even in those coun-

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tries which start from the basis of natural rights and equal treatment for all, it is observable that special recognition and support came to be accorded to particular types of education and medical science, and that there are minorities that have to content themselves with mere toleration on the ground that they have failed to convince society of the equal value of their contributions. Applying all this to Scotland, it does not seem unjust that, in the light of its protracted experience and of the creations and lessons of its past, the State should recognize a reunited Church as capable of serving a unique function which may well seem appropriate to the highest conception of the State, *viz.*, of serving as an organ of national testimony to the national faith, and also of a spiritual service co-extensive with the needs of Scotland. Consistently with this it may well labor for a better status for other Churches which are Churches indeed, and thus pay its tribute to the complementary conception of justice.

3. It may seem surprising to the outsider who studies the published documents of the Conference that so little prominence has been given to the question of the endowments of the Church of Scotland. The view that seems to have been taken by the United Free Church is that the disposal of the slender patrimony of the Church as by law established is of minor importance, and that if an agreement could be reached upon the great subjects of spiritual freedom and the national recognition of religion there should be no difficulty in agreeing upon the financial question, or of acquiescing in the arrangements which might commend themselves to a benevolent Parliament. Even those who take the view that the endowments are national property, which ought to revert to the nation, must recognize that the Church of Scotland would not be dealt with, in the event of Disestablishment, less liberally than the Welsh Church; and that on these terms it would, as the Church destined to serve the great majority of the people,

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retain for Scottish Presbyterianism almost the whole of the endowments which have hitherto been used for religious purposes. From the point of view of the Church of Scotland the question comes into the region of principle. It regards it as an important part of the national recognition of religion that this ancient provision should continue to be guaranteed by the State for religious uses, while it also has a profound feeling that the destination of these endowments to secular objects would be an act with a sacrilegious taint, and of more than doubtful blessing to the community at large.

It thus appears that the difficulties of the situation resolve themselves into this: Can the Church of Scotland seek and secure the measure of spiritual freedom which practically satisfies the ideal of the United Free Church, and on the other hand can the United Free Church accept as much of the State-connection as will in substance conserve the national recognition of religion in the form of the national recognition of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland?

Upon the advantages of the reunion of the Presbyterian Churches it is unnecessary to enlarge, except to say that it would give to Scotland a Church in which complementary gifts, graces and traditions would be blended in an unusually rich and complex whole, it would fashion an instrument for coping more effectually with the conditions of modern Scotland, and last but not least it would avert a new and inflamed period of political and ecclesiastical passions. There are, indeed, real and very considerable difficulties, but where there is a will there is usually a mind to discover a way out; and the bulk of the evidence goes to show that the general mind is bent on union, and that leading and intelligence enough are at its disposal to effect something at once conservative and new and satisfactory in adjusting the relations of a truly national Church to a modern State.



# The Awakening of American Protestantism

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The difficulties which the Protestant churches of America face are without precedent. The population of America is not homogeneous as in European countries and our great cities are becoming aggregates of communities, in some cases numbering hundreds of thousands, whose members were born in Europe or even Asia. This influx of foreign-born people has displaced the original population of older cities and as a result Protestant churches have all but abandoned down-town regions. When one recalls that these foreign people carry with them their own religious traditions and institutions, it is by no means strange that Protestantism should have made slow progress among them. The Jew, Italian, Pole, Greek or Slav who becomes a convert to Protestantism breaks not only with his religious past but with his social status. The difficulty which faces Protestantism in such conditions is not likely to be appreciated by the ordinary student of social conditions. To him (or quite as likely to her) the sale of down-town Protestant churches, the decline of church membership in quarters like lower New York or the inner West Side of Chicago, seem to argue a collapse of Protestantism.

A merely statistical study of the rural churches has been made to yield similar forebodings. And indeed it would be easy to point to many a farming region in which old-time churches are empty. But here again, although there is abundant ground for concern over religious conditions, the causes lie deep in social and economic changes due largely to a shifting of population.

In reality, however, American Protestantism, taken in

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the large, so far from being decadent is renascent. Although for a variety of reasons it is too early to see this awakening clearly in statistics, Protestantism is growing steadily, despite the fact that in certain states like Massachusetts its relative growth is less than that of the Roman Catholic church, with its enormous gain from immigration. The real awakening of American Protestantism is inward and is best seen through its rapid readjustment to the new conditions in the midst of which it finds itself. If the past ten years of exhortation, criticism and illumination had produced no such result there would be good cause for alarm. As it is, whoever will study these inner changes will be impressed with the new vitality of Protestantism and be convinced that in America it holds the strategic position for performing those functions which are most loudly demanded of organized religion.

### I.

(1) Chronologically speaking, the awakening of American Protestantism dates from the rise of the scientific attitude in biblical study and theological thought.

Such an awakening was inevitable the moment thought touched the presuppositions of theology. In the history of theology there have been only two really creative epochs. The first was that in which the Christian Messianism of the early church was rebuilt, under the influence of the "essence" philosophy of the Graeco-Roman world, into what became in the fourth century Catholic orthodoxy. The second is our modern age in which the real content of the Gospel is being rethought in the terms and under the influence of evolution and democracy. Compared with the changes involved in this theological reconstruction, the refurbishing of Latin theology by the reformers seems almost trifling. In the presuppositions of his theology, in his use of political analogies and the "essence" philosophy, John Calvin was as remote from the religious

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thought of our modern world as he was fundamentally at one with that of Augustine. Orthodoxy in the historical sense of the word, whether it be Greek, Roman Catholic, or Protestant, was the creature of the first creative epoch. To such orthodoxy the philosophical thought of the ancient world is as determinative as the evangelical material it shapes. What shall be the outcome of this second epoch will be determined by Protestantism. And when the epoch has closed, the nascent scientific theology will have done for its age what the work of Irenaeus, Origen, and the other ante-Nicene teachers did for theirs: it will have legitimized religious belief by the use of the social presuppositions and the thought-forms of our modern world. But, unlike the Nicene age, the next epoch will not be again that of a new authoritative orthodoxy. For the days of authoritative religion, except as a survival, will have passed.

American Protestantism enters this creative epoch in two main divisions, the line of cleavage being determined by hostility to or sympathy with the general trend of modern scientific methods and conclusions.

On the one side are earnest Christians who, in the spirit of Tertullian, repudiate all efforts at re-thinking Christian faith and prefer a bald literalism in the treatment of the Scriptures. The theological teaching, if such it may be called, of the various Bible Institutes which have grown up in Chicago, New York, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and other cities is frankly opposed to anything like critical thought. To them even so moderate a position as that of Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible is repugnant. This literalism carried to extremes, has given rise to such movements as that of Dr. Dowie, the "Holy Rollers," the "Millennial Dawn," "the Church of the Nazarenes," and various Pre-millenarian groups, many of which tend towards, even if they do not practise, faith healing. It would be untrue to say that these movements are lacking in significance as far as the conventional morality of the individual is con-

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cerned, but they are frankly anti-modern, hostile to evolution and all its implications, endeavouring as far as possible to reproduce the extreme messianic elements which the primitive church inherited from the apocalyptic literature of Judaism.

Over against these sects one sees the truly representative Protestantism of America. Its method of religious thinking is becoming scientific rather than dogmatic or literally biblical. Of course, such a statement is subject to large modification and a strong accent must be laid upon the word "becoming," for there are still thousands of non-sectarian Protestants in the American churches, particularly in the Lutheran groups, who cannot believe that a thing is theologically true unless it be theologically orthodox. None the less the trend is indisputable. Religious thought is increasingly swayed by the spirit of research and those men who have thought through their evangelicalism to its foundations are becoming ever more influential among the intelligent Christians of the country.

Particularly is this true in the case of biblical study. While American Protestants are not yet as generally committed to the high critical positions as are those of Great Britain, the historico-critical study of the Bible is much more in evidence today among Protestant clergymen than twenty-five or even ten years ago. Heresy trials like that of Dr. Briggs will never again shake the great Presbyterian body, and it is doubtful whether the Methodists of the North would depose from his teaching position another Professor Mitchell. At all events, such questions, when precipitated by some champion of extreme orthodoxy, are pretty generally settled in committees without disturbance. The words "heretic" and "orthodox" are tending to pass into disuse except as modes of repartee. "Destructive" criticism is of course widely assailed, but "constructive" criticism is increasingly approved even by church officials. One has only to look at the output of theological books to see how

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widespread the acceptance of scientific methods of Bible study has become. Even in Sunday School manuals these positions are frankly albeit cautiously taken, although in great denominations like the Methodist and Baptist, not without protests from the conservative. Every Protestant theological seminary which makes any pretence to more than strict denominationalism is teaching the composite nature of the Pentateuch and Isaiah and the synoptic Gospels. Since Dr. Green's death there has been no worthy champion of anti-criticism in America. The literature which his successors circulate, as a rule, is rhetorical rather than convincing. The real issues are now seen to be theological and not biblical.

This approaching triumph of a conservative historico-critical method means an end of the atomistic use of the Bible developed by the Protestant scholasticism of the seventeenth century. True, American Protestants like British Protestants have not reached a generally accepted method of using the Scriptures in theology; but they are reaching a pretty general consensus as to how not to use them. In this change of attitude and method in biblical study there is being laid among the leading theological thinkers a foundation upon which to erect an evangelicalism that shall embody not a theory about the Bible but the actual religious experience and ideals which are recorded in the Bible. In brief, American Protestantism, in its constructive tendencies, is abandoning the formal legalistic principle of Protestantism as organized in the seventeenth century and is utilizing and appealing to the normative worth of the Christian experience that gave birth to Protestantism and the Bible itself.

(2) A similar transition is being made in the use by our Protestant thinkers of the findings of physical and biological science. The significant thing here is not that theology has fully assimilated scientific results, for such a condition is impossible as long as scientists themselves can-



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not tell us with unanimity just what results theology should use. Are we, for instance, to follow Haeckel and Loeb or James and Kelvin? Is Darwin, Weismann, or DeVries to define biological evolution? But technical scientific knowledge is not the vital matter for theologians. The main issue is whether they are ready to ground religion in something other than a cosmology that has been outgrown and a world-view which, except in treatises on theology, has followed ancient civilization into archaeology and histories of philosophy. And at this point a gratifying progress is observable. The last few years have been marked by an increasing open-mindedness on the part of the American Protestants. True, there are those who still boast of the "collapse" of evolution, but a man may now be known as an evolutionist without running the risk of being branded by his peers as an infidel.

Such a development has been due doubtless in a large measure to two causes: the entrance into church life of young men and women who have been trained in the modern scientific point of view, and the historico-critical treatment of the Bible. American, like German liberal Protestantism, is decreasingly hampered by any fear lest religion itself shall suffer from reality. One seldom hears any discussion regarding the seven creative days. Protestants are coming to feel that, whatever interpretation may be placed upon the opening chapters of Genesis, the final word as to the origin of our solar system will not be uttered by the theologian but by the astronomer, the physicist and the chemist. Seeing the impossibility of grounding religious thinking on dogma and having at the same time adopted scientific methods in investigating religious problems, American Protestantism finds itself freed from many of those anxieties which disturbed it a half-century ago when Mr. Ingersoll could be regarded as a veritable Anti-Christ.

True, the task of theological reconstruction is but be-

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gun. The majority of Protestants in America are still Hebraic in their world-view and monarchists in their theology. The best theological schools are undoubtedly in advance of the large element of our church membership which is untrained to think in other than inherited words and concepts. It will take at least another ten years to bring our business men to see that they know less about theology than do properly trained ministers. But, to appropriate Professor Dewey's keen remark as to philosophy, the problems of theology are not answered; they are outgrown. And the new type of theological instruction in pulpit and Sunday School is steadily shifting interest from metaphysics to psychology. It is headed neither toward Unitarianism nor Nicene orthodoxy. To it the entire discussion as to natures and persons seems archaic because of its origin in an outgrown philosophy and world-view. The American Protestant believes in Jesus Christ as a revelation of God Himself, but he has forgotten the order of decrees; has to use a dictionary to discover whether he is an Arminian, New School Calvinist, or Semi-Pelagian; and is far less concerned about the agreements reached by the persons of the Trinity before the Universe was created, than about the Fatherliness of God, the social teaching of Jesus, religious education and the Christianizing of the Far East. In a word, the progressive Protestantism of America is more anxious to be scientifically and sacrificially evangelical than to be credally orthodox.

(3) American Protestantism, like that of Europe, is adjusting itself to the modern world by laying new emphasis upon the social implications of the gospel.

It is hardly possible to over-estimate this phase of modern religion. It is of course obvious that social service on the part of the church is nothing new. Ever since the Jerusalem Christians undertook to feed the widows, the church has regarded the poor as peculiarly the objects of its care. It was the church that built hospitals, schools, orphan asy-

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lums and made charity a gate to heaven. But our awakening Protestantism is going beyond such forms of social service. It is still concerned with amelioration, but it is more concerned in preventing the need of amelioration. Hitherto, as in the Peasants' Revolt, the church has been usually on the side of the socially dominant classes. It urged them to charity but not to a sacrificial transformation of a social order. In New England, it is true, Puritanism developed a quasi-democracy, but its democratic principles never included a real fraternity. The attitude of the New England capitalist toward his employees was only one stage removed from the attitude of the Southern planter to the negroes. He might be ready to care for them personally but he was not ready to see any change in the structure of society which gave the labouring classes larger rights. Such charity recognizes no rights on the part of the person helped. And as long as charity rules, justice is feeble.

This new social interest of Protestant Christianity in America, as in Great Britain, is radically different from that of charity. It cares less for good Samaritans than it does for good policemen. It wants to save men into Heaven by embodying the principles of the Kingdom of Heaven in the state. It is less concerned in rescuing people than in educating them to keep out of danger. Its fundamental motive has not changed; it still seeks to extend the principles of love. But the love it urges is more intelligent. Your sociological Christian is no keener to do good than were the early Christians who preferred martyrdom to political revolution, but his knowledge of the social problem makes him attend primaries rather than inactively await the millennium.

It must be admitted that certain groups of Protestants, notably the Pre-millenarians have little sympathy with the evangelization of social evolution and that to others real democracy is as hateful as were tyrants to the song writers

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of the eighteenth century. But in the long run the church will follow its creative enthusiasm; and there is only one great creative enthusiasm in American Protestantism,—the gospel of a saved society as well as of saved individuals.

It seems incredible that fifteen years ago we were practically without literature on the social aspects of Christianity. True there were a few significant volumes from English prophets of the social gospel like Fremantle, Westcott, Maurice and Kingsley, but the social interest was not thoroughly correlated with the religious hopes. To call a man a socialist was to jeopardize his future even more completely than to call him a higher critic. But today there is no leading Protestant denomination in America that has not its social service commission seriously facing social problems and furnishing its constituency with programmes for social investigation. We are coming to expect an investigation of labour troubles on the part of the churches almost as certainly as on the part of the state. The literature on the social aspects of Christianity is growing voluminous and, none the less because the best of it comes from teachers in theological seminaries, is becoming a significant contribution to the reshaping of Protestant theology. The creative social enthusiasm is affecting our preaching, our Sunday School teaching, our great religious conventions. The one outstanding feature of the "Men and Religion Forward Movement" was, I am inclined to believe, a surprise to its promoters. It was not evangelism, missions or Bible study, but the call to sympathy with the toiling masses that stirred men most profoundly. The "teams of experts" who went out to save souls, found a social order less anxious about hell than about economic injustice. Men filled with this new social passion will have little patience with a Protestantism that waits to throw out life-lines. They will choose a new ship and a new crew and a Captain that knows his course. Because of this new

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idealism Protestantism is increasingly active in politics. The Vice Commission of Chicago, for instance, originated with the Protestant ministers, and labour unions are coming to feel that they can count upon the support of the Protestant clergy in support of sane labour legislation.

Twenty-five years ago men were arguing that the growing unbelief in the eternal torture of billions of persons who had never heard of the historical Jesus would "cut the nerve of missions." How far away that apprehension seems! Foreign missions were never so active or so respected as today. But our choice young men and women are going out to the non-Christian world not because they are haunted by fear lest God is more cruel than humanity, but because the non-Christian world needs Jesus Christ today and now. Hell was a less potent motive for Protestant missions a generation ago than is elemental Christian love today. And this crusading altruism would carry to the non-Christian world every good thing that Christians enjoy. Schools, colleges, hospitals, athletics, literature—all things are to be theirs because they are to be Christ's.

In this social enthusiasm American Protestantism is effectively re-enforced by American Roman Catholicism only in the region of charity. Labour legislation even in behalf of women and children sometimes appears to be viewed with suspicion by the Roman church, and socialism, which numbers within its followers an increasing number of Protestants, is as vigorously opposed by the Roman church in America as in Europe. The difference in attitude of the two bodies is rooted in their essential characteristics. American Protestantism like Roman Catholicism repudiates the anti-religion of Continental socialists, but, unlike Roman Catholicism, is, by its very genius, sympathetic with the great democratic movement of which socialism is one phase. While the number of Protestant clergymen who are avowed socialists is not large in Amer-



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ica, the probability is that it is increasing. It is an indication of the new spirit that such clergymen are not objects of suspicion on the part of their fellows. Socialism, however, has made little headway among Protestant church members as a class, and as yet Protestant as well as Roman churches are subject to the indiscriminate denunciation of socialist leaders because of their failure to denounce capitalism and their apparent class-sympathies. The so-called Christian Socialist party is a negligible quantity both in church and politics.

(4) A fourth evidence of the Protestant awakening is the new regard for religious education.

There is a general endeavour to utilize the results of a highly developed study of educational processes for religious ends. The uniform lesson system in Sunday Schools may be regarded as the acme of non-pedagogical method in religious education, although no sensible man, be he never so great a reformer, will refuse recognition to the service rendered by our elaborate Sunday school organization. The past ten years, however, have seen an equally significant advance in the rise of the graded Sunday School with its systems of graded lessons. The Religious Education Association has been a primary agent of reform because of its ability to interest professional educationalists in matters of morals and religion. The readiness of those denominations most in touch with modern thought to avail themselves of improved methods of religious education is seen in the organization of systems of graded lessons now so commonly used in Sunday Schools. The International Sunday School Association has itself set its *imprimatur* on a movement which it at first regarded with some apprehension. Whatever radicalism may have been concealed in the new movement has been either discounted or avoided, and American Protestantism is plainly entering upon a new era of religious instruction grounded in principles approved by psychology and educational philosophy.

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(5) A fifth advance is to be seen in the rise of a co-operative and federated denominationalism.

Protestantism inevitably contains divisive elements, because it recognizes liberty in theological belief. Uniformity is possible only on the basis of authority. An authoritative Protestantism would be a contradiction of terms. It would be much simpler and more consistent for its champions to become Roman Catholics.

Denominationalism is the inevitable implication of Protestantism. But denominationalism is not necessarily sectarianism although even sects may have their office. For it certainly is better for extremists to be segregated than to be dispersed through the body ecclesiastic. Denominationalism originated in theology but in its modern form is, theologically speaking, very largely a matter of emphasis. All Protestant confessions (barring those of a few numerically weak bodies) preserve the ecumenical formularies however they may interpret them. Yet each denomination helps to insure the maintenance of some truth liable to be under-emphasized by men of varying temperaments and interests. No denomination has yet reached effective theological symmetry. Denominationalism is thus an economic device which preserves liberty of thought, balance of emphasis of different details, together with fundamental agreements.

America is now passing through a revival of denominationalism of this sort. Everywhere is to be seen a new devotion to the past and to the mission of the various great Protestant bodies. Never was there equal interest in the national conferences or conventions. Within five years the great democratic body of Baptists of the northern states has established a representative convention, meeting annually, for determining denominational policies in home and foreign missions, education, ministers' and missionaries' pensions and other matters of national importance. Another democratic denomination, the Congregationalists, has

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adopted a similar policy, and the vigorous body of Disciples has the matter under consideration. The Presbyterian, Methodist and Protestant Episcopal bodies are each developing a new *esprit de corps* through giving greater prominence to their laymen. So strong is the renascence of this practical rather than doctrinal denominationalism that it is already beginning to bring together the conservative and progressive wings of Protestant thought which a few years ago threatened a cross-sectioning of all denominations except the strictly orthodox Lutherans.

There was a time, and that not so very long ago, when denominationalism was essentially polemic, and there still exist in certain of our seminaries chairs of instruction known as Polemic Theology. In America, however, old differences have ceased to be inflamed. The development of American Protestantism is duplicating the history of American politics. The thirteen original colonies were jealous of each others' rights to the point of belligerency, but today the states have become hardly more than convenient administrative divisions and the nation has become paramount. The doctrine of states' rights has been tempered by that practical constitutionalism which is rebuilding the nation upon the power of Congress to regulate commerce between the states. Similarly in the case of denominations. The last few years have seen not only a new loyalty to their various selves, but also a most extraordinary development of ecclesiastical federalism. True, there are those who still speak about Christian unity, meaning thereby ecclesiastical or theological uniformity, but federation and co-operation are the order of the day in the new denominationalism. Instead of seeking after credal uniformity, endeavouring to remove from their expressions of Christian belief whatever somebody else hesitates to adopt and so denaturing their convictions to some innocuous platform, the leading Protestant bodies have learned the great lesson that the quickest way to get together as individuals is to work together as organized bodies.

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It is something for which to be devoutly grateful that this new spirit of co-operation among denominations is grounded in something far deeper than carefully edited formulas; that it is the expression of the one faith and one Christian experience and one task which Christianity acknowledges. In particular does the new tendency seem to be healthy and permanent because it is working its way out first of all, not in council chambers or in the discussions of doctrinal experts, but rather on the mission field. In non-Christian lands the various denominations find themselves face to face with elemental issues. The leading Protestant missionaries are now less concerned to make non-Christians into Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists and are increasingly bent on making them Christians. The day is not far distant when Protestant denominations will regard their missions as they now regard their colleges—their contribution to society's need of Christian service. Indeed it is an open secret that in many particulars, the missionary of the newer type is less denominationally exclusive than are his brethren at home. The recent policy of dividing the task of world-evangelization among co-operating denominations so nobly furthered by the recent Edinburgh Conference is only the beginning of a new step in Protestantism at home as well as abroad. Protestantism for generations moved away from the centre of religion, denominations proceeding upon their own particular radii. The farther they went the farther they got apart. Today's Protestants have faced about. We are not trying to draw each other from one radius on to another, but we all face the centre of the great circle of Christianity, Jesus Christ; and we are finding that the nearer we move toward Him the nearer do we find ourselves together.

The evidence of this new co-operation in Christian loyalty and service is on every hand. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is perhaps the great-

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est outstanding illustration of this new attitude of mind, but it is only one among many. Our home mission societies and our city mission societies are working together in the interest of eliminating suicidal competition. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association are schools of interdenominational efficiency. The Men and Religion Forward Movement, the Laymen's Missionary Movement, as well as the Jubilee of the various Women's Missionary Societies, have aroused the interest of Christians of all denominations—even of those otherwise somewhat unfriendly to co-operation—in the possibility of a new Protestant unity. We are reading each other's books, singing each other's hymns, listening to each other's preachers and lecturers, praying together, communing together, and, as far as within us lies, supporting together interdenominational movements which seek to interest men in the great task of our common Christianity.

There is something thrilling in the sight of a theologically divided Protestantism thus giving the lie to the charge that Protestants have no common basis of conscience, no unity of belief, and no vigour except as proselyters! If the awakening within our churches were something other, if our new loyalty to our individual interpretations of Christianity meant new shibboleths and new claims to monopoly of the only way of salvation, we might well be anxious. But in the light of the actual co-operation which is so rapidly developing in world-wide Protestantism we may well feel that however much we may belong to different arms of the service of Christ, we are all members of the same great army in which variety of uniform, accoutrement and watchwords are all subordinate to a common loyalty to the great Commander as he plans his one campaign.



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### II.

This awakening of Protestantism, however, exposes it to peculiar dangers perhaps even more marked in America than elsewhere.

(1) There is first of all the danger of a negative intellectualism particularly to be seen in two directions, (1) a minimizing of doctrine and (2) a submergence of the Christian truths in philosophy and general culture. A man is not liberal because he disbelieves something he once believed. He may be simply indifferent. In periods of theological transition it is very easy to say that theology is as distinct from religion as botany is from flowers, and that therefore it is of no more value to religion than is a treatise on botany to a rose. But such a distinction is superficial. Religion can no more exist apart from the intellectual life than it can exist apart from man himself. It has become fashionable in some quarters to insist that it makes little difference what a man believes provided he is engaged in the proper sort of acts and that religion is essentially a sense of brotherhood. I should be among the last to deny that brotherhood is the fruit of a true spiritual life; but if men are to be brothers they must certainly have a common Father and this rough analogy casts us at once into the midst of intellectual questions. Protestantism has undoubtedly made intellectualism too large an element in its religious life, but the evil will not be cured by throwing over religious thought altogether. Back of all our activities, whether they be in religion or in economics, there lie convictions; and however much they may be instinctive, inherited, chosen or merely born of prejudice, convictions certainly involve elements of reflection.

Indifference to doctrine will sooner or later make religion anaemic. Experience shows plainly that the constant raising of ethical harvests off characters unfertilized by theological convictions is akin to the process by which New England farms were "run out." There never was a

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movement of any lasting ethical significance that did not spring from a religion rich with such intellectual elements. Unless American Protestantism can give its members intellectual support for their new religious activities, it will find that religion itself is becoming a mass of sentiment or scriptural legalism. And really, there is no reason why, just because we do not wish religion to become theologically molluscan, we should make it theologically invertebrate.

Paradoxical though it may seem, this indifference to the intellectual aspects of religion expresses itself in some academic quarters in a tendency to make Christian truth one phase of a philosophy of religion which in turn is merely one phase of our general culture. Here, as in so many other aspects of our newly creative Protestantism we are re-enacting the history of the only other theologically creative period in Christian history, that of the Ante-Nicene church. It is true our philosophies are not those of the various Gnostic schools Tertullian and Irenaeus so valiantly opposed, but our main question is that of those early church Fathers: *viz.*, Shall the gospel or shall culture be regarded as the nucleating centre of our religion? To this question one answer must ultimately be given: the gospel must be shown to be consistent with the legitimate elements of our modern world-view, but as their equal, not their inferior. In its efforts to show the modern man that he may and should be a Christian, Protestantism must never yield to the temptation so to generalize the Gospel as to strip it of its characteristic elements. Just as in describing a man we do not combine in general formula all *genera* of living things, highly developed and rudimentary, we cannot combine the Gospel with fetichism, Buddhism, Shintoism and other religions into one general view and call it Christianity. Comparative religion is comparative not composite. Christianity as a religion must ever develop as it gathers up elements of culture about the Gospel, but it ceases to be peculiarly Christian as it reduces its claims to an equality with those of art, science and philosophy.

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(2) A second danger to which Protestantism—particularly progressive Protestantism—in America is exposed is that its churches shall become mere agents of social service. There are many people who, in reaction from extreme orthodoxy, have come to feel that the sole business of the church is to push social reform. This danger is particularly strong in America just now because social workers have come to see that the church instead of being hostile to their ideals is the greatest force by which their ideals can be put into operation. Such a valuing of the church brings no small satisfaction to those of us who have endeavoured to set forth the social significance of the spiritual life. But we cannot let social service take the place of God. People cannot be amused into conscientiousness. Picnics are not the equivalents of prayer-meetings, and Sunday School Base Ball Leagues have not yet developed into revivals.

It was natural in a period of awakening and transition that men should jump to the conclusion that the church ought to stand for every good cause. It was easy to forget that society will organize institutions for each newly realized need. But even those of us who feel most deeply the social obligations of Christianity see that a church as an institution does not have the same field of responsibility as Christian individuals. These last may be organized in a great variety of institutions each of which performs some particular function set by the division of labour in our world. Church leaders can delegate to these institutions certain duties but they cannot delegate the duties of spiritual parentage. A Protestant church cannot be an ethical orphan asylum: it must be a home in which souls are born into newness of life. We want efficiency in organization and in activity. We want our ministers to be alive to the needs of the hour in politics and in industrial reform, quick to come to the championship of overworked women in factories and the rescue of little children who are giving up their lives that the cost of production may be kept low. We want the

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message from the pulpit to be heartily in sympathy with our modern thinking. But most of all does American Protestantism need a spiritual passion, a contagious faith in the supremacy of God's spiritual order and an alarm at the misery that waits on sin. From many a community there is already rising a cry for elemental religion. With all their scientific and business success American laymen are asserting that they want to be assured of God and immortality and the worth of righteousness. They want companionship in spiritual loneliness, comfort in hours of pain, courage in moments of moral wavering. Their souls are athirst for the Unknown and they will be satisfied with nothing save the water that comes from the River of God. If the awakening of Protestantism were to mean simply a renaissance of ethics or a sort of be-scriptured positivism, American society would be defrauded. When it asks for the bread of life, it will not be satisfied with treatises on eugenics.

(3) A third danger to which the Protestant churches of America are exposed is that of too great reliance upon machinery. I do not think we are as much exposed to this danger today as we were a year or two ago. We were told then rather frequently that the laymen were to save the church from the ministers and the women; that a church should be run upon business methods; that if the men who made a success in business were to undertake to run the church they would bring it to an unqualified success. Now it is difficult to over-emphasize the importance of bringing scientific management into the churches. But an engine will not run without motive power. Just because men in the past mistook a theological headlight for a piston-rod there is no reason why they should now mistake the piston-rod for the fire-box. Voluntary organizations of men who believe God to be a Father rather than an Oriental despot are something very different from business houses whose efficiency rests ultimately on getting hired men to produce

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more than their wages. Some marvellously organized revival meetings have produced little more than crowds singing "The Glory Song." If Protestantism must choose between a bureaucracy of business men and the sovereign God of Calvinism it will not take long for experience to show that the sovereign God is much more effective. What our American churches need today is to seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness in full assurance that in the present as in the past all other good things—movements, conventions, men's brotherhoods, every form of efficient organization—will be added to them. The more we try to make our churches impersonal, be the impersonality never so finely reduced to programmes, the more will they lose spiritual inspiration. A church that seeks efficiency must first seek God. However much we need better organization in our churches we need more a prophetic ministry to lead men into fuller fellowship with God and a more thorough cultivation of the power to realize that vast spiritual reserve which lies just beyond conscious action. A municipal water system needs pipes, but it needs a water supply even more.

### III.

What, now, is the attitude which American Protestantism is taking in view of these dangers which undoubtedly accompany its new efforts to adapt itself to changing order?

The loudest answer given to such an inquiry suggests a danger greater than any of these which I have mentioned; and that is the answer of the reactionary. It was this which checked Protestantism in Germany. The Luther who burned the bull of the Pope and dared the dangers of Leipzig and faced the Emperor at Worms, was a much truer Protestant than the Luther who became terrified at the radicalism of his followers and urged the German nobles to crush peasants who were attempting to carry over into



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economic and political life the principles which he championed in the realm of the church. And unfortunately it was this later Luther who gave the direction to Protestantism, transforming what was at first a free movement of the Christian spirit into an ecclesiasticism, in temper and often in methods identical with the logically consistent ecclesiasticism of Rome itself.

A reactionary is too frequently like Luther a panic stricken progressive; some Peter whose Christian intuition has outstripped his thought and who finds himself worsted in an argument with those who push to logical conclusions premises he has attempted both to hold and to abandon. Nor are evidences of such reactionary tendencies nowadays difficult to find. Theological professors who desire to progress without changing positions; preachers who, unable to adjust their new impulses to actual conditions, mistake their own inefficiency for the inefficiency of the truth; timid souls who dared to march with the leaders until they heard themselves called unsafe; and most dangerous of all, men who in the name of sanity champion progress so long as it moves in the high air of abstractions but refuse to apply it to actual affairs—these are but a few of the enemies the awakening Protestantism of America finds in its own household.

But we are coming to see in America that in religion as in politics reaction is no cure for radicalism. The dangers born of life are to be settled by growth, not by atavism. If the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy, even more is the remedy for the dangers of Protestantism more Protestantism.

Then, too, the fact that we are coming to see that the church stands for something more than orthodoxy or heresy is already forcing us to emphasize the more serious aspects of a refusal to live the life of Jesus. At one time it seemed as if our progressive theology might become too good-natured. If such had been the case it would have been be-

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cause its leaders were either too optimistic or blind—probably both. Protestantism is now trying to make individuals morally discontented. Just because they are living more intelligently and freely the life of the spirit, Protestant churches are undertaking to convict America of sin and righteousness and judgment.

How great is this task is clear to all those who face moral issues from the point of view of our social ethics. The weight of individual and social responsibility grows heavier day by day. In comparison with it even Augustine's doctrine of original sin seems academic. Who is responsible for the abuses of our economic order, our hideous slums, our commercialized vice, our distortion of opportunity? Nobody, men say; it is the fault of society and social evolution. But our new Protestantism finds decreasing comfort in such an answer. Its new moral sense feels that the guilt is everybody's just because it is nobody's in particular; that every partaker of the economic and social surplus is doing *wrong* if he does not seek to act according to the new social conscience. Protestant churches may not tell men precisely what to do, but they are stirring men's consciences until they burn to do something to insure a Christian democracy.

But Protestantism cannot yield to the present temptation to couch its message in words of economic or of social solidarity. Just because it stands for the free spiritual life must it set forth the worth of humanity in terms of immortal individuality. Immortality alone is the true Christian point of view from which to see what these values are. Yet it must be admitted that too many Protestant teachers in America are just now counting philosophical liabilities rather than realizing upon their religious assets. When this attitude of mind is brought into the region of personality they are quite too ready to make society the end and the individual the means. But this, unless I read incorrectly the latest tendencies in liberal Protestantism, is only

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a passing phase. A genuinely Christian evangelism culminates in the individuality of eternal life as truly as in the social conception of the Kingdom of God. We shall never again find intelligent ministers setting forth crude conceptions of Heaven and Hell, and another Andover controversy is impossible; but simply because it is the representative of the supremacy of the spiritual, every Protestant as well as every Roman church must teach men to see in death something more than a chemical reaction, and in social justice only a shadow of the inevitableness of a moral order established by a holy God.

And here university bred men in America face a supreme crisis. The old atheism may have been vanquished by the apologetics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the trend of too much philosophical and scientific teaching is in danger of giving American Protestantism a psychological formula instead of a God. Religious psychologists and liberal ministers of religion are often far too clever rhetoricians. Too frequently in their exposition of the evolution of religion they make the impression that God Himself is the creature of social need. But the easiest way for our awakening Protestantism to commit suicide is for it to identify God with the God idea. The power of our inherited orthodoxy lies ultimately in its conception of a real God, and the power of our newly awakening Protestantism will be no greater than its confidence in Him. When prayer becomes merely subjective meditation; when faith in the Father is resolved into love for the human brother; when God is held to be a social survival of primitive man's fear and custom; when Jesus Christ becomes a well-intending neurasthenic and his ethics a call to impossible ideals born of a mistaken expectation of the speedy end of the world; when social service becomes a devotion to a forlorn hope on the part of those who have lost faith in God and in immortality; then will Protestantism cease to be significant in a world that has lost the meaning

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of the spiritual life. The salt will have lost its savour and will be worthless even for bourgeois funerals.

But in view of all the facts at our disposal it is impossible to believe that the present awakening of Protestantism means any such disaster. On the contrary, within the past three years, American Protestantism has come to feel that, in the midst of social problems which as yet seek answer, and a social order which feels its social guilt without having yet heard the word of social pardon, there is no resort except the Almighty God. Therein lies a new Calvinism that finds consolation and hope and courage not in the mind or might of man but in the holy will of a cosmic God who, despite our own feebleness of vision and service, evolves the outcomes of His own justice and love. In our moments of depression and agonizing ignorance we look to Him—we preach Him—we tell the world the glad news of His salvation. Our rising spirit of democracy no longer permits us to ground this confidence in any monarchical analogy; our growing knowledge of the universe teaches us that God is more than king. But our faith in Him grows the more intense. We see Him working out the triumph of the things of spirit as savagery gives way to social order; as polytheism yields to the mediæval church; as slavery and tyranny are drowned out in the blood of those who voluntarily share in the social atonement; as industrial justice begins to find fuller expression in law; as war grows abhorrent to men who already dream of the brotherhood of man. The God the awakening Protestantism of America heralds is a terrible God but one whose anger breaks only upon those species and institutions and men who stand in the way of the operation of His beneficence. That is the heart of a modern exposition of the Love of a God of Law.

Stand on the bow of some great ship that hurtles itself across a trackless ocean and you can see no port; you know only that you are moving. But stand in the stern of the

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ship and the gleaming wake, which, even as you watch, your ship is making, publishes your course and your Captain's care.

This is the assurance of our awakening Protestantism both in America and abroad. It may not yet see the new Jerusalem toward which it points mankind, but it knows the direction in which it moves; for as it watches the lengthening course of that Process of which it is even now an agent, it can herald the certain faith that it is journeying on no unguided adventure and that its Captain is still in command.



# The Significance of Conversion in the Thinking of Today

BY BISHOP F. J. McCONNELL,

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In its essentials the doctrine of conversion has been practically unchanged from its earliest statements. By conversion teachers of all religious schools have meant the change wrought in a human life by the Divine Spirit in response to the surrender of the individual will. The differences between varying phrasings of the doctrine have come out of varying degrees of emphasis on the divine or the human factor. A believer with a marked leaning toward the old Calvinism is likely to conceive of conversion as so exclusively the work of God that the soul seems seized and carried into the Kingdom of God almost without its own consent. At the other extreme are those who think of conversion as simply a resolution on a man's part to be better. Between these contrasting views is the conception of the main mass of Christian believers who think of the conversion of a life as a change resulting from the interworking of the human and the divine will. A man is going in the wrong direction. He faces about and the divine forces help him to travel aright. Or a man is fettered by evil habits and determines to break from them, depending upon prayer and devotion to a religious ideal. Or a life has been weakened by sin; the sinner abandons his sin, looking to the healing influences of the Divine Presence. Or to keep more closely to the suggestiveness of the word of Jesus as to the new birth—with its hint of the intense vitality of spiritual processes—a life is born into a new world by responding to the influences which come upon it from that world. The Spirit of God broods over human lives until they come to strength which enables them to

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break through the shell of their own self-life into the large outside, or to push upward to realms beyond anything they have known.

Various tendencies in the sphere of religious reflection give the idea—or rather the fact of conversion—increased significance today. Religious conceptions are usually under the influence of the general intellectual currents of their time,—currents in philosophical, historical, psychological and social research and speculation. The dominant word in philosophy just at present is pragmatism. Pragmatism lays stress on the consequences of beliefs as tests of their validity. To determine the degree of truth in a belief ask what the belief is worth. We attain to knowledge not by the activity of the intellect alone, certainly not by that of the logical faculty alone, but by the activity of the whole life. Belief takes its start from a will to believe, and comes to its proof by the satisfaction of the total nature following the working of the belief into life. We are to believe what agrees with us.

The limitations of pragmatism when it assumes to be a philosophic system are apparent at a glance. Pragmatism is rather scornful towards the speculative intellect, for example. And yet to be consistent the pragmatist must allow large room for the speculative intellect whenever speculation enters into life in response to a powerful demand. Even the strictest absolutist might claim to be an absolutist on strictly pragmatic grounds; he might fall back upon the call of his life for absolutism. But whatever the defects of pragmatism as a philosophic system there can hardly be question as to its value as a method, especially in the realm of Christian exploration. In this realm we cannot get far by strict formal reasoning. The call of a life is for conceptions larger than those which can be reached by reasoning. The only way to test the truth of these conceptions is to test them in life,—to assume them as true, venture out upon them, and see whither they lead us. If they lead us

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to increasing fulness of life we hold fast to them as true. We act on the logic that whatever on the whole and in the main makes for goodness and truth must be itself on the whole and in the main good and true.

Suppose now we look at the problem of conversion from the standpoint of this present-day pragmatic test. We readily find data enough on which to work. Allowing for all the inaccuracies of the testimony of believers, allowing for all the misuse of those conventional phrases which slip so readily into cant, allowing for the fact that not one believer in a thousand is skilled in self-observation, the truth nevertheless is clear that multitudes have felt their lives transformed by surrendering to what they have considered Divine influences, and the contrast before and after the conversion has borne witness to the sincerity of the profession. Mr. Harold Begbie has recently published a book dealing with a half-dozen instances of remarkable transformation of individual lives under the preaching of Salvation Army workers in London. The most remarkable fact about the book is the circulation it has reached. The book has sold by thousands of copies. What explains its success? Something of course must be said for the rare distinction of the author's style, but this alone will not account for the enormous sale. Nor can explanation be found in the unusual nature of the incidents narrated. Apart from some dramatic touches the incidents are of a sort familiar to every worker in rescue missions. The popularity of the book seems to come from the very usualness of the events described. The writer sets forth facts which are common enough, but which have seemed to many to be in danger of under-emphasis. On the pragmatic basis we appeal simply to such facts themselves. Hosts of persons have made test of the possibility of conversion by accepting the ideas of the inter-relation of the Divine and the human underlying the doctrine of conversion and by venturing out upon these ideas. The results have meant inner

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peace and outward uprightness. If we were dealing with single and isolated cases of transformation we might put the incidents to one side as of no great meaning, but such transformations have been the normal experiences in the history of the Church through all its career. On the pragmatic basis what conclusion can we reach save that the experiences point to the reality of the forces which the seekers assume to be at work? The common-sense mind moves on the assumption not only that a cause must be equal to its effect in what might be called the quantitative sense, but that it must be equal to effect in what might be called the qualitative sense. In other words, a cause must in a sense be as good as its effect. In general terms, this would mean that it is hardly credible that essentially false views produce benign effects. There is no doubt large room in the world for beneficial effects of illusion sincerely believed in, but illusion hardly lasts through tens of centuries. From the beginning Christian believers have held that the path to the transformation of sinful men into righteous men has been through turning away from evil in reliance upon a God who will hear and answer the prayer of the penitent. On the basis of strict formal reasoning it is of course impossible to prove that the transformation has taken place through the working of the Divine will in touch with the human will, but on the strictly formal basis it is impossible to prove anything especially worth while in the moral or spiritual sense. Since the time of Kant the attempt to demonstrate the existence of God by syllogistic reasoning has been pretty generally abandoned. We come to believe in God because we must have the idea of God as one of the great regulative conceptions which make full human experience possible. For Christian experience the idea of conversion is likewise one of the great regulative conceptions, if we may be pardoned the Kantian phrase. We assume the truth of conceptions underlying the belief in conversion and make a venture. The resulting purity of

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thought and peace of mind convince us that we are at least on the path to truth, though our conceptions may need clarification and criticism. The agnostic may rail at the insufficiency of the logic, but the convincing factor is the sufficiency of the life. The life is itself a witness. Now while we admit the inadequacy of contemporary pragmatic philosophy as a complete system we must avow that the present-day emphasis on pragmatism makes large place for the claim of Christianity that lives are transformed by coming to God in the experience we call conversion. The Master Himself said that he that willeth to do the will of God is the true learner.

The fact of conversion has come into prominence also through the findings of historical criticism, especially as this criticism has busied itself with New Testament times. Any student of real intellectual poise must seek for causes adequate to effects. He must seek for forces which will really explain. Especially is this true in the realm of large-scale historical movements. The students most hostile to the claim of orthodox Christianity willingly concede the importance of the fact of conversion in the life of the early Church. The transitions in personal life are so numerous and so well marked that they cannot be overlooked. The critic is forced to concede the fact of these spiritual phenomena and their moral genuineness. He may think the earlier believers deluded, but he can find no explanation which will account for the spread of Christianity and for the endurance with which it lasted through the fires of persecution other than the transformation wrought in the inner life of the believers in Christianity. The critic will not deny that the early believers in Christianity were from the ranks of ordinary people like ourselves and that through the influence of their belief they became transformed into marvels of moral persistence and endurance.

To take a classic instance of conversion we look for a moment at the experience of Saul of Tarsus. The most



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radical criticism has not been able to eliminate Saul from the New Testament, and with Saul in the New Testament at all it is impossible to eliminate his conversion from his life. The attempts to minimize the significance of the experience of the conversion at least for Saul himself have rather generally come to be regarded as futile; and if the conversion had significance for Saul it has had significance for the entire after course of Christianity. No one cares to insist upon the recorded details of the experience as altogether essential. The most sympathetic student of Paul in our generation has suggested that the particular physical accompaniments of the experience as narrated may be capable of explanation on a scientific basis. But no matter how we explain the physical reaction which accompanied the experience, there can be little doubt that the experience itself was tremendously spiritual and vital. Too much came out of the transformed life for the critic to dismiss the conversion as of little consequence. It may be permissible to recall in this connection the remark of the late Professor Borden P. Bowne in his little book on the *Immanence of God* to the effect that St. Paul may have had a fit on the road to Damascus, but it has been the only known fit to be followed by such mighty historical consequences. Any reasonable criticism must take account of historical consequences. After the most searching scrutiny of historical data to determine that absolutely certain minimum which seems to many critics to be so desirable, the question remains as to the adequacy of the remainder to account for the consequences. There is substantial agreement today that no matter whether Christ was what the Church has pronounced Him to be or not, the impact of His life upon His followers was such as to make the most astounding personal transformations. There is little reason to doubt that Jesus gathered His disciples in the manner described in the gospels; nor is there much reason to question that His influence upon them was of the kind, for ex-

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ample, which would make a fickle and impulsive nature like Peter over into a man of rock. If it be objected that all this is aside from the mark, and that what we have here is just the influence of one strong nature upon another, the answer must be that historical criticism has not been conspicuously successful in getting back to a time when the Jesus of history was not also the Christ of faith—not the Christ of the faith of later times, indeed, but the Christ of a faith which made Jesus essentially divine. It was while he thought of Christ in this extraordinary way that Peter seems to have attained to the rock-like in character. The critic of Christianity would probably admit all this but insist that Peter's view of Christ was naïve and mistaken. We are not concerned just at present with the correctness of early Christian belief as to the nature of Christ, but with the quite widely admitted truth that we cannot account for the events of early Christian history without making place for the fact of conversion which came as the believers at least supposed themselves in touch with divine forces.

There seems to be a demand also for emphasis today upon the importance of conversion because of the overdevelopment of some philosophic doctrines which in their uncritical, or, better, their uncriticized, forms have in them possibilities of harm for Christian life. To take an outstanding instance we may point to some extreme puttings of the doctrine of the Divine Immanence. The overthrow of the old dualism is a triumph for which the Christian may well be thankful. The division of the universe into two spheres, one natural and the other supernatural, hindered the progress of Christian thinking for many generations. We may congratulate ourselves that we have come to see that the natural is not necessarily opposed to the supernatural. The natural is, in the Christian thought of today, simply the method by which the supernatural expresses itself. The supernatural works naturally in the realm of historical revelation and in the personal experiences of individual be-

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lievers; such in brief is the thought of many believers. The world of nature which we see around us is not a thing-in-itself, but one of the manifestations of the divine activity,—a flowing form of that activity, moving through successive stages according to law. The world is the thought of God acted out under the forms of space and time. The world of nature is not a barrier between us and God; it is rather one of the forms under which God shows Himself to be immediately present.

So far all is well. The believer in Divine Immanence, however, is not always sure of just where to stop. By an easy glide he slips over into the belief that human souls are just flowing forms of the divine activity. Quite likely in a sense they are, but hardly in any such sense as would do away with selfhood and the power of self-direction within limits. Just how to make the distinction here is a problem for the trained metaphysician, but the distinction must be made, at least practically, if we are to preserve religious values in their moral significance. From a belief in the Divine Immanence which is consistent with a true theism to a belief in a pantheism which allows no scope for the self-determinations of free individualities is but an easy step, or rather an easy slip. And so we have in some popular puttings of the doctrine of immanence such utterances as that God is in the evil of men's lives as well as in the good. It is a curious fact that while doctrines of predestinationism and even of fatalism do not always overslaugh the consciousness and exercise of the personal will, doctrines of pantheism tend to smother out the moral sense, or rather tend to beget a drowsy acquiescence in moral imperfections. The Calvinist may find no practical contradiction between his denial of human freedom in the ordinary sense and his continual endeavour to please God. The Mohammedan may believe altogether in fate and yet arouse himself to a fanatical heroism in hope of immediate entrance into a paradise where he as a person shall enter upon personal joys. But

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the moment we give ourselves to a pantheism which obliterates all real distinction between the divine and the human, or which thinks of the divine as surging into human consciousness as the sea rushes into a bay, or which speaks of the human as a phase of the divine, undesirable practical consequences are apt soon to follow. We know that many thinkers are personally better than their creed. We know, too, that the force of righteous habit is strong, and that it may carry a man along in spite of his belief. We know, too, that the social atmosphere may make for individual effort even when an individual's creed calls for anything but effort. But still the general tendency of real pantheism is in the direction of loosening the grip of the moral will. Or when the will runs down there is, so to speak, nothing in pantheism to wind it up again.

As a protest and corrective against the spread of such pantheism nothing is more likely to be effectual than the actual transformation of lives through the preaching of conversion. We have spoken of the need of distinction by the metaphysician between a doctrine of Divine Immanence which recognizes the presence of God in nature and in human life, and which yet leaves room for such measure of self-direction as is necessary for a moral existence. We of course draw our life from God. It ought to be possible to form a statement of the dependence of the soul for its life upon God which will nevertheless leave some measure of personal responsibility. No doubt we all live and move and have our being in God, but the direction of the divine power in human lives must take a different course with the sinner from its course in the life of the saint. God may indeed be in all lives as the causal energy which supports life, but not in all lives in the sense of an ethical indwelling. The doctrine of the Divine Immanence needs to be supplemented not so much by the distinctions of the metaphysician, however, as by the practical preaching of repentance and of the new life in God. We may well be grateful for



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all that emphasis on "the will to believe" and on personalism which today blows like a tonic wind through the pages of some philosophers, but after all the most effective force is the actual transformation of lives under the inspiration of really Christian preaching.

We must, however, renew our expressions of gratitude to the teachers of the doctrine of Divine Immanence for their service in doing away with the notion that a natural process is one ordinarily lying outside the divine plan, or one which is divine only in the sense that a divine force started it in the beginning and then left it to go of itself. All law must be God's law, psychological law as well as every other kind. The realization of this truth has led to larger intelligence in the treatment of the phenomena of conversion. It is no longer permissible to assort out the unusual or spectacular features in conversion and to make these more divine than other elements. As a matter of fact the extraordinary features of conversion may be the least significant from every standpoint. The chief aim of the Christian worker is to bring the will to surrender to righteousness. All the steps which lead up to this may be divine. The Divine Spirit may work through the words of the teacher or preacher, through the general course of events which occur to the individual, through the natural movement of the mind, through the peculiar emotional and intellectual susceptibilities which come at particular periods of life. There is too much of a proneness in human nature to single out a peculiar type of experience as especially indicating the presence of the divine. Modern psychological study has done much to make conversion important in our thinking by showing how much more various may be the types of religious experience than we had imagined. We no longer lay stress upon incidental and accidental features in religious experience. We no longer insist that the ability to tell just when and where the new life began is of supreme importance. If the life has not begun, not a



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moment should be lost in further delay. If it has begun, not too much time should be wasted in looking back to the circumstances of the beginning. The essential is the life itself, and the emphasis should be on the features which seem to make for larger life in a most natural and normal fashion. Birth is always a mystery, but modern study has rendered us a service by showing that all the birth processes are under the sway of divine law. Above all, we are not to import mysteries into spiritual birth by selecting the startling incidents as especial indications of the divine presence. The religious experiences of believers in non-Christian systems are just as spectacular as anything which could be found in a most careful search of the records of highly emotional revival services in Christian communities. The whirling dervish, the Hindu devotee, the American Indian youth inducted into the religious rites of his tribe, all experience religious excitement hardly intelligible to a Western mind; and yet we do not think of these experiences as more divine than the quiet self-surrender which marks the least demonstrative Christian. All these experiences are subject to psychological law. The problem in Christian life is to bring the psychological movement under moral law, to make the emotional reaction come out of moral purpose and lead to the moral control of the will. The Mohammedan, the Hindu, and the Indian youth, as well as the professedly Christian believer who puts the emphasis wholly on emotionalism, may come out of the trance, or the ecstasy, with no especially marked transformation except the loosening of the nervous forces. No significant moral result may follow. Christian conversion is moral transformation. A religion without emotion would be a highly questionable affair; our lives are so made that moral determination should produce its legitimate reaction in the sensibility. But there are higher forms of sensibility and lower. By some forms of stimuli the lower nervous centres can be thrown into furious uproar. Such tumult is vastly differ-

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ent from the peace of mind which comes with the faculties of the life set on doing the moral will of God.

And now some whose thinking has been wholly in evolutionary terms will interpret all this to mean that there is in modern thought no place for marked and sudden religious crises. The evolutionist not familiar with the more recent utterances of the leaders of his own school is apt to insist that the conversion of a life can never be the quick transformation that religious leaders of an earlier time looked for,—that conversion must rather be through a slow and steady process of development. The objections to “instantaneous” conversion are apparent at a glance. Too often a seeker has been made a seeker just by the excitement of a particular moment, and has come into an experience which has been just for the moment. There is really, however, no contradiction between the thought of a life in which processes move on slowly and that life arriving at a quick and sudden climax. The evolutionist of the present day teaches that forces do not move at uniform rate. The most ordinary observation shows us processes which move at snail’s pace for weeks and months and then come to swift crisis in an hour. This law holds sway in the natural world all the way from the transformation of the continent to that of the microscopic particle. There is a slow movement toward a critical point, or toward “the turning of a corner,” and then the process is by leaps and bounds. So also especially in the organic realm. So also in the progress of social masses and of individual lives, except that in an individual life the decisive element at a particular moment may be the individual’s own will, co-operating with the play of the forces round about. William James has somewhere an expression to the effect that it is possible to “pull a trigger” in human consciousness. To carry out the suggestion of this interesting figure, we may say that before the pulling of the trigger there must be the “loading” of the consciousness, and the loading may require a vast period. With the

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pulling of the trigger, however, the accumulated spiritual forces are discharged in what may prove to be a long flight of powerful consequences. An emotional stir brought about by the personal magnetism of a preacher, or by what we so often condescendingly call "crowd-contagion"—regardless of the fact that good forces are contagious as well as evil—or by a rush of tender memories, may lead to the sudden resolution which puts the climax on weeks or months of reflection and which issues in a changed course of life. Instantaneous resolution which comes out of nothing in particular and leads nowhere in particular is negligible. A sudden resolution which transforms long broodings into conduct is well worth while.

Present-day psychology has done much to bring to attention the significance of crisis in the inner life. The study of the sub-conscious mind has been largely responsible for this return of emphasis to crisis. We see that mind has much more reach than appears at any one moment in consciousness, or in all our moments in consciousness, for that matter. There is much below the threshold of consciousness which does not often come over the entrance into conscious experience, but occasionally insights and resolutions seem to flash upon us out of the depths. The danger in the study of such experiences—so far as the significance of the experiences for the religious life is concerned—is that of treating these experiences as if they had no sort of connection with the will and of overlooking the distinction between worthwhile and worthless impulses. Observation would seem to bear out the contention that not only do the elements arise out of the sub-conscious life into the conscious life, but that the deliberate purposes of the conscious life sink down into the sub-conscious life to reappear later with startlingly new power. One view would make the human will largely passive under mysterious influences from the sub-conscious. The other view would make the sub-conscious in large part determined by the deliberately conscious.

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To take an illustration remote from the religious sphere we cite an observation of the great mathematician, Henri Poincaré, narrated in the *Scientific American* for July 27, 1912. Speaking of mathematical problems, Poincaré is quoted as saying: "There appear to be three stages in the solution of a problem: first, a period of intense mental effort, usually unsuccessful; secondly, a complete mental rest from that particular problem; and, thirdly, a sudden revelation of the solution, followed by a period of conscious effort, trying to find the proofs of the answer revealed."

The second and third stages of the above process would seem to be the stages when the sub-conscious mind is at work. Parallels for this statement might be found for religious experience,—a period of long struggle, followed by the quick coming of the light. Quite likely even Poincaré, genius though he was, did not find many solutions of important problems flashing upon him when there had been no previous effort to master them.

So that importance must be given to the attitude of the will as a fashioner of the current of the sub-conscious life. Importance also must be given to the will as the chooser between the revelations which are of consequence and those which are not. A foremost American psychologist, himself in entire sympathy with religion, lays stress on the transformations made by the uprush of sub-conscious forces without providing for distinction between what are important and what are not. In this particular student's discussion the revelations which come to a patient awaking out of a sleep induced by an anaesthetic are put on about the same plane as the sudden insight which follows long brooding over a hard problem of moral duty. In the face of such doctrine the need of moral emphasis in dealing with impulse is obvious. Professor William Sanday, in hinting at a theory of the person of Christ, attaches importance to the teachings of modern psychology concerning the sub-conscious as pointing to the realm from which the divine in-

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fluences may have played into the life of Christ. In any such theory we must not leave out of account the fact that the impulses arising into the consciousness of Christ were met at the threshold by transcendently sure moral discernment. The importance of that discernment must not be overlooked in our thought of the Christ or in our thought of the Christian.

To pass now to a field somewhat remote from those we have been considering, we add a final word about the importance of conversion today from the viewpoint of social progress. The aim of society was never more definitely set toward the improvement of men in masses than today. At the beginning of this movement there was a rather marked trend away from the idea that the methods of individual improvement would be effective for the transformation of society. If we could but cleanse industrial and political and social institutions individual betterment would take care of itself. Activity for social improvement goes on today with increased momentum, but there is not as much insistence as formerly that the improvement in institutions will necessarily of itself bring an improvement in social conditions. We know indeed that masses of men exist in circumstances in which real moral life is practically impossible. The tenements in which they live, the hours through which they must work, the wage they receive, are such that many lack the pre-conditions of moral life. But as of old we are making the discovery that while men cannot live the moral life without the material pre-requisites of moral life, the mere improvement of environment beyond a certain point is ineffective unless there is response from the individual will. "Taking the people out of the slums may not necessarily take the slums out of the people." This is not said in disparagement of the endeavour to change industrial and social institutions; we have hardly begun to make a start in desired changes. But all such changes must have as their aim the making it easier for the individual delib-



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erately to surrender his will to the highest moral ideal which he can conceive.

What, now, in the light of all these considerations, is the duty of the Christian Church? First of all, to strive to bring those who are doing evil to doing well. Secondly, to show those who have begun the right life without having definitely connected their experience with the ideals of Christ that such connection will bring to their endeavour a richness and fulness of life otherwise impossible. It would be folly to maintain that only those are Christian who profess themselves to be such. If any man hath the Spirit of Christ he belongs to Christ. Conversion comes through the surrender of the life to the highest spiritual ideal. But a converted life needs to learn what spirit it is of; immense progress comes to the life already committed to right doing by seeing the ideals of the right life set on high in the Christ. Thirdly, the Church must take hold with renewed vigour of the problem of the religious training of children. No matter what the theory of the child-life on which a Church moves, all modern plans for the improvement of human beings insist that the earlier the start the better. It seems possible to give the child-life the right direction from the beginning and to bring the growing will to a height where it deliberately ratifies and makes its own the forces which have been playing upon it from earliest consciousness. Recent study would seem to indicate that the period when this ratification can be most confidently expected is during the earlier stages of adolescence. The best Christian procedure would seem to be to make the child think of himself as belonging to the Kingdom of God from the beginning and to lead him to the place where with deliberate setting of the will he ratifies for himself the principles of the Kingdom.

In all the above nothing has been said about some forces which today make for emphasis upon the doctrine of repentance. Examinations of large bodies of data having to

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do with religious experience, as for example in the *Varieties of Religious Experience* by James, seem to indicate that in the normal approach to religious experience the consciousness of personal unworthiness plays a larger part than we had suspected. It is not merely the deliberate transgressors who are weighted with a sense of unworthiness. Oftentimes such transgressors have their faculties so blunted by their transgressions that any fine feeling is out of the question. The consciousness of unworthiness marks the lives of those who are most worthy. Without laying any stress on morbidness or over-introspectiveness the knowledge of religious processes which we have today would warrant us in attaching more importance than we do to the approach to the Kingdom of God through the experience of the humble and the contrite heart.

# The Pacific and the Warlike Ideals

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We live in the midst of demonstrations in favour of Peace. But the very fact of these demonstrations is evidence of an uneasy consciousness in the public mind that there are currents about us setting strongly in the direction of War. More than one of the great Powers is being continually pressed to increase its armament both by sea and by land: and it is a step even beyond this when War is preached not only as a right and a duty, but as a thing to be desired for its own sake. This new gospel has for its author General von Bernhardt, a General commanding a cavalry division, who is also well known as an able and authoritative writer on military subjects. His book *Deutschland und der nächste Krieg* (Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1912)<sup>1</sup> is worthy of his reputation and worthy also of the paradox which it expounds: it is no vague beating of the air, but sets forth its arguments in full and close detail, with a grave, restrained and masculine eloquence that may well come as a trumpet call to the German nation.

If I were examining these arguments as an Englishman moved by the same considerations of patriotism towards my own country by which the author is moved towards his, I should have a great deal to say that can have no place in this article. THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY must not make itself in any way the organ of political rivalries: its object is religious, and its appeal is to the whole world of religion.

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<sup>1</sup>As the main body of this paper was written in July, 1912, the quotations from General von Bernhardt's book were translated directly from the original, and are not taken from the authorized translation which has since appeared.

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But it very much concerns the whole world of religion to know whether the ideal which it sets before itself should be a peaceful or a warlike ideal. It very much concerns each one of us as men to know whether we are to regard the martial or the pacific virtues as the proper basis of character and morals. It very much concerns every statesman and every politician to know whether he is to think of war as a dreadful necessity that may have to be contemplated in the last resort, when all other means of regulating the relations of one nation with another have failed, or as a natural and normal expedient, to be had recourse to without reluctance and to be welcomed with a stern enthusiasm.

### I.

Before going further, it is important for us to understand, or try to understand, the standpoint from which the author who puts forward these new views is writing, and the special motives by which his book is inspired. For, if I have on this occasion rather to suppress the Englishman in me, so also it is only right and fair, in judging of General von Bernhardt's book, to bear in mind and up to a certain point make allowance for the particular purpose that his treatise is intended to serve. It is addressed to his own countrymen and written for them, not in the first instance for the world at large. He writes as a soldier, as a German soldier—I may go further and say, as a North German or Prussian soldier; he speaks especially for “the North, where, under Prussia's laurel-crowned banners, there has grown up a race, self-reliant, capable, industrious and renowned (*ein selbstbewusstes, tüchtiges, arbeitsames und ruhmgewohntes Geschlecht*).” It is in the spirit of such a people that he writes, not at all boastfully or provocatively but with a very resolute understanding of what he wants for himself and for his country. To remember this is not only fair to him but important for ourselves, as soon as we come to give the teaching of his book a wider

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scope and treat it as though it were meant for a doctrine of universal application. It is indeed just at this point that the argument seems to me to break down: for I shall try to show presently that it comes into collision with the Kantian maxim, so to act as though our action were to be a law for all mankind. I hold this point in reserve for the present; but in order that we may do justice to the writer it is well that we should, as far as we can, put ourselves in his position. That position as it stands is sufficiently impressive.

What is it exactly that we see? No nation under the sun has taken such trouble with its army as Germany; and now it is evidently determined that its navy shall be on a par with its army. For attack or defence, for defence or attack, the German people is determined to be prepared for war to the highest point that can possibly be required of it. It does not really ask about other nations, or trim its preparations to the measure of theirs; it is determined to be as strong as it can. The Germans have taken in hand the question of their Army and Navy with the same strenuous thoroughness which they apply to other things. They are resolved that nothing shall be wanting to either that it is in their power to provide. This "in their power" imposes a certain limitation; but it has to be remembered that they give to the Army and Navy precedence over every other element of national well-being. Whatever else they may be, they will be at least fully armed and prepared for war.

General von Bernhardi writes with a profound consciousness of this. He writes as one who knows what that degree of preparedness means. He evidently thinks—and he has very solid reason for thinking—that it has not its equal on the face of the earth. Japan may have something of the same spirit; but the German Empire is a bigger power than Japan, and Japan took its science from Germany, and has not exhausted all the science that Germany has to give.



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General von Bernhardi knows what the German army is and what it can do. He also knows and trusts the spirit of his people; he has his own conception of the exertions and sacrifices of which it is capable. It has behind it the memory of a great success; it has within it the consciousness of immense possibilities; it has a proud and high-pitched temper which is not satisfied that the place which it occupies in the world is adequate either to its deserts or to its abilities. General von Bernhardi feels, and his countrymen around him feel, a great craving after expansion (*Machterweiterung*). The German people desires both to widen its base and to extend its arms. There are significant allusions to the enlarged borders that Germany has occupied more than once in the past, and significant hints of the space that it needs for colonizing in the present. But as it is the way is blocked; other nations are in possession; the waste lands suited for European habitation have all been occupied. At home Germany is "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined" on all sides; in the other continents all the most eligible sites have been taken. The only way therefore to satisfy German ambitions is by war; the room for expansion must be won by force of arms. Germany therefore has no choice; it must take its opportunity when it offers, or make it if it does not offer; in any case it must buckle on its armour and be prepared for all emergencies.

It is hardly necessary to point out, and this is not the occasion to do more than point out, that the prospect is formidable for other nations. They have at least some excuse for disquietude as they look on at the steady increase in German armaments. Of course General von Bernhardi is an independent writer; he represents only himself and those who think with him. Neither the Government nor the people are in any way committed. And yet it must be confessed that there is a certain stringency in his logic; and other states will do well to take warning.

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## II.

However, this political aspect of the question we have agreed to put on one side. We must do what we can to make abstraction of the conditions introduced by existing international rivalries, and to discuss the question raised as one of pure theory. Is the moral ideal which we propose to ourselves, whether as states or as individuals, to be determined by the conditions of Peace, or by the conditions of War?

Over the greater part of the world it has become almost customary to assume that the answer to this question is to be given in favour of Peace. And for that reason alone we may welcome a strong statement of the case in favour of War. There is always danger in assumptions that are in a way to become conventional; it is a good thing that they should be challenged, if only in order that they may be tested.

And there is something specially refreshing in the way in which this is done by General von Bernhadi. He has all the courage of his opinions, and it is impossible to help admiring the combined vigour and variety of his soldierly rhetoric. There is a certain piquancy in finding all the "good words" that we are accustomed to hear applied to peace annexed and carried over to the other side. It is now war that is described as "not only a necessary element in the life of peoples but also an indispensable factor in civilization, nay the highest expression of the force and life of truly civilized peoples" (p. 7). On the other hand it is the love of peace which spreads like a "poison" (p. 7) or like a "pestilence" (p. 11) and which deserves "to be called positively immoral and to be branded as unworthy of the human race" (p. 30). It is not surprising that, in support of this transference of epithets, appeal should be made to the doctrine of Evolution, to the struggle for existence and to the survival of the fittest.

"In the life of Nature the struggle for existence is at the same time the foundation of all healthy development. Everything that is presents itself as

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the product of contending forces. So also in the life of man struggle is not only the destroying principle but also that which gives life. To crush or be crushed, is the essence (*Kern*) of life, says Goethe, and strength of vitality gains the upper hand. Everywhere the law of the stronger holds good. Those forms survive which are able to create for themselves the most favourable conditions and to maintain themselves in the economy of Nature. The weaker goes to the wall. . . . In the conflict within society that social order proves itself to be most capable of life in which the ablest personalities attain to the greatest influence. In the conflict outside the society, in war, that people will win which can throw into the scale the greatest physical, spiritual, moral, material and political force, and therefore is most capable of self-defence. For such a people war will secure favourable conditions of life, enlarged possibilities of development, heightened influence, and so will serve the cause of human progress: for it is clear that the factors which give superiority in war, especially the spiritual and moral factors, are the same that make possible progressive development generally. It is just because they contain within themselves the elements of progress that they bring with them victory. Without war it is only too easy for inferior or decadent races to smother the sound and vigorously germinative elements; and the consequence is a general decline" (pp. 12-14).

No doubt there is truth in all this: and there is truth also in the contention that war brings to the front and brings into play many of the highest qualities—energy, courage, endurance, patriotic unselfishness and devotion. War is perhaps the strongest of unifying forces.

"Before the grave decision which war carries with it all petty separate interests shrink into nothing. The common danger unites together everyone in common exertion, and whoever evades this service of the commonalty is deservedly trodden down. In this union there is inherent an emancipating force which works long and happily in the life of a people. We have only to think of the unifying force of the Wars of Deliverance and of the Franco-German War with their historical consequences. The brutalities in detail which every war brings with it are altogether lost sight of before the idealism of the achievement as a whole. All the shams, which a long peace undoubtedly fosters, are unmasked. Personalities obtain the place they deserve; whatever is strong and noble and true comes to the front and finds scope for its activity" (p. 21).

It is certain that a great impression has been made upon the imagination of western nations by the successes of the Japanese. In the War with Russia they showed as a people the very type of martial virtues. The German General quotes a paragraph from the official history of the war by the Russian General Staff.

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"The education of the whole Japanese people, beginning in the home and continued in the schools, was inspired by a patriotic and warlike spirit. Taken in connection with the rapidly won successes in the field at once of culture and of warfare, that education awoke in the Japanese an admirable confidence in his own powers. He was proud to serve in the ranks of the army and he dreamed of martial deeds. . . . All the thoughts of the people were directed towards the coming conflict, while for a number of years the very last penny went to the creation of a powerful army and a strong fleet."

This spirit, the author adds, was what carried on the Japanese to victory.

"The calling up of the young Japanese as a soldier was regarded in the family as a festival" (p. 292).

On the other hand in Russia, according to the same authority, the doctrine was everywhere preached and spread abroad that:—

"patriotism was an obsolete idea; that war was a crime and an anachronism; that deeds of arms did not deserve the slightest recognition, that the army was the chief drag upon progress and that military service was a disgraceful trade" (*ibid*).

This last is no doubt a rather rhetorical way of putting it; but the exaggeration helps to bring out the antithesis between the two views. After all, even in this extreme expression, the Russian view does not substantially misrepresent the ideas that are current over a large part of the civilized world. As the alternatives are thus stated no injustice will be done to the side on which our author ranges himself. It must be admitted that there is much in human nature to which his view of the question appeals. We have now to consider what there is to be said on the opposite side.

### III.

"War is a crime and an anachronism." Without going so far as that, are we, or are we not, to allow that war is at least a great and terrible evil? Granting that by the way it produces good as calling forth conspicuous virtues, can it be said that war in itself is anything but an evil?

I am very anxious not to fall into sentimentalism. Any

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such state of mind would be very much out of place in arguing with General von Bernhardi.<sup>2</sup> Still we have to reckon at the outset with the huge mass of pain and suffering to which war gives rise, not only among combatants but among non-combatants. We have to remember that all this pain and suffering is avoidable. But for war it would not exist at all. It is just the pressing of that little button which sets the armies in motion that calls it into existence. But can we get away from the feeling that, whatever the virtues to which it gives rise, all this pain and suffering is an evil, and an evil on a tremendous scale? Is it wrong—is it weak and cowardly, or is it only reasonable, to shrink from causing such a vast addition to the ills that flesh in any case is heir to? Our military counsellor would tell us that the ills are physical and material, whereas the benefits are ideal and spiritual; it is a triumph of mind over body. But our bodies are acutely sensitive; and this very sensitiveness is one of the properties that gives them a great part of their value, that makes them capable of so much that is creative in art and life. Can it be otherwise than barbarous to cripple and maim and destroy so much of all this exquisite machinery? We call it vandalism, and we condemn the act in scathing terms, when man destroys the handiwork of man, although it is only expressed in wood or stone or on canvas smeared with various pigments. Yet these things have no sensation, and their destruction causes no pain in the process. But we take it calmly as a matter of course when the declaration of war inflicts prolonged torture on hundreds and thousands of living beings, animals and men, who are capable of fine activities that may leave permanent

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\* A passing allusion to "the brutalities in detail which every war brings with it" has been quoted above. And it is quite true that as these brutalities are contemplated from a distance they are apt to be lost sight of in view of the sum total of the achievement. It is a different thing with those who see them on the spot. That remarkable book, Gustaf Janson's *Lögnerna*, translated into English under the title *Pride of War* (London; Sidgwick and Jackson, 1912), with its vivid pictures and penetrating psychology, is well calculated to redress the balance and to put the realities of war in their place by the side of "the pomp and circumstance" which so impress the imagination.



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results behind them and by their mere exercise are capable of generating a world of brightness and beauty. It is the human instinct to seek after happiness, and nothing destroys so much happiness as war. When we think of it in the abstract, this destruction of happiness is so remote that we do not realize it. And there are cross-grained natures that can have it under their eyes and yet not feel it; while others, not so cross-grained, harden themselves to it, and must perforce in course of time. But we cannot be surprised that the kings and governments on whose word depend the issues of peace and war, are conscious of tremendous responsibility. It is one of the inevitable consequences of increasing civilization that this responsibility is more and more deeply felt. And that is without doubt the reason for that reluctance to have recourse to war which is common to all the chanceries of Europe and of which the soldier who thinks before all things of his profession is apt to complain.

It is true that the doctrine of evolution is also a doctrine of the survival of the fittest, and that this survival is helped by the hard conditions of the struggle for existence out of which it grows. But that phrase "the fittest" acquires an enlarged and extended significance as civilization advances which suggests some counter action of the process of evolution in its cruder forms. Under these forms "fittest" means toughest and strongest, which may also mean coarsest in fibre. In its higher stages the human mind and human will have the power of modifying the evolutionary process in such a way as to protect the qualities which are conceived to be of special value. It is therefore not in itself a conclusive argument in favour of war that it falls in with the more material conditions of the battle of life. And when from material conditions we turn to spiritual conditions, we at once remember that there is another process of evolution which is co-extensive with the history of the human race. There has been on the whole a steady progress

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in the direction of peace and of those diplomatic methods and influences which make for peace and are intended to preserve and secure it.

General von Bernhardi appeals to history in support of his proposition that war is better than peace. His great example is the conquest of Silesia by Frederick the Great (p. 30). He thinks that the value of Silesia as a possession was heightened by the fact that it came through war; if it had been simply handed over by treaty, it would not have meant what it did in the development of Prussia.

A case of this kind may be made out, if one chooses one's examples. But I do not think that there is any place in the General's book in which he sets forth the advantages—let us say—of the 'Thirty Years' War, or proves how much that did for the civilization of Germany. Is there not a crucial case in the Civil Wars which marked the break-up of the Roman Republic? There was a hundred years of scarcely interrupted war from the time of the Gracchi to the battle of Actium. Has there ever been a much more brutal or miserable period in the whole of history? And yet it made splendid soldiers, and it brought out a number of really great personalities. There is at least that to be said for the Civil Wars of Rome. They ought to supply a very strong case for the General's argument; just as the Augustan age which followed ought to supply him with a clear example of the ill effects of peace. I wonder how his doctrine would have been received if he had preached it to those who lived through both periods, and in particular to the provincials. If they gave their suffrages in favour of war, they must have very much belied the language of their inscriptions which have come down to us, as well as that of the poets and historians of the time. We should for instance, I fancy, have to rewrite backwards a good many of the Odes of Horace.

The world at large is undoubtedly of opinion that the benefits of war do not outweigh its cost. If we measure

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the benefits in the moral and spiritual scale, we must measure the cost in the same way; and I do not think that the verdict of mankind will be reversed if we do so. We may see that verdict in the steps which have been progressively taken to make the appeal to arms more difficult and the preservation of peace easier.

It is no doubt open to General von Bernhardi to say that the verdict of mankind is wrong. I can quite believe that he could produce a minority of opinions in agreement with his own, and that he and his friends could explain the opposite opinions by all sorts of discreditable causes—love of selfish ease and the like. Have we not, for instance, our own classical utterance?

“When I have borne in memory what hath tamed  
Great nations, how ennobling thoughts depart  
When men change swords for ledgers and desert  
The student's bower for gold. . . .”

But on the whole I am inclined to think that the world knows what is best for it, and in the long run it decides, not by discreditable motives alone, but by the sum total of all the motives that are presented to it. In the origin of society the chronic state was one of hostility. Every clan was at feud with its neighbours. Gradually groups and alliances were formed: and so there was peace within a certain area if there was war outside. In the Middle Ages it was baron against baron, raids and rapine were everyday occurrences. Those were the times of

“The good old rule, the noble plan,  
That those should take who had the power,  
And those should keep who can.”

General von Bernhardi must look back with regret to that state of things: for indeed it is the ideal to which he would recall us. The poet's lines express exactly the principle by which he would regulate the intercourse of nations. How else are we to interpret such a passage as the following:

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"Where for an increasing people land for colonization cannot be won from uncultivated races, and yet the surplus population which its own land can no longer feed must be kept for the State, nothing else remains but to acquire the necessary territory by means of war; for the instinct of self-preservation impels to war and the conquest of alien land. Then right is no longer with the possessor, but with him who comes out conqueror in battle; and for the threatened people Goethe's saying holds good:—'What thou hast inherited from thy fathers, win, in order [really] to possess it.' . . . In such cases he is in the right, who has the force to keep or to conquer. Force is at the same time the highest right, and the conflict of rights has to be decided by the measure of force, *i. e.*, by war, which moreover always decides aright biologically, because its decisions arise out of the nature of things" (p. 15 f.).

From other passages it appears that not only might is right, but that right is in strict proportion to might: the weaker cannot have the same justification for existence as the stronger (*e. g.* p. 30). In other words, it is really the old-fashioned morals of the highway over again.

### IV.

The rising conscience of mankind rebels against such a conclusion. It is a negation of the whole system of Ethics that has been built up with so much pains. We cannot help recognizing that war, the trial of strength, stands in no true relation to justice; it is not merely a rough and rude means of obtaining justice, it is no means at all.

The perception of this fact has led in modern times to the appeal to international arbitration, and to the attempt to establish a court for such arbitration at the Hague. This is the true alternative for war. And accordingly the advocates of war decry and reject the appeal to arbitration; they contend that the principles of ordinary morals are not applicable to nations. The main arguments are two: (1) that as between nations morality has no sanctions; however clear may be its dictates, there is no power behind them; there is no authority by which they can be enforced. And (2) there is no common code; the world is not sufficiently agreed as to the principles of right and wrong where nations, rather than individuals, are concerned. I

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believe it will be felt that neither contention is really proved. Something may be proved; but not enough to carry the case.

Suppose we admit that *as yet* the sanctions of arbitration are imperfect: that *as yet* the principles on which arbitration is to be conducted are insufficiently ascertained and accepted. Would it even then follow that international morality has no principles and no sanctions? Would it even then follow that arbitration is not better than war? Would it even then follow that arbitration cannot be improved and perfected? The proper answer to the objections brought against arbitration is that the world must hurry up and place its peaceful methods upon a better footing. As it is the objections taken to arbitration are exaggerated and one-sided. One of the arguments used by General von Bernhardi is that even between individuals the ordinary standards of morality sometimes fail, and recourse has to be had to duelling. Is not the opposite conclusion just as tenable—that the duel itself is barbarous and immoral? The Anglo-Saxon races at least have made up their minds in this sense. It may be said, that is only an instance of the differences between which it is impossible to strike a balance. When Mr. Root was Secretary of State in 1908 he argued that “the high court of international justice” would find its sanctions in the force of Public Opinion. General von Bernhardi replies that it is not to be supposed that Public Opinion will everywhere be of the same mind as the financial magnates of America. There is not, I believe, anything to show that Mr. Root ever assumed that it would be, or even that he was thinking only of America. Is it so impossible that there should be a Public Opinion of the whole world? Is it so impossible that the opinion of the world should be organized? Why should not the High Court at the Hague by degrees acquire such a prestige and such an authority? Why should it not gather round itself the ablest jurists of all nations?



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Why should not these by degrees draw up and perfect an international code of their own? Why should not such a code in time be ratified by the consent of nations? No doubt this state of things is still some way distant. The partisans of war may, if they like, make the most of their time, and embroil the world while they have the opportunity. But at least we see daylight beyond. It is not likely that the opportunity will be allowed to last forever.

The fact is that General von Bernhardt is a good soldier and a good patriot, and he writes like a thoroughly good soldier and patriot. If he shows certain prejudices in his reading of history, they are derived from those whom he trusts as historians, especially from Treitschke; his version of history is Treitschke's version. But he is not a philosopher, and it would be a mistake to take his book too seriously as a philosophy. He strongly desires the expansion and glory of Germany, and he has given voice to this desire; but the principles of moral action that he has laid down are not capable of being applied as laws by every human being.

### V.

It might be thought that, with the opinions which he holds and his uncompromising way of expressing them, the author I have been criticizing was simply a cynic and an opponent of Christianity and of all religion. There is not a little cynicism in his book and not a little that is difficult to reconcile with Christianity and religion. And yet the writer himself is at bottom a religious man. He has two striking passages which deal incidentally with Christianity: and, if I am not mistaken, these passages are not only interesting in themselves but they suggest a solution of the problem that he has brought home to us. What is that problem—from our point of view, and not from his?

We want to abolish war; and we think that it ought to be, and in course of time will be, abolished. It ought to be and will be abolished because it (war) is really irrelevant to

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the only direct purpose for which it exists. It exists nominally to maintain the right; but it does not maintain the right, because it has nothing to do with right; the trial of strength is no trial of right; the two things are in different planes and have no real connection with each other.

We want to abolish war, but at the same time *to retain and develop the warlike virtues*. That is the problem as we see it. And I am inclined to think that the two passages to which I have referred, although they do not contain a solution of it, may yet put us upon a track that may lead to a solution.

The first passage is as follows:

"Christian morality is indeed built upon the law of love: 'Love God above all things and thy neighbour as thyself.' But this law can claim no significance for the relation of States to one another, because when applied to politics it would lead to a collision of duties. The love that one showed to another State as such would usually involve a want of love for one's own fellow-countrymen. A policy that rested on such a basis would lead to the worst aberrations. Christian morality is personal and social, and cannot by its very nature ever be political. Its object is to infuse moral strength into the personality, so as to give it the power of acting altruistically [not only in self-interest but] also in the interest of a social whole. It teaches to love even one's personal enemy, but it does not do away with the idea of enmity. Jesus Himself is reported to have said, 'I am not come to send peace, but a sword.' His teaching can never be quoted against the law of conflict which dominates the whole of nature. Never has there been a religion which is more a religion of conflict than the Christian. Moral conflict is its proper meaning. If we desire to transfer the Christian conception to the political relations of States we should only have, from the Christian standpoint, to raise the demand to enhance the power of the State—its power in the widest sense, and therefore not only conceived of materially—to the highest degree in order to apply it for the objects of the moral progress of humanity as a whole, in the particular case even at the cost of the sacrifices which are demanded by war. And so, even according to the Christian conception, we cannot reject war as such, but must ascribe to it moral and historical justification" (p. 23, f.).

This very characteristic passage has plenty of gaps in its logic; like everything else, it is bent to the author's one master-purpose. But before making any further comment upon it, I will proceed to give the other passage, which is shorter. In this passage the writer brings Christianity into connection with the doctrine of the "Balance of Power."

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"From the feeling that States are not made for mutual destruction but rather to carry on in common the propagation of culture, there has gradually developed among them the idea of a balance of power. Christianity, which leads beyond the state to a world-citizenship of the noblest kind, and therefore serves as the foundation of all the Law of Nations, has exercised in this respect the greatest influence" (p. 117).

From this second passage we get the idea of Christianity as a wide all-embracing law; from the first we got the idea of it as a moral conflict. Does not that conflict really call for the exercise of martial virtues? Christianity certainly ought to be aggressive. Does not its aggressiveness call for courage, devotion to a common cause, discipline or obedience to a common purpose, readiness for all the highest forms of self-sacrifice? There is really abundant scope for the exercise of these qualities in times of peace as well as in times of war.

And, after all, is it clear that there is any real decadence? Whenever there is a special demand for courage and daring, there seems to be no lack of response. This new art of the conquest of the air has claimed a heavy toll of human lives. How many of those who were the first to distinguish themselves in it are living at this moment? And yet as fast as one has fallen another has stepped into his place,

*"uno avulso non deficit alter."*

It is like the burying of the firstborn in the foundations of a house; the firstborn are buried, but the house is rapidly building. We have only to follow the newspapers week by week to see how many acts of real heroism there are, done upon the spur of the moment and prompted by sheer humanity. Only the other day there was the great disaster to the Titanic. Doubtless in that case there were various motives and influences at work; it was perhaps a triumph of civilization in a general sense, rather than particularly of Christianity. The demand came upon men suddenly; it did not give them time to reason matters out; it called upon the instincts and habits of a lifetime; and it did not call in

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vain. Both crew and passengers behaved on the whole exceedingly well; if they had been all soldiers, they could not have behaved better.

Historic catastrophes of this kind strike and impress the public imagination; but there are others on a smaller scale constantly occurring. The journals are full of stories of rescue or attempts at rescue, in which boys and men and women have risked and too often sacrificed their lives without a moment's hesitation in the hope of saving others. These are just indications—all the more significant because they are quite casual, taken from the average mass of humanity and not from select cases—of the latent capacity for courage and self-sacrifice that exists below the surface of ordinary society. So long as the virtue is really there, it does not matter if it is latent. There is, I think it must be said, sufficient proof that society on the whole is sound. If the proofs of this are to be had without the terrible mass of misery and suffering inflicted by war, surely we may be content. It is surely better that there should be the wide expanse of common every-day happiness, which means far more than mere material comfort, than that there should be instances of exceptional merit set off by the lurid background of war.

### VI.

Our military moralist has much to say about the spread of ideas and types of culture by means of war. He is evidently thinking of his own people and of their ideas and types of culture; and he writes as though a great impulse would be given to these by successful war. But I do not think that he has anywhere made it clear how the propagation of ideas is to be helped by war in a way that is not possible through the methods of peace. As a matter of fact, German ideals and German culture are immensely powerful, and they are spreading through the world with great rapidity. They are doing this on their own merits and without any adventitious aid. It is difficult to see what

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would be gained for them by successes of a different order. It is true that the Napoleonic Wars made way for characteristically French ideas by breaking up a form of society that was antagonistic to them. But there does not seem to be anything analogous to that state of things now. The other nations of Europe are not so confined by the hard crust of tradition and convention as to need to have the plough-share of war driven through it.

On this head I am glad to be able to appeal to another German writer who is quite as imperialistic in his views as General von Bernhardi. I have in my mind a book which came out about the same time as the General's, which is very similar to it in its aims, and which has rivalled it in the rapidity of its circulation, *Der Deutsche Gedanke in der Welt*, by Paul Rohrbach (Düsseldorf u. Leipzig, 1912). Herr Rohrbach desires to see his country strong, and he also desires to see its ideas make way in the world, but he is content that they should do so by peaceful penetration. His language could not be more explicit:

"In opposition to all these ideas we give our assurance in the most express and sincere manner that any kind of conquests—in whatever part of the world it may be—lie outside the range of our aims and of our wishes. . . . The policy of 'the German idea' in the world should thus according to our wish and will have for its object no conquest or other kind of force. If it did this, it might perhaps more easily be made popular for the comprehension of the masses. But since this path is closed to us both on ideal and practical grounds, the problem for us is in such a way to realize the idea of national expansion, on which our capacity for life as a world power absolutely depends, that we begin by creating for ourselves both by land and sea an armed force of such imposing strength that no one shall dare to attack us, and that under its protection we shall then work for the attainment of our pacific goal; while renouncing the subjection by war of foreign lands and peoples, to saturate those parts of the world to which we have access with the spiritual content of our national ideal (*Volksgedankens*)" (*Op. cit.* p. 205 f.).

No exception can really be taken to this. A generous rivalry between peoples in the spread of their own ideas will be all for the good of the world at large. But ideas can be trusted to make their own way; they will be accepted



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or not, according as experience gives proof of their value. But they have no need to be enforced by the sword.

### VII.

Reviewing the whole question, I think it will be seen that a simple answer cannot be given. The legitimacy of the appeal to arms will vary with the stage of civilization in connection with which it is made. As real civilization advances the causes of war should be gradually reduced until they disappear altogether. The most legitimate of all wars are those which are fought for freedom, to shake off oppression. But it is to be hoped that as the state of the world steadily improves there will come to be no such thing as oppression. The various nationalities will adjust their borders and develop themselves freely and harmoniously within them. If the intermingling of peoples is too intricate to permit of this, pacific solutions must be found by agreement and the exercise of even-handed justice.

Other causes of war will—not at once, but in time—be brought under the principles of higher international equity, which by degrees will be worked into a science. The decisions of this science will come to prevail, and the alternative of war will gradually be discarded—for two main reasons: (1) because the price paid is too big; the amount of suffering inflicted is out of proportion to any possible gains, if victors and vanquished are both considered; and (2) even more because the appeal to war is hopelessly irrelevant. The conscience of the human race will not rest until it has found a solution for such questions that is really in accordance with right. But war is a test, not of right, but of might. And might and right have no permanent relation to each other; it is impossible to establish a sound equation between them.

In point of fact we may be sure that the same kind of process will be gone through in regard to the mutual rights and duties of nations that has already taken effect in regard

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to the rights and duties of individuals. For long centuries many things were left to the crude trial of physical strength which have by degrees been regulated and brought within the domain of law. It will not be to-day, and it will not be to-morrow, but sooner or later a time will come when the same fate will happen to the disputes of nations. As yet the Public Opinion of the world is but imperfectly organized. But a time will come when that reproach will hold good no longer, and by the common consent of mankind its voice will be listened to and obeyed.

That conditions of things will be rational; the condition of war is essentially irrational. Therefore we cannot doubt that in the long run war must give way. And if it is doomed ultimately to give way, the virtues for which it supplies a school and exercise-ground must to that extent lose their opportunity along with it. It will be a real loss, but at the same time a loss that must be faced. As yet perhaps the substitutes hardly seem adequate—emulation in the conquest of nature, self-devotion and the endurance of hardship in good causes, readiness to meet danger in civil life when danger comes, and for the masses the mimic warfare of sports and games. These are our assets at the present moment, and we must make the most of them. As time goes on and the new code of morals takes root, it will be brought by degrees to a higher pitch of perfection. And, whatever else it is, it will be at once deliberately rational and deliberately Christian.

# St. Paul's Message to Religion

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No character in history displays in higher degree than St. Paul the exalted consciousness of bearing an inspired message for all humanity. Other men have been rapt with the sense of an utterance given from beyond the veil, making them living mouthpieces of God. Mohammed spoke as a consciously inspired man. John the Baptist surpassed the authority of the prophets, and Jesus that of John. St. Paul is both prophet and apostle, ambassador for God and herald of Jesus. Other men have spoken to humanity as a whole. Sakya Muni gave himself to the liberation through enlightenment of a fettered, darkened race. But neither the conditions of the Buddha's age, nor the nature of his message were such as wrung from the soul of St. Paul the cry, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel!" In St. Paul a transcendent sense of divine vocation is balanced by a penetrating apprehension of the present need and hunger of the world. In him the prophet's vision attains the degree of physical ecstasy. It issues in a sense of inspired insight sufficient to remove from the speaker's mind the last vestige of doubt concerning the divine authority of his utterance; and this sense of apostolic authority, this consciousness of speaking "by the Spirit" makes feasible for the church its subsequent transfer to the writings of St. Paul, and to the other writings which it regarded as "apostolic," of all the attributes which in common with the Synagogue it had been wont to attach to "the Law and the Prophets." "Words of the Lord" were already authoritative in St. Paul's time, but he thought that he "also had the Spirit." And besides this consciousness of divine vocation we have in St. Paul

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such a sense of the unity of humanity in its religious needs, such a cosmopolitan passion for the cosmic social ideal, as no other age or personality could well produce.

St. Paul felt himself the bearer of a message to humanity, the exponent of a new revelation, and he lays bare to us the very heart of his own religious life in the letters which have come down to us tested and authenticated in the hottest fires of criticism. It is in the earliest, the best authenticated, the most self-revealing of these that the Apostle, looking back over his own extraordinary story, appeals to it as proof that he had been from his very birth the unconscious, at first the unwilling, agent of an unseen, wise, almighty Power. Borrowing the language in which Jeremiah had expressed a kindred thought as to his own seemingly unpatriotic ministry, St. Paul declares his mission to the Gentiles to have been an act of the inscrutable, pre-ordaining counsel of God. Thus only can he account for his unique part. By inheritance, environment, experience, from his very birth and before it, God had set him apart to be the bearer of a message to humanity as a whole. The message came through the manifestation of God's Son "in" the messenger. The influence of this man and his message has been of no slight moment in the development of the racial religious consciousness. Should we not be able in some measure to identify and define it?

The circumstances of the world in the age of St. Paul, especially the Hellenistic world, will help us to appreciate his sense of an authoritative message to all humanity; for Tarsus, the Apostle's native city, was one of the most vital centres of Hellenistic thought. With all his ecstatic, enthusiastic temperament, St. Paul was far from being a fanatic or enthusiast. Inspiration and criticism were to his mind complementary. He could and did labour consistently, sanely, practically, effectively, toward a definite, well-conceived result. The high consciousness of his calling from God abated not one jot from his wisdom in adapting

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means to end. This was a man who knew what he was about. Knowing what we do of religious conditions under the Empire, understanding something of the newly awakened spiritual aspirations of its heterogeneous masses, we can more easily appreciate the attitude of one who sees around him a world-wide famine of the word of God, and in view of this expectancy of the message can declare that he has fully preached it "from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum." It was a brief proclamation of glad tidings long awaited that could be thus quickly heralded. When the author of Acts describes St. Paul as alluding at Athens to the noble Hymn of Cleanthes and the poems of Epimenides as evidence of this "groping after the God in whom we live and move and have our being, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him"; when he depicts St. Paul as presenting "Jesus and the resurrection" as its solution, we recognize the trait as true to what must have been the actual type of the Apostle's missionary preaching. The Apostle himself describes it in strikingly similar language almost at this very time. He had been bidding men "turn from idols to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from Heaven, even Jesus, whom He raised from the dead."<sup>1</sup>

St. Paul certainly could not be ignorant of the popular religious tendencies of his time, though he may well have had no intimate acquaintance with the various mystery-cults that were just beginning their rapid propaganda over the Empire. True it is not likely to be more than a coincidence that Tarsus should have been one of the few early seats known to us in Asia Minor of the religion of Mithra, although its sacraments of mystic union with the Redeemer-God, and its doctrine of immortality through such union were soon to make this cult a formidable rival of Christianity. An indefinite number of similar "mysteries" were current, ranging from mere superstitious necromancy and magic to highly developed theosophical systems. In all of

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<sup>1</sup> With Acts 17:24—31 compare I Thess. 1:9—10



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these the motive was the effort of awakening personality to triumph over finite weakness and mortality by contact with the unseen Source of life, knowledge, and power. Mimetic magic and interfusion of life by sacramental meals and ritual were the means resorted to. National aspirations no longer monopolized religious loyalty. Greek philosophic thought had undermined the authority of Olympus, making room for many an "unknown God." It had also called into being a sense of individual souls and their worth. If "Know thyself" were made the first lesson in philosophic thought, if even the slave and artisan were to be taught that "Man is the measure of all things," if the very substance of Greek thinking were to be continually presented in the form of a contrast between the apparent and the real, the material and the intangible, the transitory and the constant, spiritual aspiration would inevitably be awakened. How could there fail to be a world-wide eruption of the volcanic fires of man's religious nature? In point of fact it did not fail. That was in fact the age of the soul's attainment to self-consciousness. A renaissance of the old nature-religions, with their mysteries and magic rites, their claims of immemorial antiquity or primitive revelation—this is just the phenomenon we should expect. The nascent sense of individual worth, the sense of personality, found ready to hand rites which suggested a real alliance between the finite and the infinite. In them faint, weak, impulses of the life within, longing, aspiring, but forever thwarted by hard fate, stifled at last in the paralysing grip of death, sought contact with the vaster, kindred impulses and powers of nature round about. The period is one when everywhere the ancient nature myths of dying and resurrected redeemer-gods were recast and reinterpreted, when far and wide throughout the newly-formed commonwealth of humanity new religions were taking root, religions of individual redemption, cults aspiring to personal immortality by mystic union with divinities manifested in human form.

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If life and immortality were brought to light through the gospel, at least the hunger for them was already there. St. Paul may indeed have been largely ignorant of the nature of these cults, and indifferent or hostile to their effect, his own conception of redemption was certainly of a far more Jewish mould; but he would not be—his own writings prove that he was not—unconscious of the atmosphere which sustained them, nor indifferent to the religious need which called them forth.

It may be taken, then, as certain that St. Paul was not only in supreme degree conscious of a message of religious import to humanity as a whole, to the newly conceived commonwealth of the human race, but was in scarcely less degree conscious of the specific need that message was to meet. St. Paul lived in the unfaltering consciousness of being an "ambassador from God"; and he was kept in daily contact with the occasion for his ambassage. If ever Law seemed to him a term competent to express the need of that humanity whereof he ever felt himself an organic part, it was not law as a means of enlightenment or a spur to effort. Not law but *life* was the object of the soul hunger of his age. So long as he believed a Law had been revealed of such a nature that it could give *life*, it had his soul's devotion. He lived a Pharisee of Pharisees, surpassing his contemporaries in zeal for the tradition of his Fathers. When slowly growing inward experience brought fatal conviction that the effect of law—all law—is far other, the very hunger for spiritual life, no less keen in the Pharisee than in the Gentile though differently manifest, enforced a violent reaction. Saul of Tarsus became Paul, an apostle of the evangel of the Spirit, an opponent of law as the means of salvation, an advocate of grace as its only line of approach.

In view of these and similar unquestioned facts, exhibiting the real relation of the man to his age, it is imperative for the student of comparative religion—or, as the

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Germans more worthily term it, the history of religion—to obtain, if only as matter of scientific information, the clearest attainable idea of St. Paul's distinctive thought. Quite apart from the validity of our religious consciousness, or of St. Paul's contribution to it, the historian can better afford to disregard almost any other factor in psychological evolution than remain unclear regarding that which during this period was entering permanently into the religious development of the Hellenistic world. For over and through all the ruin of classic civilization this new religious consciousness has held its own, a connecting link with the past, a legacy from it to the dominant races of the modern world.

If, in addition, we look upon the successive phases of the racial religious consciousness as manifesting a progress directed by the homing instinct of the soul, we cannot but view the marvellous career of the Apostle to the Gentiles as marking its greatest epoch. If man's religion is indeed "the deepest thing in man," it is no accident that "the Christian era" should have become the dating-point of modern civilization. Life and immortality were then brought to light.

Considering the positiveness of the messenger and his message, considering the increasing light we are gaining on the conditions which called it forth, and considering the practical effect in the later course of civilization that is directly traceable to it, we can scarcely avoid the attempt to answer in the broader light of the history of religion the question now before us: What was the distinctive message of St. Paul? The very ardour of his apologetic, the uncompromising vigour and rigour of his polemic against man or angel that should venture to preach any other gospel, facilitate an answer. They should make it the easier to say just wherein his gospel differed even from that which the "pillar"-apostles undertook to preach among "the circumcision." And yet discussion never ceases. New definitions

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of "Paulinism" persistently appear. Names of the highest scholarly authority attach to definitions which we cannot but view as tending to emasculate it of its most vital significance.

Interpretations which minimize the element of uniqueness and difference so emphasized in the Epistles may not unreasonably plead that these are controversial writings. They may perhaps require allowance for their one-sided statement of the issues at stake. We can hardly regard it, however, as a probable "limitation of St. Paul that he had not carried his conception to its logical issue, and hence clung to a confused compromise with the vital idea of Judaism. Instead of conducting his warfare along the whole front he made important concessions to the Jew in the Jewish-Christian—not from cowardice or insincerity, but because the Jew in himself was still too mighty."<sup>2</sup>

It is quite true that the greater Pauline Epistles have a polemic character, and that in forming our judgment of the issue by reading between the lines we are in danger of doing injustice either to St. Paul or to his opponents. Tübingen criticism certainly did injustice to Peter and James in applying to them the bitter invective of the Epistles. Reaction from it is liable to do corresponding injustice to St. Paul. We are told that on the most vital and fundamental point of all, the permanent obligation of the Mosaic law and the consequent perpetual discrimination in the divine economy between Jew and Gentile, St. Paul stood in the last analysis with the Jews, a particularist. Even in his own case, such neglect of "the customs" as he found unavoidable in his missionary career was not indifferent and valueless, but was felt to be a deliberate sacrifice, the surrender of a "purity" which to him had real religious worth. He never taught, we are told, the emancipation of the *Jew* from Mosaism, but only the liberty of

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<sup>2</sup> Harnack: *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*. Ed. 1911, p. 42. The passage is emphasized by the author.

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the *Gentile*. The "Jews which were among the Gentiles" were instructed by him "to obey the customs and to circumcise their children." He himself set the example among his converts from Judaism, even in Gentile communities, of "walking orderly, keeping the law." The division of missionary fields at the Jerusalem conference between St. Paul and the "pillars" of Gal. 2: 1-10, and the generalizing direction of I Cor. 7:18 ff., "Let every convert keep to the conditions of life to which he was born" are not to be taken as based on the indifference of distinctions made obsolete by the gospel. We are not to understand these as merely evidencing the Apostle's pledge to wage no iconoclastic war upon Mosaism, and his subsequent loyalty to it. He is not merely forbidding attempts to hasten assimilation in matters made indifferent by the common faith and thus liable to acquire undeserved importance. On the contrary, the prohibition, we are told, is based upon the permanent *value* of the distinction. St. Paul himself really attached value to circumcision. He even regarded the obligation of the law *upon the Jews* as permanent. It was to him a perpetual distinction, a perpetual privilege, of the sons of Abraham according to the flesh. Such, if we apprehend it correctly, is the new interpretation of Paulinism.

Let it be clearly understood that such is in our judgment the clear and explicit statement of the Book of Acts. Its author so interprets St. Paul, and takes great pains, while omitting all mention of his resistance in the test case of Titus and of the collision with St. Peter at Antioch, to make the most of the Apostle's concessions in the case of Timothy, and that of his participation in the ceremonial cleansing of the Christian Nazarites in the temple. This author thoroughly believes that St. Paul's practice of accommodation, in becoming "all things to all men," was based on the real (not the supposititious) value to the Jew of his legal purity. He therefore makes Sts. Paul and Barnabas willing agents in the promulgation of "decrees" enact-



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ed by "the apostles and elders in Jerusalem," whose effect is to enable believing Jews placed in the position of St. Peter at Antioch to "eat with" their Gentile brethren *without* the sacrifice of this legal purity. This is the essence of the discrepancy between Acts 15 and Gal. 2; for certainly according to the latter St. Paul did demand this sacrifice of St. Peter. The author of the Book of Acts, we repeat, understands St. Paul's "accommodations" to be based upon the real value to *Jews* of their ceremonial purity, and tells his story—aside from certain incongruities derived from his sources—from this point of view.

If, then, we are fully convinced on critical grounds that this author can be no other than "the beloved physician" of Col. 4:14, St. Paul's companion and fellow labourer, we shall encounter a serious difficulty. The difficulty will be aggravated if we further proceed to carry back the date of Acts in its present form to the very period of the great controversy, placing it before the death of the Apostle, and but a year or two after the author of the Diary—*ex hypothesi* the same as the author of Acts—had accompanied him on his great peace-making visit to "James and the elders." We shall then be obliged to accept the doctrine that St. Paul "had not carried his conception to its logical issue, and hence clung to a confused compromise with the vital idea of Judaism," or else admit that Luke, the companion of this critical journey, had no appreciation of St. Paul's real meaning on the two vital points, his apostleship from God and his gospel of atonement by the cross.

The third evangelist and author of Acts (whether Luke or some incorporator a full generation later of the Lukan Diary) makes it his very object to prove that there is nothing new or revolutionary in Christianity as a world religion. On the contrary it represents the original revealed religion which Judaism restricts and perverts. St. Paul when he stood for trial before the Sanhedrin was still "a Pharisee and the son of a Pharisee." He said "nothing

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but what Moses and the prophets did say should come." He contended only for the fore-ordained enlargement of Judaism now repeatedly and explicitly commanded by God. With such an object insistently and persistently before his eyes one can hardly expect the author of Acts to do full justice to the revolutionary aspects of St. Paul's "revelation of the mystery of Christ which in former generations was not made known unto the sons of men." It is no more than reasonable caution to look twice at the Pauline Epistles before adopting the "Lukan" interpretation of Paulinism.

The issue narrows down to the specific passage Gal. 5:3, which it is proposed to render: "I testify again to every *circumcised* man that he is a debtor to do the whole law," but which cannot grammatically be rendered otherwise than with our own Revisers: "I testify again to every man that *receiveth* circumcision that he is a debtor to observe the whole law." The immediate context, as well as logical consistency on St. Paul's part are as hostile as the grammar to the alternate interpretation. The Apostle is not declaring the born Jew to be under perpetual obligation to keep the law. He is warning the Gentile Christian, tempted to apostatize from "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free" against a rite offered as a means of adding merit to grace but which will prove not addition but substitution, and infinitely for the worse. Christ will profit nothing to the man who "receives" circumcision, because his faith has become distrust. The very act of "perfecting himself in the flesh" is a testimony that he has ceased to regard "the grace of Christ" as adequate. Hence the Apostle continues: "Ye are severed from Christ, ye who would be justified by the law, ye are fallen away from grace."

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<sup>2</sup> So Harnack, *Neue Untersuchungen*, 1911, p. 31. Ich bezeuge aber widerum jeglichem beschnittenen Menschen, dass er schuldig ist das ganze Gesetz zu beobachten.

This would require the past participle *περιτεμνημένος*. The text has *περιτεμνόμενος* properly rendered by Weizsäcker; der sich beschneiden lässt.

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It was unavoidable to discuss the question of St. Paul's teaching regarding the permanence of the distinction created by the law between Jew and Gentile, because if permanence did attach in his mind to this distinction, then our conception of his message is radically at fault. And, as we have seen, the authority of Acts can be, and has been, cited for this view. But no scholarship, however great, can harmonize out from the great letters of St. Paul their divine message of universal emancipation. The man who on this issue had resisted St. Peter to his face, the man who broke with Barnabas and "all the Jews" at Antioch, to make a new beginning of his entire missionary career, must be believed when he denies having tolerated a compromise for one hour. And "compromise" is the term a Lightfoot justly applies to the agreement reported in Acts; for in it the concessions St. Paul was willing to grant as an accommodation to "weakness" are claimed as "necessary" in support of the doctrine that Jews who have sought to be justified by faith in Christ are still in duty bound to keep their ceremonial purity. Compromise is not a term easily applicable to one who plants himself like a rock on the "stumblingblock" of the cross, who glories in it just because it is irreconcilable with the persistent authority of the law. St. Paul is determined to know one thing, that in Christ God had "changed the relation of the world to Himself." The witness of cross and resurrection is the demonstration of this fact.

The Jew's historical place of honour in the divine plan of redemption is not affected by the abolition of the distinctions introduced by the law. "Abraham was called in uncircumcision." St. Paul might therefore well remain sensitive to that which made him *historically* a Jew, and find a place even in the kingdom of Christ for special sympathies which unite the children of Abraham after the flesh. The past was secure. But recognition of distinctions based upon *legal observance* as having sanction from God would

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be abhorrent to St. Paul. "For all are sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ. In baptism ye did put on Christ. There can be neither Jew nor Greek, for all are one man in Christ Jesus." The Apostle counsels indeed that Jew as well as Gentile remain in that fleshly condition wherein each was called. This is not because "circumcision is anything or uncircumcision." It is just because they are *not*. Let the believing Jew beware how he reërects the distinctions of the law into a barrier between himself and the stranger that God hath "brought nigh." For "if we, Jews by nature as we were, trusted in Christ for a salvation not to be had by works of law, we cannot build again with impunity the barrier we once destroyed. This would be to confess ourselves transgressors, to make void the grace of God, to make the death of Christ a useless thing."

It is the providential greatness of the New Testament writings that they cannot be harmonized. The Gospels do *not* give us identical conceptions of Jesus. The attempts to make them do so fail of their apologetic purpose, and detract from the real value of the testimony. Acts of Uniformity cannot subdue a non-conformity such as St. Paul's. What could not be done by "Peter, Barnabas, and all the Jews" at Antioch, nor by our third evangelist, cannot be accomplished by modern interpretation. St. Paul's conception of the cross of Christ as abolishing the economy of law, and instituting a new relation between God and man, a new relation evidenced in the phenomena of the "Spirit of Adoption," is fundamental. It remains irreconcilable. It can be covered up, obscured, forgotten, misinterpreted. Repeatedly it has suffered this fate. But forever it bursts out afresh. Well was it that every attempt should be made by friend and foe to tone down and adjust its angularities. So much the stronger is the proof of inherent difference. The very effort for compromise at Jerusalem and Antioch forced back the messenger upon the distinctive essence and the ultimate authority of his message. St. Paul stands in



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the front rank of those men of inspired conviction, who the more it becomes apparent that they stand alone are the more sure they stand in the power and wisdom of God.

What, then, is this irreducible minimum, this ultimate, distinctive note of the gospel of St. Paul?

Not only his great letters lie before us, emphatic from the very pressure of opposition, but we have interpretation after interpretation emanating from the greatest minds of successive centuries, sometimes affected, it is true, by the effort to present a consistent system, but more and more as the historical spirit prevails, sincerely aiming to reflect exactly the mind of St. Paul himself. It would be presumption, in the face of these, to formulate off-hand a summary of the message. This, however, we can do. We can exclude much that is not germane. We can say of the commonplace: This is not what gave the Apostle his sense of a unique and heaven-sent revelation, hidden even from those that were apostles before him. We can say of every undisputed truth: This is not that for which he contended against the very "pillars," both at Jerusalem and again at Antioch. Moreover St. Paul's distinctive gospel must afford an explanation of his extraordinary, systematic, self-imposed restriction in his preaching to the objective story of cross and resurrection. His gospel was not law but *life* from God, manifested in the present Spirit.

Three affirmations can safely be made regarding this distinctive message of St. Paul. (1) It reflected a vital significance of the life-story of Jesus as a whole, in the light of his martyrdom and the subsequent manifestations of the Spirit. (2) It reflected the personal inner history of the Apostle as one who had persecuted this Way because he felt its inherent incompatibility with the Way of the Pharisee, as one who had found joy and liberty in the sudden realization that the Way of the publicans and sinners was that which really gave "access in one Spirit unto the Father." (3) It had a direct and special bearing on the religious needs of the Gentile world.



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No interpretation of the distinctive gospel of St. Paul can do it justice which fails to take account of what we may properly term the time element in the Apostle's conception of redemption. It is this which is chiefly distinctive of the man, the direct fruit of his personal religious experience. It is on this that he lavishes every device of rhetoric to guard against that very emasculation of his meaning which became its inevitable fate. Acceptance of the full meaning of St. Paul has always failed at this point for two reasons: (1) because others cannot adequately share in the Apostle's inner experience—the real ground of his conviction; (2) because his expedient for bringing this experience into accord with the acknowledged written authority—the law and the prophets—does manifest violence to their natural sense. It was easy for Gentile believers to treat Old Testament revelation as particularistic, *local*. St. Paul is the only consistent, logical and thorough-going upholder of the doctrine that the legal economy was universal (the Gentiles having in their conscience a corresponding spiritual law) but *temporary*. His doctrine of the cross is that it is God's signal to humanity of altered relationship to himself, as much a signal to the Gentile who has no written law, as to the Jew. It is an *ex voto*, a *hilasterion*, *i. e.*, a token of divine change from wrath to mercy. By a strange paradox the suffering of the Son of God is made a symbolic proclamation to the world that the reign of law is ended and the reign of grace begun. God "commends his love" in it. Gentile systems of religion and morality had a pedagogic function analogous to the higher, clearer revelation through angels to Moses. All alike are superseded now in the direct revelation of the Spirit of the Son.

This *temporal* feature is the real novelty of the gospel of St. Paul. Allegorizing interpretation had long since found methods of extracting a universalistic sense out of a particularistic Old Testament. St. Paul's own disciple, the author of Hebrews, is an adept in explaining how the trans-

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endent God was not ashamed to bear the particularistic title "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." It is in his view because the city sought by these wandering patriarchs was not an earthly one, limited and localized, but the cosmic city of God. The entire Old Testament revelation is here given an allegorical sense, and this is regarded as its real sense, one which had never been taken in by the Jews. This is the Alexandrian method, the method of Philo and the Hellenizers. It is followed by the composer of the speech of St. Stephen in Acts and the writer of the Epistle of Barnabas. They accuse the Jews of perversely taking the prescriptions of the law in a material sense. St. Paul brings no such charge, though he is not averse to allegorizing interpretation. The literal sense was to his mind the true sense for its own time. *But the law has been superseded.* Dissolution of the marriage relation by death, manumission, passage from guardianship to majority, death and restoration to life, new creation, are his favorite metaphors for emphasizing the completeness, the absoluteness, the irrevocableness, of the change effected through the martyr death of the Messiah. Its very mode, shameful, accursed under the Mosaic code, was an added trait providentially designed to accentuate its anti-legal significance.

If we distinguish in this doctrine between form and substance, between the Apostle's personal experience of salvation through faith in Jesus, and the application he was driven to make of it through stress of apologetic, we shall recognize that the essential and permanent thing is his consciousness of having been admitted through contact with the spirit of Jesus (direct or indirect, or both) into Jesus' *sense of sonship*. The necessity St. Paul is under of conceiving this filial relation as due to a sudden change in the divine economy is only a tribute to the strength of his earlier Pharisaic legalism. The more divine the Mosaic enactments the greater the necessity for their formal repeal. For Jesus no such revolution was necessary. Present in-

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sight into the Father's will superseded what "they of old time" had said. For St. Paul respect for Mosaic legalism had been so ingrained as to require now the assumption of a change in the relation to God of the entire world of personal existence, demonic, angelic, and human. With the accomplishment of the mission of "the Son" a change must have taken place in the divine administration of the universe, a change for which there is no analogy in human government nearer than the revolution by which an immemorial despotism indirectly administered is suddenly transformed by the voluntary act of the Ruler into a constitutional democracy—or more exactly into an unlimited fatherhood, wherein a filial position is made possible for all, even for the unworthy. The law had been a real prescription of God. Acceptance without works of law was a present consciousness attested by the Spirit of adoption whereby men learned the cry of Jesus, Abba, Father. How could both be true unless God had changed his mode of treatment of the world?

*Sonship through the imparted spirit of Jesus*—unless somehow we bring this into the forefront of our definition of St. Paul's message, we shall violate every one of the canons of a true interpretation. Yet in the conception we thus inadequately express are found all three of those factors already described as conditioning a true interpretation. It reflects (1) the life-story of Jesus taken as a whole, and as culminating in his death at the hands of the legalists, together with his resurrection-manifestation "in" Spirit-endowed "brethren." It reflects (2) the heart-searching experience of the persecutor, agonizing for "what the law could not give in that it was weak through the flesh," daily confronted with victims who in the Spirit of Jesus had found that life which was lacking to him. It reflects (3) his consciousness of ability to satisfy the profoundest religious need of the contemporary Gentile world, "the life which is hid with Christ in God."

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The value and validity of the message are independent of the mode of its attainment, or the local and temporary forms under which it happened to be presented and defended. We have admitted that the most characteristic feature of St. Paul's distinctive gospel, the conception of a new epoch, a change in the divine economy effected by the cross, is one which could not hope to sustain itself apart from the peculiar prepossessions, and the peculiar religious experience, from which it sprang. If we cannot, with all our endeavour, make the religious experience of St. Paul the complete and permanent pattern for our own, still less can we adopt without serious modification his violent exegesis of Scripture. In the former he is bearing witness to fact; in the latter, seeking adjustment between the fact and previous belief.

The Pauline doctrine of a change in the divine economy is partly conditioned on Jewish eschatology wherein all history leads up to the age of the Messiah, partly on a scribal doctrine of revelation which puts an almost literal interpretation upon the Pentateuchal representation of God's utterances to Moses. Had St. Paul been able to take at its full value the advanced conception of revelation which we find in the writings of his great successor at Ephesus, Paulinism might have worn a somewhat different aspect, though the difference would still have been one of form rather than of substance. The fourth evangelist repeatedly denies the Jewish claim to have seen the form or heard the voice of God at any time. He distinguishes between the scribes' use of Scripture as a body of precepts, observance of which will be rewarded with eternal life, and a use which *we* should call historical, since it makes the scripture writers simply witnesses to the ever-flowing stream of spiritual life whose fulness was in Jesus. The thought of John 1:1-18 and 5:37-47 is still more distinctly expressed in I John 1:2, where the author defines the Logos of life to be that which was from the beginning and had



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been revealed in Jesus, "the life, even the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us." From this almost modern point of view the Scriptures can be taken historically and objectively as products of the life of God in man, effects which bear witness to their cause as fossils in the rock bear witness to the evolution of physical life. The Johannine writer makes all revelation a product of the same inworking Word or Spirit of God, conceiving it as the author of the Wisdom of Solomon does when he declares of the Wisdom of God that "in every generation entering into holy souls she maketh men to be prophets and friends of God." The Pauline thought has still some stages to traverse before it can thus clearly differentiate the Christian from the Jewish doctrine of sacred Scripture. In like manner the Pauline eschatology has not yet attained the freedom of the Johannine from the local and concrete outlines of Jewish apocalypse. St. Paul, at least in his earlier epistles, still hopes to be alive and remain at the Coming of the Lord, to hear the angelic trump, to witness the general resurrection from the dead and the final great assize, when all shall "stand before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or bad." It may be that his statement that "there is henceforth no condemnation [Greek *judgment*] for them that are in Christ Jesus" warrants, if it has not suggested, the Johannine conception of an automatic judgment, whereby the very appearance of the Light in the world leads those whose deeds are evil to withdraw from it into the darkness, while "he that doeth truth cometh to the light that his works may be made manifest that they are wrought in God." If so, St. Paul has not yet drawn the inference. He would have hesitated at the doctrine that "God sent not his Son into the world to judge the world. . . . He that believeth on him is not judged, he that believeth not hath been judged already." Fifty years of conflict



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between Synagogue and Church tend to make issues more definite.

The contrast is instructive to us, like the contrast with Acts; because it helps to differentiate form from substance in the Pauline message. Against a conservatism which unduly depreciated the revolutionary dynamic of the new religion St. Paul's doctrine of a change in the cosmic economy of God, substituting the filial for the legal relation, had effective though temporary value. Its employment remains a permanent witness to the Apostle's personal religious experience. It testifies in its contrast with Acts, and with the doctrine of the older apostles, how deep and sure was the grasp of this late-comer upon the essential kernel of that faith which once he had persecuted. It testifies that to St. Paul the essential thing in Christianity was "the Spirit of adoption whereby we cry Abba, Father." The very word is appropriated from Jesus; for the Spirit is his Spirit, and he that receives it "puts on" Christ. We are but too familiar with a secondary conservatism, a disposition to encumber this essential message of St. Paul, this word from God, spoken out of the Apostle's own experience to a world famished of spiritual life, with modes of thought characteristic indeed of the messenger, but imposed only by the special conditions of his nurture and environment. Against this tendency of an all too submissive loyalty it is well to set the contrast of an interpretation of the faith, later and more fully Hellenized than St. Paul's.

The Johannine presentation of the faith goes further than St. Paul in stripping off the husks of Jewish bibliolatry and apocalyptic eschatology. It shows us what Paulinism could become in the second generation at the center of the Pauline mission field. Can we find words that more justly describe its essential content than these with which the great Ephesian interpreter of that gospel brings his message to a close: "The witness is this, That God gave unto us eternal life, and this life is in His Son."

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St. Paul's message to religion includes nothing transitory, nothing conditioned by and inseparable from the special environment of his age. It was an original contribution, distinctive of the man; it was a permanent addition to the religious consciousness of the race. But it was anything but a substitute for the message of Jesus. Its highest aim was to interpret him—to set the significance of Jesus' whole career before an age famishing for spiritual life and fellowship with God. The Ephesian Paulinist is right. Sonship through moral union with the Father was to St. Paul's experience the gospel conveyed through the whole record of Jesus, whether before or after Calvary. To St. Paul the insight into the religious value of this record, an insight not self-attained, but as it were forced upon him in the inscrutable providence of God, was a new revelation to the race, a "mystery hid in other generations from the sons of men." This, in his own terms, is his ambassadorship from God, "How that God was changing in Christ the relation of the world unto himself."

As we look at the world-wide development of religion since that day can we do justice to the historic fact without admitting that in some sense this was a message of everlasting truth?

# Religion and Labour

BY ARTHUR HENDERSON, M. P.,  
*Secretary of the Labour Party, London.*

"We are labouring that the development of human society may be as far as possible in the likeness of the divine society, in the likeness of the heavenly country, where all are equal, where there exists but one love, but one happiness for all."—*Mazzini.*

What are to be the future relationships between the forces of Religion and Labour is a question that continues to excite the greatest interest in nearly every civilized country. Among English-speaking communities the subject is receiving a special amount of attention, which is largely dictated by some of the more striking features of our present-day collective life. These may—for our purpose—be classified as follows: (1) The significant rise of Democracy; (2) The revolution in public thought and outlook with regard to social problems; (3) The widespread industrial unrest and (4) Religious indifference as evidenced by the decline in Church Membership.

The emergence of democracy is one of the most striking features of modern life. Everywhere there is evidence of the influence and power of this new force. Where, by its cumulative strength, it does not fully control, it directs legislative and administrative policy and action. Socially and economically it continues to express its needs in a variety of forms and is calling into being countless agencies in order that those needs may be supplied. In our own country the coming of democracy witnesses the greatest awakening our people have ever known. It is something approaching a great revolution. Apathy and indifference which rested so long upon the masses, with blighting and paralyzing effect, have been replaced by an intelligent activity, with the result that the political and social centre of gravity is shifting with almost lightning rapidity.

In this great transition it has often been asked: What

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are the ideals of democracy and whither do its desires and efforts tend? Do they imply revolution in its worst and most menacing form? Are law and order to be challenged to combat to enable democracy to gain some material advantage by the use of weapons which may be none the less open to question though they may be both popular and powerful?

Attempts have been made to show the worst fears that could be entertained with regard to democracy are fully justified. It has been deliberately and coolly asserted that the new democracy is atheistic and opposed to religion, that its programme involves the abrogation of the moral law, hatred of Christianity, disregard for the sanctity of the marriage law and the purity of family life, and a denial of all the rights of private property.

These assertions are so wide of the mark as to appear positively ridiculous to all who are in any way acquainted with the facts of the case. At any rate my close contact with the people justifies me in presenting the view set forth by Mr. Kidd in his notable book on "Social Evolution":

"The fact of our time which overshadows all others is the arrival of democracy. But the perception of the fact is of relatively little importance, if we do not realize that it is a new democracy. There are many who speak of the new ruler of nations as if he were the same idle Demos, whose ears the dishonest courtiers have tickled from time immemorial. Even those who attempt to lead him do not quite understand him. Those who think he is about to bring chaos instead of order do not rightly apprehend the nature of his strength. They do not perceive that his arrival is the crowning result of an ethical movement, in which qualities and attributes, which we have all been taught to regard as the very highest of which human nature is capable, find the completest expression they have ever reached in the history of the race."

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That the modern church has largely lost its grip of the common people and is having to deplore their estrangement from its services and its service must be admitted, but on no account can we agree—at any rate, so far as the British Democracy is concerned—that it is atheistic or that its ideals are anti-Christian. But more of this anon when we consider “religious indifference.”

Nothing more remarkable has occurred in the opening years of this century than the marvellous revolution in public thought and outlook with regard to social problems. Happily this is not confined to any single country or to any class, for we are most of us convinced that social life is not what it ought to be and far from what God intended it to be. Under the new social consciousness a more human conception of civic and national redemption has commenced to operate, and civilization becomes increasingly concerned with the problem of social wrong. We are beginning to recognize that the principles of human brotherhood which the Incarnation was intended to apply are inconsistent with the wastage and wreckage of human life through the prevalence of conditions which inevitably are destructive of all hope and happiness. The masses of the people are being influenced by this great transformation of opinion with regard to social life. Many of them have stepped into the light and are yearning for and are determined to have a fuller and more complete existence than they have hitherto experienced.

The future relationships between the forces of Religion and Labour will, to a considerable extent, be influenced by the attitude of organized Christianity toward these great social problems. If the attitude of the Churches is to be merely passive, tentative, or negative, then the present estrangement is calculated to develop into permanent hostility. If, on the other hand, the Churches seek to carry redemption into all our social relationships by constantly proclaiming the social application and implication



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of the Master's teaching and by consistent endeavour seek to make this world a healthier and more humane habitation for all; then the confidence of the people may be restored and closer co-operation between the forces of Religion and Labour be thus secured.

The industrial unrest so prevalent in recent years has caused great disquietude, if not alarm, in many quarters. Society has become almost unnerved at times by some of the gravest of its symptoms. A careful examination of this position will soon reveal the primary cause of this unparalleled discontent. It is obvious that it is the inevitable outcome of modern industrialism. Capital becomes more highly organized and having as its paramount consideration the promotion of purely private—if not mere selfish—interests rather than the public good or the discharging of a collective responsibility. As a consequence competition is becoming more acute, wealth is used often with no other object than the creation of further wealth, and without sufficient regard to the privation and suffering to which living souls may be subjected in the process. Thus we find that even highly civilized countries are faced with the appalling fruits of a stern individualism, an intensified struggle for existence, under higher prices, greater liability to unemployment, an increase of industrial pressure, where the woman is underselling the man, the child replacing the woman, and each becoming more liable to be superseded by the machine.

Moreover, the great expansion of national wealth has deepened the dissatisfaction. The better education of the wage-earners enables them to know that we have solved the problem of wealth production, but have failed to concern ourselves with the equally important problem of its equitable distribution. Under existing conditions it is impossible for the masses to reach any other conclusion than that economic law is altogether faulty in its application, or such marked inequality could not exist. Thus the toilers

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in recent years have slowly but surely reached the conclusion that in common justice they must be permitted to share in a larger degree the fruits of their service and devotion by which they have contributed so largely to the nation's prosperity. If these are the things with which the workers are now concerning themselves to a greater extent than they did previously, who shall say that they are more unchristian for so doing? It can never be unchristian to seek to destroy those inequalities which degrade human life or to endeavour to bring its conditions into harmony with its moral and spiritual responsibilities. Everywhere the people are asking what is to be the attitude of the Churches on these great living issues. When once they assume their proper place, accept their full responsibility, and bring the problems of life to the touchstone of Christ's teaching, we shall know more of the Christianizing of the democracy and the democratizing of Christianity.

The other feature in our collective life to be considered is the amount of religious indifference, as represented by the decline in Church life. For several years the statistics of Church membership have been on the down grade, and it is not without special significance that this weakness has been most closely associated with the greatest industrial centres. Nor should it pass unnoticed that the largest falling off has been coincident with the revolution in public thought and outlook with regard to social and economic problems.

Now, whatever cause for anxiety some find in the lessening figures of Church membership, I am disposed to consider the point neither worthless nor of great importance. The test in many cases is very far from being reliable. Nor am I convinced of the desirability of accepting a census of church-goers as an evidence of religious experience. No, in spite of figures and notwithstanding the apparent estrangement of multitudes from the observances and services of the Churches, I am not convinced that the many

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have become less Christian or that the present position is calculated to develop into a permanent hostility between the forces of Religion and Labour.

Already there are signs which show unmistakably that the trend of democracy is towards a life purified and ennobled by a deeper sense of justice and, as a result, of contact with the highest and the holiest.

In spite of the less optimistic spirit prevailing in many quarters I am full of confidence with regard to the future. There are growing indications of a better understanding and a clearer recognition of their common interests by which closer co-operation between the religious and democratic forces should be speedily secured. Moreover, the coming of the great Brotherhood Movement and the Adult School Movement, with their machinery and a vast army of living men moved with the spirit of Human Brotherhood, is an encouraging sign. Then the more recent development of the idea of Religion and Labour, represented by the great meetings where leaders in the Labour Movement in Great Britain have expounded Christ's Gospel fills me with hope. This latter effort is already assuming such dimensions that something of its work must here be stated.

Three years ago, when many people were concerned as to whether the new force which had secured such large representation in the British Parliament was a triumph for agnosticism and unbelief, it was decided to introduce a new element into the meetings associated with the coming of the Month of May. These meetings were of a decidedly religious character and conducted by Labour Members of the British Parliament. As the result of these meetings which have been continued in London each year, and similar missions conducted in Glasgow and Cardiff, the Bishop of London has said that in this country the Labour Movement is avowedly and definitely religious. It is not without its significance that just when so many have become deeply

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concerned as to the future of the great working class population, so many leaders of the people should publicly acclaim their allegiance to Jesus Christ by enrolling themselves members of the Fellowship of His Followers by signing the following declaration:

"Jesus said, 'If any man come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.' Meaning so to follow Him, I wish to be enrolled in the Fellowship of Followers."

This declaration was signed by three ex-Chairmen of the British Labour Party, including Mr. Keir Hardie, the present Vice-Chairman and its Chief Whip, and a number of Labour Members of Parliament. In this way the relations between the forces of Religion and Labour are improving. The Churches and organized Labour are not only learning to understand each other better, but are recognizing more and more how much they need each other's assistance in the great task they have in hand. This is as it should be, for Christianity is the religion of the common people and is essentially democratic. This closer co-operation will not only be the means of avoiding the deplorable and costly misunderstandings of the past, but will assist in securing that unity for social service which shall assist in bringing about a more perfect humanity. The combined efforts of these great forces in conjunction with the power of an all-conquering Christ shall transform individual existence, give it a new life, beautify the houses of our people, ennoble our cities, and assist in bringing in an era when the beatitudes may become the common rule and when the moral ideas of the Prophets are embodied in the ordinary habits of a contented people.

# An American Saint

BY ROBERT E. SPEER, M.A., D.D.,

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"And as to your family, my young friend, if you are doing more nobly than your grandfather did, you may well rejoice that he lived an honoured life; but it were better for you to have been a Bushman of South Africa, and improved all your privileges and opportunities, than to belong to one of the best old families of Massachusetts or Virginia, and not make a gain on its record. The question is, not whether you are proud of your grandfather, but whether your grandfather would be proud of you. Some years ago, as I met one of our distinguished Union generals, I asked that I might bring my son to take his hand and have his greeting, so that he might remember it in the years to come. As, with his consent, I introduced my boy, he said to him: 'Charley, I'm glad to see you. I hope that you will grow up to be a man; and that you will make a good man, a great deal better man than your father.' 'That's right, general,' I said; 'if he isn't a better man than his father both of us will be failures.'"

In this pungent fashion Henry Clay Trumbull dealt with the pride of ancestry in an address to students on the theme, "Our Duty to Make the Past a Success." And he was not indulging in mere phrase-making. He was speaking, as always, out of the life. He himself received and passed on, with an added elevation, a high inheritance. He was of the same clan with "Brother Jonathan" Trumbull, the famous war governor of Connecticut, the traditional incarnation of the American spirit, and his ancestors were among the first English settlers in America in the beginning of the seventeenth century. He grew up as a boy in Stonington, Connecticut, where his father was a typical clear-headed, incisive, trusted citizen. All his brothers and sisters were people of character and genius. His older brother Hammond was, as Mark Twain said, "probably the richest man in America in the matter of knowledge." He was the only man in the world who could read John Eliot's Bible. One sister was a foremost authority on pottery and porcelain, another on entomology. His brother Thomas was chief of artillery on



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the staff of two army corps commanders in the Civil War, and Gurdon, another brother, became the foremost fish painter in America. Among his other companions as a boy and young man were James McNeill Whistler, a "bright, cheerful, modest" boy; Joseph Hawley, later general, governor and senator; Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy during the war; Daniel C. Gilman, afterwards President of Johns Hopkins University; Mark Twain, Charles Dudley Warner, and a score of others whose genius and integrity furnished a school of character which could not be surpassed. And it was his chief school, since ill health prevented his pursuing the conventional education of a university course. Instead of studying books in a university he dealt with men, first in a railroad office and then in business and politics.

These were the tensest years of our national life, and passing out of the old Whig party to which his father had been devoted and after whose great leader he had been named, he joined the new party which was to become for a generation the dominating power in the nation. There was no one in Connecticut who pressed forward its principles with more energy and persuasion than he. It was in this sort of work that he was trained as a speaker to his fellow-men. "As I was never called to have the help or the hindrance of training in a divinity school or theological seminary," he says in his volume of army sermons entitled "Shoes and Rations for a Long March,"

"no sermons of mine will show the characteristics of one who was thus trained. I was ordained as a clergyman when called, while a layman, to be a regimental chaplain in the Civil War. My work of preaching was the work of addressing my fellow-men on subjects in which they and I had an interest in common. I had never taken any lessons on the best way of preparing a sermon, or of preaching one. Whatever practical experience I had had that might be of service to me in such preparation, had been obtained in political speaking 'on the stump,' and in the talks in Sunday-school conventions and at neighbourhood religious gatherings.

"My chief service and training in political speaking had, indeed, been in the early days of the Republican party, when the issue was simple, and when personal feeling on both sides was intense. The main question at that time was,

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Shall slavery be permitted to extend into territory now free, or must it be resisted at any and every cost? I learned then to strive to make my every appeal and argument and word tell on that single point, every time I spoke. This was the main thought in my homiletics of then. I did not, in those days, try to make a finished discourse. I did try to show electors how they ought to vote."

The intensity of these experiences which taught him his methods and fostered his impetuosity of nature did not produce bigotry or fanaticism. He recognized the nobility of character in many Southern men and cordially acknowledged that "many Southern masters were even more considerate of the slaves than the Northerners, in the army and out of it," and he says that he had been "opposed to agitation at the North on the subject of slavery at the South and zealous for all the constitutional rights of the South." It was the possibility of the extension of slavery into free territory which first roused him and started the new thoughts which inevitably grew large in men's minds, North and South, as to the institution of slavery. He began to feel like the old Whig whom he met one Sunday in Boston in a church of another denomination than that to which he had belonged. "How's this?" he asked him. "What are you doing here?" "Well, I'll tell you," he said. "Our pastor preached a sermon, a few months ago, in which he showed that slavery was a divine institution. He *proved* it, too. When I came out of church that noon, I said to my wife, 'Mary, our pastor has proved something today that we *know* is a lie. The next thing we know he'll be proving something that we *don't* know is a lie. It is time we got out of this.' So we got out, and came over here."

Intense as were his political convictions, they were not absorbing him. He had instincts which ran deeper than politics and outlasted all the short-lived controversies of government. He had already begun to see that the child was the central social person and that all national life depends on the character of citizens and that citizens are what

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they have become. Once and for all he passed down to the fountains of influence. He saw that the great masses of children were without adequate religious and moral teaching, that the country districts, of far more moral need and destitution than the cities, were greatly neglected, and, leaving professional and political ambition forever, he took up the problem of reaching with Christian teaching all the children of his state of Connecticut, especially those of the neglected rural communities. This was nearly sixty years ago, and it was pioneer work in what we now know to be the field of supreme consequence. We see so clearly that the child has the first place in the Church and the Kingdom that we easily assume that men saw this two generations ago. On the other hand, the child was practically excluded when Trumbull began his work and we live in a better day simply because he and others who worked with him and followed him preached the vigorous doctrine not untouched with scorn that, as he said,

"any other preaching, for purposes of evangelization, than to children, should be exceptional in a nominally Christian community. Yes, that is the truth about it. Godless adults are the fag-end of humanity." . . .

It was while he was busy in this work of a pioneer in the field of religious education, working on problems of pedagogy a generation ahead of his time and recovering the Saviour's principle as to the supremacy of the child spirit, that the roll of the war drums throbbed over the land and broke open the deeps of the nation's life. He would have volunteered at once, but was entirely disqualified by ill-health. The opportunity to serve his country and his fellow-men in the great struggle was presented, however, in the offer of the chaplaincy of the Tenth Connecticut Regiment. He was frail and sick, and he was not a clergyman, but he seized his opportunity without delay. Patriotism was the one supreme test of orthodoxy and he was ordained without any technical theological preparation. The strain of the war with its hardship and

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exposure, his imprisonment in Columbia Jail and Libby Prison, the risk of life on the battlefield, and the unequalled opportunity for dealing with men and mastering life brought him through the war toughened in body, enriched in experience and with an equipment in religion and life which no theological school could have given him. No chaplain came out of the war with greater glory. The officers of his brigade sent up an unparalleled petition testifying to the whole brigade's love for and confidence in him and asking that he be brevetted an officer for fidelity as a chaplain and courage as a soldier. His "War Memories of an Army Chaplain" is one of the best books on the Civil War which have been produced, and reveals amid its humour and pathos the rich, tingling, affluent life of one who hated all evil and loved all good as all saints ought, and who had a Pauline passion for men.

His war experience made him yet more single-eyed and skilful in piercing straight to the innermost in men. It drew the bow of his intense nature more taut. It made his address more pungent and direct and immediate. It freed him even more completely from the idea that any men are inaccessible to the highest or incapable of responding to God. It fused his patriotism into the glow of a Hebrew prophet's love of the theocracy. It made him free of all dependence upon external supports of religious life or service or upon the material accessories of intellectual work. His methods of work were as precise and exact as clock-work and yet as free as the summer winds. He often told laughingly of his Hartford neighbour, Rose Terry Cooke, who was asked if she "pursued a system." "Yes," answered Mrs. Cooke, "I do, but have never yet caught up with it." His piety, also, like his work, required no aids. It did not need a cell, or a chapel or a ceremonial. It was the sort that was as real and rich on the battlefield or in the Union League Club in Philadelphia as it would have been in a cloister. He knew the secret springs which

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are within reach everywhere even in the turmoil and publicity of an army camp. "It is time gained," he said, "rather than time lost, which is given to prayer before beginning a day's work. If one must start his work a little before daylight, he would do well to start praying a good while before daylight." He came out of the war with his spiritual and personal freedom complete, independent of props of any sort, a worker who could use his tools and was not dependent on them. The easy fulness of his touch with life before the war was both easier and fuller now, but even the appropriate manner of a clergyman never came upon one who was so wholly a man engrossed in the life of men. After the war a paper in his case found in Libby Prison came into his possession on which the chief of General Beauregard's staff had endorsed:

"Chaplain H. Clay Trumbull has been directed to be sent to Richmond at once. He is a tricky fellow and has little the air of a chaplain. The great desire manifested to get him back, coupled with the circumstances of his capture, make it doubtful whether he is really a chaplain or a spy."

Some years after, a man, who then met him for the first time, said: "Mr. Trumbull, you don't look a bit like a minister." "I know that," replied he. "I once came near being hanged for it. Because of my lack of the conventional 'choker,' they proposed to give me one of hemp."

For ten years after the war Trumbull was engaged first in Connecticut, then in all New England, then in a nation-wide ministry to the young, in the work of religious teaching. He became one of the outstanding figures in the development of the Sunday School idea and in dignifying and solidifying all its work.

Alluring calls to high positions in business and secular education did not attract him. He knew what God had set him to do and God alone could call him to something else. Into God's work allotted to him he poured the qualities which his pastor, Joseph Twitchell, says he found in him on their first meeting, "his quality as a man, his over-



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flowing vital energy, the phenomenal quickness of his mind, his humour, his deep affectionateness, his limitless loyalty to those he loved, and his spirit of Christian devotion and enthusiasm," and his "tremendous ceaseless energy." "He was, I think," says Mr. Twitchell, and no one in America could say this more significantly, "the hardest worker I have ever known. Work, in fact, was his element, the breath of his nostrils. It was when he was immersed in action, every nerve tense, every faculty in full play, that he seemed to be in the state of equilibrium."

In 1875 the man who would do anything that God set for him and who could not be seduced from it, saw that God had for him a new and larger work as editor of a paper, in Philadelphia, which Mr. John Wanamaker had bought and was supporting in the interest of the work of the religious education of the young. Mr. Trumbull went to Philadelphia and took charge of the paper. In a year or two he bought it from Mr. Wanamaker and under the name of *The Sunday School Times* made it the foremost Sunday School paper in the world and the best and most widely circulated religious paper in America. It took on the sting and zest of his own personality. Its editorials and contributed articles, its general character and its business principles were unique. It declined all such advertisements as those which have largely supported many religious papers and it offered further to refund any money lost by its subscribers through its advertisers. In addition to its character as a paper of true religion, fresh, vital, and genuine, owned by no school of opinion, but free, and most of all free from the folly of freedom, *The Sunday School Times* became one of the leading journals of careful, original, constructive Biblical scholarship. Bishop Ellicott, who was one of his contributors, said to the editor when he met him in London in 1881: "That's a very remarkable paper you have, Mr. Trumbull. We have nothing like it in this country." Ellicott kept a complete file of the pa-

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per, writing once to Trumbull "that he had the volumes bound from year to year, and that if he had a diocesan address to make, and was at a loss for a subject, he took up one of these volumes, and did not need to look far for a suggested theme."

The new work made him more than ever a religious teacher. And yet, as he always gratefully acknowledged, he was not a trained or systematic theologian. He received an honorary degree from Yale University, but his teachers were individual men and life. In a little book entitled "My Four Religious Teachers," he tells us who the men were who shaped his methods of religious thought—Charles G. Finney, David Hawley, Elias R. Beadle and Horace Bushnell. "My course with them served for a university course, and also for a course in the theological seminary." Finney set him above all theological parties at the outset.

"President Finney," he said, "had theological views, but they were his own views. He had been trained a lawyer, but he had never been taught in a theological school, nor would he have been approved by any then existing one. He held positive theological views that are called 'Calvanistic,' and others that are called distinctly 'Arminian.' Ordinary theologians would say that these two are inconsistent with each other. President Finney had no concern about that. He held both, and he declared both—consistent or inconsistent. He held and declared still other theological views, without asking or thinking how they were to be reconciled with the labels of any recognized school. . . .

"I have always been grateful that my first religious teaching when I had entered Christ's service was from a teacher who uttered God's truth positively, but in such a way that neither he nor I could be counted of any recognized school of denominational theology. And I have never since been obliged to count myself of any one denomination in strict and conventional theological views."

Bushnell, one of the two or three greatest religious teachers America has produced, did for him an even greater service. He taught him that the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians was and is a working principle of life, and that love can find the good wherever it exists. "I don't like Dr. Blank," someone remarked to Bushnell; "he's so egotistical." "Oh," said Dr. Bushnell, "Blank

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isn't any more egotistical about himself than he is about everybody else." But Bushnell did a work for his mind as well as for his heart. His "Essay on Language" and the condensation of it in his sermon, "Our Gospel a Gift to the Imagination," rent open the world to Trumbull. That sermon, he says,

"aims to show that, necessarily, the truth concerning the spiritual and the infinite cannot be stated in precise human language, since all human words have a human origin with human limitations. Such words, when employed to convey truth which is beyond the realm of sight and sense, have their main value in suggesting, not in defining, the higher meaning. This essay has perhaps done more than any other single chapter of his works to enable readers to appreciate and enter into the spirit and atmosphere of his thinking, and it did very much to influence my character and life work. . . .

"That essay rent the veil before my mind. I had lost nothing. I had gained much. I could never again be a blind child, in the presence of that which the noonday sun brought to light.

"As I talked of that truth afterward with the Doctor, I spoke of the growing gain it was to me since I comprehended its real significance.

"'Yes,' he said, 'it grows on *me* all the time. I see now the truth there is in many forms I once vigorously opposed. I could stand now a pretty good examination in the Westminster Catechism.' Then, after a pause, he added, 'Or in almost any other catechism.'"

Trumbull's paper reopened the New Testament to thousands of souls. It filled the dry beds of the streams with running water. It threw down high walls and revealed beyond them the broad green pastures aglow with peace and glory. And by the streams and through the fields walked in strength and confidence and love Who but the living Son of God, the Shepherd Good and True. The gospel was not after all a fiction, or a philosophy. It was a reality for the life of common men and all men were common men and no man was common. And this and all that flowed from it and from the quivering, virile personality who embodied it was set forth with a vigour, a crispness, a daring and joyous paradox, a spiritual originality, a contempt for mere negatives, an assurance and certainty, a sting of scorn for all falsehood and uncleanness, a consistency, an application which revealed sanctity not as a theory or a reminiscence, but as the actual spirit of a modern life.

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Five years of work on his paper with his whole personality strung to its highest pitch were too much even for his elastic strength. Moreover, he had a principle against vacations. He gave them generously to all his employees, but as for himself he said, "I get my vacation sitting on my porch these summer afternoons watching my neighbours come home in ambulances from their summer vacations." Now, however, as his son-in-law tells us, there came a "day when he was writing an editorial, and, driving his mind to its limit of effort under the whip of an indomitable will, some one interrupted him about a matter of importance. He looked up from his writing, the will within him faded into a tenuous, nerveless nothing, and he was taken home with his mind a blurred and inconsequent region wherein his thoughts wandered vagrant and uncontrolled." For many men this would have been the end. With Trumbull it was a new beginning. His doctors advised travel without work. But anything without work was impossible to his nature. He went to the East, but he went with the purpose of making his going tributary to a larger service. Bushnell had long before set his mind free from the bonds of system and definition, when conceived to be final and exclusive, but he had yet a larger liberty to achieve. It had already begun to dawn upon him that the Old Testament was an Oriental book and that it must be understood in the atmosphere of its own origin and history. Now at last he was to have his opportunity to breathe the native air of the Bible. To what purpose he improved this opportunity all his subsequent work testified. Incidentally he settled the site of Kadesh Barnea in a series of studies which at once made him an authority among Orientalists. He mastered languages sufficiently to open all the necessary resources to him, and his irrepressible and incessant questioning of all things brought to him whatever there was in any literature or land bearing on the subjects of his inquiry. In his work on the location



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of Kadesh Barnea he examined more than two thousand volumes in seven languages and ransacked all the great libraries for light.

The life in the desert of the Exodus and the Holy Land made him a new man and gave him a new mind. Shortly before he left Palestine he wrote to his wife:

"The more I see of the East the more important to me my visit to it becomes. It actually seems as if I should be a totally different person on my return, if God brings me to my home and work again. All that I have ever learned up to this time has now new relations; and all that I may learn by future study will come into a new atmosphere of thought and feeling, and be viewed in a new light of understanding. I believe that I shall be a tenfold better editor and Bible class teacher because of this visit. I pray that I may be a truer child of God and follower of Jesus Christ in my home and personal life as a result of the lessons I am learning."

His prayer was fulfilled and he became a new interpreter of Bible truth to men. As he wrote in the preface to his book, "Our Misunderstood Bible":

"There are many difficulties growing out of the radical differences between Oriental and Occidental methods of thought and speech, and customs and practices. Even such terms as 'love' and 'hate' can hardly be comprehended by a Westerner, as an Easterner would employ them, and on such a difference as this two schools of theology might array themselves in determined and persistent opposition. Again, the Oriental method of poetic imagery in ordinary speech is well nigh incomprehensible to the Occidental, accustomed as he is to cling to the letter of the text that killeth, as over against the spirit of a figure or an illustration that would give life."

Out of these Oriental experiences came a series of books—"Kadesh Barnea," "Studies of Oriental Social Life," and three books on Oriental ideas of covenant, "The Blood Covenant," "The Threshold Covenant," and "The Covenant of Salt." Of these, "The Blood Covenant" especially was received as a clear, new word. The best scholarship of Europe and America recognized in it, as Godet said, "a study completely new" of the atonement, recovering for the Church the true biological view of the New Testament. Institutions, he held, were the symbols of life. The covenant of blood, the atonement, was an atonement of life. He taught the reality of such a



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mingling. The mysticism of the Gospel lay like the veil and the unveiling of immortality across our mortal life. He made real and clear, he set forth in the language of our own day, the living truth of the Saviour's words, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood ye have not life in yourselves. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life." He held to the truth of a divine intercourse. This was what life was to be, a fellowship with the divine life, a union of our lives with the great life of our Father, who is God.

A covenant of blood binding men together in a common life was a conception for which his genius for friendship had prepared him, and the discovery of such a unity of souls in the covenants of life in all ages and races and supremely in the atonement transfigured for him his lifelong exaltation of the friendship ideal. His army days had been glorified by such a perfect friendship with Major Henry Ward Camp, who fell in the struggle before Petersburg and whose pure and chivalrous character he described in "The Knightly Soldier," one of the choicest biographies produced by the American Civil War. In that perfect soldier friendship Trumbull had both illustrated and confessed his ideal of what friendship is.

"Friendship by its very nature," he held, "consists in loving, rather than in being loved. In other words, friendship consists in being a friend, not in having a friend; in giving one's affection unselfishly and unswervingly to another, not in being the object of another's affection, or in reciprocating such an affection. . . . Friendship-love, as a love that is unselfish, uncraving, ever out-going, and ever on-going, is in its very nature divine love. It is such a love as God gives, and as man ought to give to God. It is such a love as man should give to his fellow-man for God's sake. 'If ye love them that love you, what thank have ye?' asks our Lord; 'for even sinners love those that love them.' A love or a friendship that is conditioned on an equivalent return is not friendship-love, except in name. That love which is represented to us in the Bible as of God, and from God, and due toward God and toward those who are God's, is friendship-love—the purest and best of loves."

Friendship with him was absolutely unselfish and it was eternal. He wrote once to another editor who was a little concerned over their relations: "An assurance of friend-

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ship on my part is a matter for a life-time. I could never re-open a decision of that sort." And he said in one of his characteristic editorial paragraphs:

"Once a friend, always a friend. Most of us are ready to apply this truth to one who claims to be our friend; but we are not so ready to apply it to ourselves as a test of our friendship. If we claim to be a true friend to another, our friendship-love ought not to pivot on his fidelity, but on ours. Even though he fail us, we ought not to fail him or fail ourselves. If we were ever his friend, we shall ever be his friend. Nothing that he does, or fails to do, ought to cause us to be untrue."

In praise of this ideal of friendship he wrote what he looked upon as his great book, "Friendship the Master Passion," in which first he described friendship, according to some of his chapter headings, as "loving, rather than being loved, wholly unselfish, without envy or distrust, transcending all loves, changeless in changes, of world-wide honour, gainfully expensive," and then illustrated it from history as "of surpassing potency, influencing royalty, promoting heroism, impelling religious movements, advancing civil liberty, affecting philosophic thought, inspiring poetry, transfiguring all life." He told me once that when he had finished his book and given it to his friend, Charles Dudley Warner, Mr. Warner said to him, referring to the theme of the book: "Trumbull, you can't prove that proposition." But when he had read it through he said: "Well, Trumbull, you have made your case." But the case was made out in his own life. He exemplified in himself his ideals of friendship. He would go anywhere for his friends, and no service could be a sacrifice for one he loved. I have known him to make long journeys simply to make clear to a friend's mind some truth which he thought it was important for that friend to have. He stopped the press on his paper, and held up an entire issue to cut out of a review of a friend's book a single phrase, which he had just discovered, which might be misunderstood and grieve his friend.

The genius of his life for friendship doubtless lay at the

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root of the wide influences which without any foresight or purpose of his he found himself wielding at the end of his life in behalf of what he called in the title to his most widely circulated little book, "Individual Work for Individuals." He had been led to Christian discipleship by the personal effort of a friend. Early experience convinced him that the method of individual persuasion was the Scriptural, the reasonable and the effective way of winning men to the Christian faith and service. And

"I determined," he says, "that as I loved Christ, and as Christ loved souls, I would press Christ on the individual soul, so that none who were in the proper sphere of my individual responsibility or influence should lack the opportunity of meeting the question whether or not they would individually trust and follow Christ. The resolve I made was, that whenever I was in such intimacy with a soul as to be justified in choosing my subject of conversation, the theme of themes should have prominence between us, so that I might learn his need, and, if possible, meet it.

"That decision has largely shaped my Christian life-work in the half century that has followed its making. I have not always been faithful to this sphere of Christian service, as, indeed, I have failed or lacked in every other sphere; but my resolve at this point has been adhered to as faithfully as any other resolve I ever made, and I have steadily grown in the conviction that it was a wise resolve. The more extensive and varied has been my experience, and the more I have known of the Christian labours of others, the more positive is my conviction that the winning of one soul to Christ, or of ten thousand souls to Christ, is best done by the effort of an individual with an individual, not by the proclamation of an individual to a multitude, larger or smaller, without the accompanying or following face-to-face pleading with the single soul.

"My experience came to be varied, but in every fresh phase of that experience the pre-eminent value of work for one soul at a time, over work for a multitude of souls on the same occasion, stands out as the truth beyond challenge or question. This was my conviction in the first days of my Christian consecration. This is my conviction today more positively than ever before. However others may feel about it, I cannot have a doubt on the subject. Winning one soul at a time usually results in the winning of a multitude of souls in the process of time. But addressing a multitude of souls, and urging them all to trust and serve Christ, may not be the means of winning even one soul to Christ, now or at any time."

In the course of his lifetime he spoke thus to thousands upon thousands of men. These men were scattered all over the world. The skill, the understanding, the sympathy, the intensity of his approach to them won success for him and for his Master. The result was that few men

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were known and loved by so many individuals to whom he had brought the supreme blessing of life. He was never obtrusive or unnatural in this work. "He had an instinctive sense of personality," says one of our leading educators and political economists.

"When he was speaking to any one, he seemed to realize what that person was, and his way of looking at things. If he spoke of those who were not present, a few words showed that he knew them in a close and appreciative way, which amounted to having their spiritual portraits before his mind. And while this kind of penetration is often associated with contemptuous judgments of men, in him it was altogether the opposite. He was free from what Lady Somerset calls 'the sin of good people,' the depreciation of others. He entered into right and human relations with those who came near him, and always sought to be of use to them. 'Friend, come up higher,' might be said to be the watchword of his life."

His wealth of human interest in individuals, his exhaustless fund of anecdote, his Yankee wit, his easy unself-conscious mastery of situations, his good humour, his instant discovery of points of contact, his generosity of attitude made his approach to men as a spokesman for Christ as easy as it could be for any man. And yet he testified that it never was easy.

"So far from my becoming accustomed to this matter, so that I can take hold of it as a matter of course, I find it as difficult to speak about at the end of these years as at the beginning. Never to the present day can I speak to a single soul for Christ without being reminded by Satan that I am in danger of harming the cause by introducing it just now. If there is one thing that Satan is sensitive about, it is the danger of a Christian harming the cause he loves by speaking of Christ to a needy soul. He has more than once or twice or thrice kept me from speaking on the subject by his sensitive, pious caution, and he has tried a thousand times to do so. Therefore, my experience leads me to suppose that he is urging other persons to try any method for souls except the best one. . . ."

The lines about his eyes spoke with an eloquence of delight. The nervous, alert form trembled in response to the quick movings of the mind and heart. He was alive in his body. And the mind was even more quick and vital. It shrank from anything commonplace and mediocre. It leaped at the living aspects of truth. It sprang past the inadequacy of systems to the infinite life that cannot be codified. And

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the spirit that was back of all, that came from God, and has now returned whence it came, when shall we who knew him feel upon our lives the touch of another spirit like it? The life of God was in it. It lived in God. This we shall see often. This we may experience ourselves. But the buoyancy, the intensity, the unassailable certainty of that life equally hid and exposed with Christ in God, the naturalness in the supernaturalness, the assurance, the humility, the living, eager joy of it all—what irrefutable, what positively convincing, what tenderly persuasive evidence this bore to the reality of his doctrine,—that it was all so incarnate in his own loving and loved life.

But although he always saw man as men or rather men as a man—the whole of human need in the single life before him,—although the individual was always foremost in his thought, he had an absorbing sense of the corporate unity of life. His covenant studies made this unity the greatest of all realities to him. He held to a unique conviction of the organic oneness of the past and the present and the future. Not of the past and the present alone. The historic consciousness backward is a commonplace. He realized also that life is a failure if it does not bind the past to the future and draw the future out of the present. A tradition that dwindled downward from the past was not to him a living thing. If it was living it must be a growing principle binding the past to the present, to be sure, but expanding into the future. And it was not only the corporate unity of time which was a reality to him. It was the corporate unity of society as well. It was that conception which prompted some of his most characteristic acts. He took all that made up life intensely. Somebody urged him once to let certain interests go. "I can't let anything go," he answered with sudden excitement. "I never could and I can't now and I don't believe I ever can. It isn't in me to be indifferent." And he took it not only intensely but also representatively. He had a passion for



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having things right and this made life no easy thing for him. His patriotism made him eagerly faithful in his citizenship, and he looked at his social experiences in the light of civil duty. Once in the year 1891 he was compelled to pay his fare twice on a Sound boat between New Haven and New York. He did so under protest. The Company was plainly in the wrong. It was a small amount of money that was involved, but it was a great amount of principle. If the Company would wrong him it would wrong any citizen. It had wronged him. Its wrong was an invasion of public rights which it was his duty to vindicate. He brought suit against the Company. It prepared to contest his suit but on the eve of the trial offered to refund the small amount involved, seventy-five cents, with interest, and to pay all costs. He had defended the rights of society against a public wrong and had triumphed. That was sufficient. He closed the case at once.

His feeling for social ethics and his iron integrity were both indicated in what we recognized to be, side by side with his lofty conception of friendship, the dominant principle of his thought and action, namely, his holy reverence for truth and his hatred of lies. "He scorned a lie as the gates of hell," says Professor Riddle. "A lie," he reasoned, "is contrary to the very nature of God. 'It is impossible for God to lie.' And if God cannot lie, God cannot authorize another to lie. What is unjustifiable in God's sight, is without a possibility of justification in the universe. No personal or social emergency can justify a lie, whatever may be its apparent gain, or whatever harm may seem to be involved in a refusal to speak it."

He put the conclusions to which he had come into a little book entitled "A Lie Never Justifiable." He argued with all the earnestness he possessed that "a lie is the opposite of truth, and a being who will lie stands opposed to God, who by his very nature cannot lie. . . . If there be such a thing as a sin *per se*, a lie is that thing; as a lie

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is, in its very nature, in hostility to the being of God. . . . Whatever be the seeming gain to result from a lie, it is the seeming gain from a sin."

No circumstances, actual or imaginary, could ever justify a lie. And he closes his book with the social argument:

"The bond of society is confidence. A lie is inconsistent with confidence; and the knowledge that a lie is, under certain circumstances, deemed proper by a man, throws doubt on all that that man says or does under any circumstances. No matter why or where the one opening for an allowable lie be made in the reservoir of public confidence, if it be made at all, the final emptying of that reservoir is merely a question of time.

"Today, as in all the days, the chief need of men, for themselves and for their fellows, is a likeness to God in the impossibility of lying; and the chief longing of the community is for such confidence of men in one another as will give them assurance that they will not lie one to another. There was never yet a lie uttered which did not bring more of harm than of good; nor will there ever be a harmless lie, while God is Truth, and Satan is the father of lies."

This was the view of a saint of an earlier day, "Wherefore, putting away falsehood, speak ye the truth each one with his neighbour." No exception is made here for war-rantable lies. And note the reason. "For we are members one of another."

A man as stiff as this in his ethics was not unnaturally loyal to his Puritan ancestry in his habits and practices, but he had a free, original way of treating such matters which kept them out in the open sunshine and far from all legalism. He set forth his views under the title, "Border Lines in the Field of Doubtful Practices." His general principle was that where there is doubt about the rightness of any course of action for a Christian, there is no doubt about it. What isn't clearly right is clearly wrong for a man who wants to stay in the open country of the truth, far away from all shadows and suspicions. In all such matters, as in all interpretation of the Bible and in all human relationships and duty, he sought for principles of life, not for rules of behaviour.

Dr. Trumbull was one of the most positive, pungent,

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indignant of men, of quick impulses, and of vigorous, almost violent, intensity of conviction. He loved to stimulate men's minds by extreme and paradoxical and startling utterances of overlooked or evaded truths. "Oil has its uses," he said to a Hartford neighbour. "Some people use one kind, some another, in getting on with other folks." And then half-ruefully, and yet with his hearty laugh, "I generally use oil of vitriol!" He had this healing gift of Yankee humour. A soldier was expressing some half-seditious opinions and his fellows were laughing at him. "Well," said he to Chaplain Trumbull who was passing by, "I suppose a soldier's got a right to hold his own opinions, Chaplain, hasn't he?" "Oh, yes!" the chaplain answered, "if he'll take care and *hold* 'em, and not always be slinging them around carelessly before others." He was speaking once of the futility of double-mindedness. "Two bran new locomotives," he said, "pulling in opposite directions, would be worth less as a motive power than one lame mule." He always, even to the end, suffered keenly in the anticipation of public speaking. A friend expressed surprise that it should be so with him after his long experience. "Well," exclaimed he, "some one has *got* to suffer,—either the man before he speaks, or the audience while he is speaking!" A book agent pressed him hard. "See here," cried he, "do those books of yours tell anything about the future?" "The future? No, sir; I guess not." "Well," continued the editor, his eyes twinkling with amusement, "I've got all the books I want about the past. Bring me a book that tells something about the future, and I'll buy it." A minister asked him how he read the Bible as to the state of children at birth. He answered that he thought the Bible taught that "the race started anew with as much benefit from the second Adam, as it had of harm from the first Adam; but that there was one text that troubled him." "What is that?" asked the minister. "Where sin aboundeth, grace doth not so much abound." "Why, there's no such text in the Bible!" "Isn't there?"

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responded Trumbull. "Why, people seem to think there is." At the very end of life his legs became paralysed. He said he was glad it had hit him at that end. "I'd rather lose three legs any time than one head," he added.

No one was humbler than he, more self distrustful, more ready to learn from others. Thus he wrote to a friend who was forty years his junior, a mere boy, just beginning to think for himself, who loved Dr. Trumbull but whose whole life had given him a different view :

"I value exceedingly your perceptions of spiritual truth; and I want to have the personal benefit of them. I am more of a gainer than you can be through this friendship, for I have greater need, and a better helper; and I want you to tell me with utmost freedom where you deem my views at fault or imperfect—at any time, at all times.

"Already my views have been modified by you in some lines, and intensified in others; and I want yet greater gain through you in all directions. I am sure that with your spirit you could not disturb me in the slightest by any exhibit possible to you of difference of opinion with me; and I am sure that with my feelings towards you I could not but be glad to hold open for revision or for new examination the dearest views of my heart on vital truth. I know that we are members one of another in Christ, and yet he has brought us together to be helpers one of another in his love and faith; so that there cannot be discord even where there is temporary difference."

He was an intense partisan but he was also eager, as this letter showed, to become the partisan of the fuller truth. And he was thus tolerant and open-minded toward all in whose truth of nature he believed. A man to whom he spoke about his Saviour met him with the remark, "I am a Roman Catholic," meaning to discourage his suspected proselytism. But proselytism was Trumbull's last concern. "Are you a good one?" was his next question. He was invited to speak in a Jewish synagogue in Philadelphia and did so, and pronounced the benediction, which he took care to do in a form which marked his union with the congregation, not his divergence from it. When the American Oriental Society met in Philadelphia, he entertained the members in his house and provided strictly Kosher food for the many orthodox Jews who were there

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and who were quietly informed by one of his Jewish friends who was helping him that the ceremonially clean food would be found on the pink-edged dishes. He refused to share in paying the liquor bills at a military banquet, yet he wrote:

"To make it clear that it was not niggardliness that influenced me, I should insist on giving a larger sum than I seemed thus to save to provide flowers, or fruit, or confectionery. I would feel it to be a shame and a wrong not to have my principles and my way of showing them commend themselves to those who do differently."

He was stiff as a steel rod in his principles but he "had studied patience in the school of Christ" and gentleness also and love.

He believed also in God as one who hears prayer. He persisted in taking as practically valid Jesus' assurance that the Fatherhood of God is as good as any human fatherhood and better. All the use that he would have made of his earthly father, and more, Dr. Trumbull believed he was justified in making of God. To those who think this is fanaticism, I can only say that it worked, and that he found God to be better than any analogy could represent Him. He proved Him to be accessible to human life in all its common need. That is the ever necessary ministry of saintliness, not to isolate life, but to work with God in the secrecy of prayer and also on the battlefields and in the streets and market places and in the rich naturalness of all our common ways, that others may

"Take patience, labour, to their heart and hand,  
From thy hand, and thy heart, and thy brave cheer."

And so when the end, which is also the beginning, came to him on Dec. 7, 1903, and his friends gathered in the church where for a generation he had worshipped and taught and served and loved, there came men of many walks and many faiths, Jew and Gentile, rich and poor, masters in the world's work, leaders in the life of the city and the nation, little children and men and women whom



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none knew, to rejoice in the memory of one who had proved for them that God is in Christ in modern life. Close by him as he slept lay his army cloak and his chaplain's broad-brimmed hat, the garments of his sainthood—a sainthood wrought out upon the common soil of the world, in the open cloisters of human service and under the rule of a deathless and all-believing love.

This is my witness to him and I know that this witness is true.



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A JOURNAL OF THE FAITH, WORK  
AND THOUGHT OF CHRISTENDOM

JUNE, 1913

## The Constructive Task of Protestantism

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Protestantism, as a phenomenon which has had a history, is not easily defined. In this paper, it is taken in the empirical every-day sense of the term. It does not mean Christianity as conceived by Luther or Calvin, or as presented in the confessions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or in the national Churches which in the countries of the Reformation displaced the Church of Rome; it means the common Christianity—so far as it is non-Roman—of countries like Britain, America, and Germany. However indefinite it may be, there really is such a thing. There are Protestant Churches and Protestant Christians, and through all their variations they have the consciousness of a common task and of a common principle on which it is to be accomplished.

In its original form Protestantism represented a criticism of traditional Christianity. On the strength of a new and immediate apprehension of the mercy of God

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in Christ, it was critical of the Catholic institutional Christianity in all its aspects. In modern times it has come to a clearer consciousness of itself, and is not merely critical in relation to Catholicism, but critical *simpliciter*—critical in the sense in which the philosophy of Kant is critical. The principle of criticism is innate in it and inseparable from it. Its own constructions, whether they be speculative or practical, systems of theology or of church order and government, are permanently subject to criticism. The process never ceases. Protestantism constructs nothing which it cannot and does not disintegrate and reconstruct. The interpretations of its faith which it gives are subject to incessant revision: the intellectual and moral structures which it rears for its own habitation—its creeds and confessions, its churches and institutes—can never win an authority which enables them to defy the spirit which has produced them. The system of thought and things which Protestantism is engaged in building is a system which is perpetually being renewed in all its parts.

That there is such a thing as Christianity on this critical basis is here taken for granted. There are actually churches in the world, living in the stream of history and sharing in the common intellectual life, which have real experiences of Christ, real powers in their life of which He is the source, real hopes of which He is the surety, ideals which make an authoritative appeal to them, but have in Him the secret of their power: and the constructive task of Protestantism is to find for all these experiences, hopes, powers and ideals, adequate intellectual and moral expression. No such expression can be imposed upon Protestantism ready made. None can be presented to it invested in an authority beyond criticism. There can be no creed which bears the character of an absolute *Lex credendi*, no institution to which the believing soul is in a relation of perpetual pupillage. The constructive task of Protestantism is one for which in all its as-

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pects the Protestants of today, who set their hands to it, must take the whole responsibility themselves. They have not to invent Christ or the gospel, but they have to bear their testimony to them—they have to interpret them in systems of thought and embody them in institutions—at their own risk and cost. An infallible creed, which can only be received, and an infallible institution, to which we can only bow, are for Protestantism finally unacceptable ideas. Yet all Protestants would agree that they ought to find for their Christianity adequate expression both in intellectual and in institutional forms, and that they are very far from having done so.

Possibly it is on the intellectual side that this is most keenly felt. The want of enthusiasm for the Church even among those who adhere to it in Protestant countries is certainly due in part to its failure to do justice to its intellectual task. Emphasis has been laid almost exclusively on immediate religious experience as contrasted with the intellectual statement or explanation of it. But such statement or explanation is wanted both to bring out its consistency with our intellectual life in general, and to enforce the moral ideals which it involves. It has been a current charge of Catholicism against Protestantism that it intellectualized Christianity, taking it out of the world of imagination and emotion and seating it in that of ratiocination, making religion the affair of educated men, and shutting out not only the unintellectual from it, but women and children in general. If this charge lay against the Protestant scholasticism of the seventeenth century, with its elaborate doctrinal systems, it certainly does not lie against the average Protestantism of today. The latter might far more justly be charged with sentimentalizing than with intellectualizing Christianity. Not to speak of Schleiermacher, who reduces religion to a kind of feeling, as distinct both from thought and action, even so masculine an intellect as Ritschl, with his emphasis on immediate experience, and his



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insistence that in the apostles themselves testimony is one thing and theology another, has contributed to depress interest in the rational statement of Christian truth. The effect of this is conspicuous in preaching. In Protestantism, the ministry is *par excellence* a ministry of the word; but in the typical modern preacher, the word—the vehicle of reason, that which is intelligible and appeals to intelligence—is precisely what cannot find utterance. For intelligent hearers, preaching has too much ceased to be educative. It is all subjective, moralizing, psychological, hortatory, sentimental. It does not break out of the inner world of what is called spiritual experience into the outer world of truth, facts, law, God. This is an unhappy weakness, and also a serious loss. It is inevitable that we should lose interest in orthodoxy as in any extinct fashion, but it is worse than perilous, it is fatal, if we lose interest in objective truth. Yet this is what happens when the constructive task of our religion in its intellectual aspect is evaded or declined.

Just because under present conditions we can only have an empirical conception of what Protestantism is, we can only have a similar conception of the task which is imposed upon it. The members of Protestant churches, living in them and living at the same time in the larger world which includes both Christian and unchristian in its compass, may have varying impressions of what the hour or their particular environment demands; in what follows, the writer can only give his own impression—an impression based on observation and experience—of what is most urgent at the moment if we would do justice to Christianity in the way in which we present it positively to the world. The task of construction laid on us is no doubt wider, but it is pressing in regard to three subjects mainly.

(1) First, we need to construct or to reconstruct our doctrine of Christ. Whatever the Christian religion may be, it is a religion which has some peculiar relation to

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Him. He has a place in it which is all His own, and in a true sense all that is specific in it is covered by the answers to questions which He Himself asked—"What think ye of the Christ?" "Who say ye that I am?" It is not saying too much to say that at the present moment no church has a living and adequate doctrine of Christ. There is, thank God, living and inspiring faith in Christ, faith as fruitful in works of devotion as faith has ever been; but it wants intellectual clearness and decision, and has not, so to speak, secured its standing ground in the world of ordinary thought. It is of no use to revert to the decisions of Nicea and Chalcedon in the present distress. No doubt they were meant to secure vital religious interests, and in a certain sense did secure them, but the ancient categories of οὐσία, ὑπόστασις and πρόσωπον are categories with which the mind will not work any more. They do not enable us to exhibit the real Christ in whom we believe, either to ourselves or to others; they do not furnish us with the means of bearing a believer's testimony to Him, or of showing the way in which He determines the relations of God and man, or the relations of men to one another. But if we reject them, what are we to do?

All that is open to us, in the first instance, is to fall back on the New Testament representations of what Christ does, and to lay the emphasis there. The Protestantism of the Reformation period took over the ancient creeds without criticism, but except for the purpose of vindicating its legal standing in the Holy Roman Empire it laid no stress on them. It took them over with their quasi-philosophical construction of the Incarnation, as in harmony with Scripture, but as all the great confessions show, its heart lay elsewhere. It lay in the change in man's relations to God which was due to Christ; even where Christ is spoken of, it is not what He is in Himself, but what believers experience through Him, which is the centre of interest. Modern Protestantism,

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therefore, is in the line of its ancestry when it aims at making Christ intelligible through His work, and the question rises whether we can represent the work of Christ in a way which at once vindicates itself to the conscience which has experience of His power, and can appeal to the authority of His own word.

Along two lines, the writer believes, this can be effectively done. So far as Jesus made any articulate revelation of what He is, it is condensed in the expressions "The Son" and "The Son of Man." The correlative of the first of these is the Father, and the primary truth which has to be embodied in a reconstructed Christology is that Jesus is the revelation of the Father. An immense mass of what passes at present for Christian theology is when reduced to its simplest terms an attempt to do what St. John pronounces impossible—namely, to have the Father while refusing the Son, or to go to the Father behind the Son's back. The very meaning of Jesus' peculiar consciousness of sonship is that this cannot be done, and though we can set no limit to the extent to which He can assimilate our relation to God to His own, our sonship is in the last resort due to Him; we are His debtors for the new relation to God in virtue of which we cry, Abba, Father. All that we mean by knowledge of the Father—all that we experience as reconciliation to the Father, and as the consciousness of pardon—is in the Christian religion inseparable from Christ. The assertion of this is not dependent on any metaphysical doctrine of incarnation, nor perhaps on any doctrine of incarnation at all; but it secures for Christ in the faith of today the place which He held in the faith of the New Testament—a place of absolute and final significance—and it is from one point of view the main thing to be built into a reconstructed Christology.

The second of the two terms in which the consciousness of Jesus is expressed—the Son of Man—is not less significant. As has often been pointed out, it is correlative

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to the Kingdom of God as the Son *simpliciter* is correlative to the Father, and it has had a curiously parallel fate. Just as there are multitudes of people who want to have the Father without the Son, so there are multitudes who want to have the Kingdom of God without the Son of Man. The Kingdom of God is a vague ideal for which they are able to supply contents themselves. They construct it out of their own heads on economical or political or ethical lines at their own discretion. It represents an indefinite belief in progress or human perfectibility or a good time coming; it is any Utopia that imagination dreams. But all this is for a Christian beside the mark. The Kingdom of God, the consummated ideal to which all believing souls aspire, is essentially related to Jesus. It is the state of things which is realized, not when our dreams come true, but when the Son of Man comes—in other words, when Jesus establishes a universal and final ascendancy in the life of man. This is the second truth which must be embodied in reconstructed Christology. Jesus not only reveals the Father, and through the revelation and at its infinite cost restores us to the Father, making us partakers in forgiveness and in the joy of reconciliation; He is the surety of our hope that the reign of God will yet be established among men, and the Father's will be done on earth as it is in heaven. The eschatological form of this hope in the gospels is not forgotten here, but what is peculiar to it does not qualify what is here said. The point to be insisted on is that Christology in future will not find expression in terms like substance, hypostasis, and persona. It may humble itself and acquiesce in agnosticism so far as the questions are concerned which these terms were employed to answer; but on the two-fold ground that we owe to Jesus our knowledge of the Father, and that the Kingdom of God for which we hope is a Kingdom which comes as His ascendancy in human life is realized, it will assert for Jesus a place which is all His



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own in Christian faith—a place in virtue of which He determines once for all both the believer's relation to God and his relations to his fellow men. To metaphysical minds this may seem equivalent to the abandonment of Christology, but Christology is not abandoned as long as we can vindicate for Jesus this place of His own. To vindicate His place was all the metaphysical Christology could affect to do, and it may be more truly and effectively done on the experimental basis just indicated.

(2) Next to its doctrine of Christ, what presses most on Protestantism is the reconstruction of its doctrine of the Church. To a Roman Catholic the doctrine of the Church is in a sense the only fundamental doctrine. If he is right about the Church, he cannot be wrong about anything else. If he is wrong about the Church, he cannot do right about anything else. The Church and Christianity are for him virtually identical. This is a position which for Protestantism is impossible. Even the Protestant who acknowledges that the Church as an institution exists wherever Christianity exists cannot recognize in any existing institution the attributes or the authority which the Church of Rome asserts for itself. He cannot put himself in that attitude to the Church which the Church of Rome claims from all its members. In the last resort, Christ and faith are for him higher categories than church, and he is not slow to criticize all existing churches through them. This is putting it in the most favourable light, for often, in point of fact, the Church is recklessly criticized, not in the light of its own ideal as determined by Christ and faith, but in the light of alien ideals the application of which in this connection is both unintelligent and unjust. But from all causes, the critical temper has been stimulated and the critical process has gone far. To a large extent the Church has been discredited, and to a still larger extent people are puzzled and at fault about it. It is rare to find a Protestant enthusiastic about his church.



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It is not uncommon to find even among those who loyally adhere to the institution in which they have learned what Christianity means an uneasy feeling that it is not serving the ends it should serve, that there is a want in it of all that is ideal and inspiring, that it does not command loyalty, that possibly a connection with it is not essential to Christianity after all, and that the Christian life may come to its own in the world in independence of it. Phenomena like these, which are everywhere to be encountered in the modern world, show how necessary it is for Protestantism to make clearer to itself what the Church is and what its place and function are.

It is assumed here, without raising any question of origins, that there always has been a Church in Christianity, that there always will be one, and that the conception of a detached Christian, with no church connection, is to say the least abnormal. Religious faith at all levels has power to gather those who share it into societies, and it functions as a social force. It is not in obedience to any commandment, but yielding to a natural instinct more potent than any external law, that Christians gather together in the name of Jesus. This name is a magnet which brings them with one accord into one place, and when they are so brought the Church is constituted by their common relation to their Lord. The doctrine of the Church needs to be constructed again from this point of view—not that of dogma, or of constitution and order, but of faith. Its primary function is worship—the adoring confession of the name of Jesus, and of the Father who has been revealed to us through Him. With worship is combined witness—the declaration to others of what God has done for men in Christ. This is the only thing which is properly called preaching the gospel, and where the Church lapses from it into an instrument for general educative and ethical ends, it forfeits its right to exist. With the worship which looks Godward, and the witness which is directed to the world, there is

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inevitably interwoven the action and reaction of Christians on each other. This ought to work out as a perpetual process of mutual encouragement and mutual discipline. The common faith should steady the perplexed or troubled faith of individuals, the common conscience should reinforce and vivify the individual conscience which under the pressure or the seductions of the world is growing lax about the Christian ideal. All this implies to some extent common intellectual forms, common forms of order and of discipline—to put it so, common laws; but the forms and laws must always be secondary and subject to revision in the light of faith; there can be no such thing in any historical church as divine statutes which simply and authoritatively bind the conscience of all generations, yet are applied and administered by mortal men. So far as its internal relations are concerned, the Church must be defined anew in Protestant theology in such a way as will combine the recognition of the truth that its existence is inevitable and indispensable with that of the equally important truth that the individual can live his Christian life in it without compromising his spiritual freedom; or to put it otherwise, the believer in Christ will realize what Christian faith and life mean only in a Christian institution, in union and communion with other believers, while yet there shall be nothing in the institution which is beyond the reach of Christian criticism, or which is laid as a dead weight on the Christian intelligence or the Christian conscience.

Besides defining the Church anew in its internal relations, it is urgent for Protestantism at present to make clearer to itself what is the relation of the Church as so defined to the great institutions of human society, or the other ends and ideals which command the devotion of mankind. Much of the criticism of which the Church is the object is, as has already been observed, not criticism through its proper ideal, but through ideals

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which, while they have a legitimacy of their own, are improperly applied here. Even loyal members of the Church may be in need of enlightenment on this point. They are interested in various good causes, economical, social, political and what not; and because the Church in some sense must be interested in all good causes, they would like to see it taking a more active part with them. They are eager to take it by force, and enlist it under their banner, as the multitudes would have taken Jesus by force and made Him a King; and when it is slow to move they are apt to denounce it as indifferent to evil and hostile to progress. What needs to be made plain is that while there are many cases in which the Church, and let us say for illustration, the State, or trades unions, or political societies, may have the same ethical ends in view, the Church is not at liberty, as a spiritual society, to use all the means in pursuing these ends which are appropriate and legitimate for others. Granted, for example, that temperance is a great moral interest, it does not follow that the Church should directly promote any particular piece of temperance legislation, such as a high licence law, an abolition law, a local option law, or whatever it may be. It has its own motives and weapons for fighting intemperance, and it does not gain strength, it only loses the consciousness of what it is, when it snatches at the weapons of the State, and tries to wield them instead of its own. The same consideration applies to many good things, especially economical and social. Probably a true doctrine of the Church, while it called the Christian society away from some tasks which it was being badgered into without either call or qualification, would impress upon its conscience the one great task which in the Protestant world is conspicuously neglected and that, too, with the most deplorable results—the task of Christian education. In modern communities education is the business of the State, but State education is inevitably determined by State ends. It neither is

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nor can be nor ever will be Christian education, and the passive surrender of education by the Church is simply suicidal. Catholics are abundantly right when they emphasize the importance of the religious atmosphere, and maintain that Christianity can only be communicated by Christians; and until the Protestant churches recognize that faith is social, that it is the conviction and inspiration of a community which its immature members must breathe as continually and unconsciously as they do the air which fills their lungs, Protestant Christianity will suffer from a congenital weakness. A doctrine of the Church is wanted which while it will secure the freedom of the spirit in all its relations to Christ will recognize the fact that faith has to be naturalized—not indeed in the world, which is impossible, but in the Christian home and the Christian Church, and that to educate its children into the freedom and fulness of faith is a primary and inalienable duty of the Church itself.

(3) There is one other task of a constructive sort which is also pressing for Protestantism at the present day. It is more indefinite than the two already considered, but in its place not less important. There may even be those who regard it as more important, for as Mr. Balfour has said, the decisive battles in theology are often fought beyond its frontiers. For two generations past, the study of physical science has absorbed an ever-increasing proportion of human intelligence, and thought upon things in general has been correspondingly determined by the categories which science employs. They may be lower, from the philosophical point of view, as in mechanics and physics, or higher, as in chemistry and biology; but whether they be higher or lower, whether they speak of the uniformity of nature or its unity, what they unconsciously tend to produce in the common mind is a conception of nature in which there is no room for Christianity. Even if it is not a dead mechanical system, it is a closed system; the evolution which it ex-

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hibits has no intelligible relation to spiritual ends; whether it be described in terms of matter or mind, as materialism or idealism, the intellectual condition spontaneously induced by it is one to which Christianity must seem an alien, intrusive, and ultimately impossible thing. But Christianity is a fact, and no fact can be set aside by any category, be it ever so dominant and absorbing. In the name of Jesus, Christianity, and especially the Protestant Christianity to which the intellectual freedom which has created science is congenial, must provide us with a larger view of the world in which the Christian facts will have their proper place. No one can contest, or can wish to contest, the rights of science; but whatever these rights may be, they do not include the right to tell us that we do not know the Father, that what we call the experience of pardon or of reconciliation to the Father is a mere misconception, and that immortality, or life in a mode transcending nature, is a delusion. Perhaps there is something objectionable in the old contrast of nature and the supernatural. Much ingenuity has been spent in trying to melt the terms down and make them run into each other. The process does not usually contribute to clearness, and it is obvious to most people that if we use nature in the sense in which the man of science uses it, then there is no explanation in nature of the existence of Jesus, of the forgiveness of sins, of a life against which death is powerless. From every point of view Christ, reconciliation to God, and immortality, are supernatural. In spite of the dominance of ideas like evolution—or rather, because of the illegitimate and one-sided dominance of such ideas—it is incumbent on Protestant Christianity, with its critical instinct, to construct a view of the world more equal to all the facts, a philosophy which will not ignore but justify the most significant phenomena in the spiritual life of man. Professed philosophers, as a rule, have fought shy of Christ. They have not come to close quarters with His words.



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They have never dealt seriously with His own estimate of Himself. They have constructed theories of the spiritual world in which He had literally no place, or no other place than their own. We can study systems of moral philosophy in which no need has emerged to speak either of sin or of forgiveness. In view of the facts, as a Christian sees and knows them, this is not only unreal but ludicrous. Yet it is prevalent. It pervades a great mass of scientific and philosophical teaching, it gives its set and bent to a great proportion of ordinary thinking, it creates the psychological climate of the common mind. And for this very reason, it is an urgent part of the duty at present incumbent on Protestantism, in the first place to disintegrate this spurious monism by bringing it into contact with the spiritual facts; and in the next, to construct a more adequate view of the world, in which justice will be done to Jesus, to forgiveness, to immortality; in a word to the transcendent—to all that kind of reality which used to be called supernatural.

# The Common Idea of the Church in the Protestant Creeds

BY NEWMAN SMYTH, D.D.,

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Catholicism."*

The differences in our Church polities are sufficiently in evidence; the agreements in our idea of the Church have not been kept clearly in the foreground. THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY may serve the whole Church to good purpose as it shall help our separate communions to rediscover the primary agreements that underlie their super-added differences. Certain common ideas are brought out with striking clearness when we compare the first articles concerning the Church in the principal Protestant Creeds and Declarations. For this purpose these articles are printed, one after the other, putting before them all the confession of faith in the Church which they retain from the earliest historical Creed: *I believe in the Holy Catholic Church.*

## THE IDEA OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE PROTESTANT CREEDS

1. The Augsburg Confession (1530). "Also they teach that one holy Church is to continue forever. But the Church is the congregation of the saints (the assembly of all believers), in which the Gospel is rightly taught (purely preached) and the Sacraments rightly administered (according to the Gospel). And unto the true unity of the Church, it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments."

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2. The first Helvetic Confession (1536). "We hold that of the living stones, which are built upon this living Rock one holy Catholic (*Allgemeine*) Church, the communion and assembly of all the saints, the Bride and Spouse of Christ, which He, through His blood, purifies and finally shall present to His Father unblemished and without spot, is built and gathered together." The second Helvetic Confession (1566). "And the Church militant in the earth always has many particular churches, all which, nevertheless, belong to the unity of the Catholic Church."

3. The Heidelberg Catechism (1563). "Question: What is it, then, necessary for a Christian to believe? Answer: All that is promised us in the Gospel, which the articles of our catholic, undoubted Christian faith teach us in sum. Question: What are these articles?" Then follows the Apostles' Creed.

4. The Belgic Confession (1561). "We believe and confess one catholic or universal Church, which is a holy congregation and assembly of true Christian believers, expecting all their salvation in Jesus Christ, being washed by His blood, sanctified and sealed by the Holy Ghost."

5. The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (at first, 1552, forty-two in number; English authorization, 1562; American revision, 1801). "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

6. The Scotch Confession of Faith (1560). "As we believe in ane God, Father, Sonne, and haly Ghaist, sa do we maist constantly beleieve, that from the beginning there hes bene, and now is, and to the end of the world sall be, ane Kirk, that is to say, ane company and multitude of men chosen of God, who richtly worship and embrace Him be tryw faith in Christ Jesus, quha is the

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only head of the same Kirk, quhilk alswa is the bodie and spouse of Christ Jesus, quhilk Kirk is catholike, that is, universal, because it containis the Elect of all ages, of all realmes, nations, and tongues," etc.

7. The Westminster Confession (1647). "The catholic or universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect," etc. "The visible Church, which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel (not confined to one nation as before under the law) consists of all those, throughout the world, that profess the true religion, and of their children; and is the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation."

8. The Confession of the Waldenses (1655). "That God has chosen one Church in the world for the salvation of men, and that this Church has one only head and foundation, which is Jesus Christ."

9. The Easter Litany of the Moravian Church (1749). "To Him be glory in the Church, which is in Christ Jesus, the holy, universal, Christian Church, in the communion of saints, at all times, and from eternity to eternity."

10. The Methodist Articles of Religion (1784). This is the same as Article XIX of the Church of England.

11. The Confession of the English Baptists (1677). "The Catholic or Universal Church, which (with respect to the internal work of the Spirit and truth of grace) may be called invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect," etc. This was adopted by the Southern Calvinistic Baptists in the United States in 1742, and is known as the Philadelphia Confession.

12. The Congregational Creeds and Declarations. (a) The Cambridge Platform (1648). "The Catholic Church, is the whole company of those that are elected, redeemed, and, in time, effectually called from the state of sin and death unto a state of Grace and Salvation in Jesus Christ." In following sections the Church is distin-

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guished as Triumphant or Militant. The Church Militant is "invisible in respect of their relation wherein they stand to Christ, as a body unto the head, being united unto Him, by the Spirit of God and faith in their hearts: visible in respect of the profession of their faith, in their persons and in particular churches: and so there may be acknowledged an universal, visible Church." The members of the visible church, "considered as walking according to the church order of the Gospel, . . . besides the spiritual union and communion, common to all believers, enjoy, moreover, an union and communion, ecclesiastical-political. So we deny an universal, visible church." Prof. Walker's note rightly states the meaning: "The members of the company of professed disciples of Christ on earth are to be considered in this treatise, not as isolated believers, but as united in the corporate fellowships established by the Gospel."<sup>1</sup>

(b) The Savoy Declaration (1658). The first article is the same as the Westminster Confession. "The whole body of men throughout the world, professing the faith of the Gospel, and obedience unto God by Christ according unto it, not destroying their own profession by any Errors everting the foundation, or unholiness of conversation, are, and may be called, the visible Catholique Church of Christ, although as such, it is not intrusted with the administration of any Ordinances, or have any officers to rule or govern in or over, the whole body."

(c) Declaration of the National Congregational Council at Oberlin (1871). "We believe in 'the holy catholic Church.' It is our prayer and endeavour that the unity of the church may be more and more apparent, and that the prayer of our Lord for His disciples may be speedily and completely answered, and all be one; that, by consequence of this Christian unity in love, the world may believe in Christ as sent of the Father to save the world." The following article is in the Constitution adopted

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<sup>1</sup>*Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, p. 205.



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at the same time by this National Council: "They agree in the belief that the right of government resides in local churches or congregations of believers, who are responsible directly to the Lord Jesus Christ, the One Head of the church universal and of all particular churches; but that all churches, being in communion, one with another, as parts of Christ's catholic church, have mutual duties subsisting in the obligations of fellowship." This action was a reaffirmation of the "Burial Hill Declaration" of 1865: "Affirming now our belief that those who thus hold 'one faith, one Lord, one baptism,' together constitute the one Catholic Church, the several households of which, though called by different names, are the one body of Christ," etc.

### THE COMMON IDEA IN THESE CONFESSIONS

One primary idea appears in all these Confessional definitions of the Church; their common heritage and hope, which none of them would lose, is denoted by the ever recurring word, Catholic. The catholicity which is ascribed primarily in these declarations to the invisible Church, is recognized also explicitly by some, and implicitly in others as a true note likewise of the visible Church. It is generally held and declared that particular churches should retain their fellowship in, and realize their obligations to the one catholic Church. The Reformers of the sixteenth century, it should be remembered, did not set the words, Protestant and Catholic, in hostile antithesis; while not conceding the word, Catholic, to their opponents, the Reformers on the Continent officially designated themselves in their several conferences as "the Associates of the Augsburg Confession." Nor was the common word, Catholic, used as a denominative mark for the reformed churches on the Continent, as it was not so used by the early divines of the Church of England; it remains among Protestants to this day, hallowed and lifted up above our "unhappy divisions" as the ideal oneness of all communions.

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Moreover, it is noteworthy that in these different creeds the first article concerning the nature of the Church marks a common conception, while after such primary agreement the following articles concerning ecclesiastical order run along a secondary line of distinctions and differences. If in reading these creeds we should stop with the first article which embodies the idea of the Church, and suppose, for the moment, all the subsequent articles blotted out, we might exclaim, How visible is the unity of these Christian communions! It is interesting to observe that this secondary character of the following delimitations of ecclesiastical orders was apparently discerned, somewhat subconsciously perhaps, by the framers of Article XIX of the Church of England, and distinctly declared by the authors of the Savoy Declaration. For in the former the definition of the essential nature of the Church closes with the clause, which carries with it all subsequent questions of order, "according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that are of necessity requisite to the same." Such things, then, are not primarily constitutive of the Church, but are to be ordered as they may be of necessity required according to Christ. This distinction between what pertains to the nature of the Church—the essential being of it as catholic and true—and what is to be regarded as necessary to its life or well-being, was recognized in the Preface of the Savoy Declaration in these words: "We have endeavoured throughout, to hold such Truths in this, our Confession, as are more properly termed matters of Faith; and what is of Church order, we dispose in certain Propositions by itself. . . . There being nothing that tends more to heighten dissentings among brethren, than to determine and adopt the matter of their difference, under so high a Title, as to be an Article of our Faith." This broad distinction between primary, constitutive elements of the Church, and secondary, necessary organs and functions of the body of Christ, was emphasized in the Cambridge Platform of

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the early New England Congregationalists in the following noble words—they sound as a voice from what we are wont to regard as the intolerant past, ringing through our present unhappy divisions as a call to a more catholic future: “It will then doubtless be far from us so to attest the discipline of Christ, as to detest the disciples of Christ; so to contend for the seamless coat of Christ as to crucify the living members of Christ: so to divide ourselves about Church communion, as through breaches to open a wide gap for a deluge of Anti-Christian and profane malignity to swallow up both Church and civil state. What shall we say more? Is difference about Church order become the inlet of all the disorders in the kingdom? Hath the Lord indeed left us to such hardness of heart, that Church government shall become a snare to Zion, (as sometimes Moses was to Egypt, Ex. 10:7); that we cannot leave contesting and contending about it, till the kingdom be destroyed? Did not the Lord Jesus, when he dedicated his sufferings for his Church, and also unto his Father, make it his earnest and only prayer for us in this world that we all might be one in him? And is it possible that he (whom the Father heard always) should not have this last, solemn prayer heard and granted? or, shall it be granted for all the saints elsewhere, and not for the saints in England, so that amongst them disunion shall grow even about Church-union and communion? If it be possible for a little faith (so much as a grain of mustard seed) to remove a mountain: is it not possible for so much strength of faith, as is to be found in all the godly in the Kingdom, to remove those Images of jealousy, and to cast those stumbling-blocks out of the way, which may hinder the free passage of brotherly love amongst brethren?”

A minor family feature common to the Protestant creeds, worth passing notice in this connection, is the relative position in the succession of articles which is

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held by the sections concerning church government. Thus, in the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Church and its order are not reached until we come to the nineteenth and following articles. In the Westminster Confession, we must read through the theology of Calvinism until we come to the twenty-fifth article to find the Presbyterianial order of the Church defined. In the Savoy Declaration of the early English Congregationalists the Church is the subject of the twenty-sixth chapter. In the Methodist Episcopal it is taken up in the thirteenth article. And in the French Confession written by Calvin we enter the Church through the twenty-fifth article. This sequence is, of course, incidental to a logical order of development; but it is suggestive to notice that, in the natural order of these creeds, so many articles which were not divergent enough to occasion breaches of Christian communion come first; and not until they were well along in the articles of faith did they fall upon matters of Church polity, upon which, as on a rock of offence, the unity of the Church was broken into denominational pieces. It is at least quite to the point to observe that as originally the separations of the churches as witnessed by these common features of their creeds began after many articles of agreement, so now a first step towards the restoration of our lost unity may be to return to the place where the ways of the churches began to diverge, and to meet once more in the common and the highest idea of the one catholic Church. Amid many difficulties and differences the Protestant churches had won an essential harmony of faith; and immediately they lost it in the division of the spoils of the Reformation.

Modern biblical and historical criticism has rendered it difficult for the controversial divine to find his ecclesiastical system delineated or explicitly sanctioned in the primitive Church. But to accept whatever correction of earlier Protestant claims to Apostolic sanction the consensus of modern researches into the origins of Chris-

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tianity may seem to require, is by no means to deny that organized Christianity has been and is a vital continuation and normative development of the life and the spirit of Christ. A recent discussion between the two eminent scholars, Harnack and Sohm, concerning the development of Catholicism serves to bring out the illuminating fact that the Judaic idea of the one people of God had some formative influence in the progressive development of the early Church. For a considerable time, it would seem, the local churches were not thought of as particular churches so much as "presentations rather and projections" of the whole body of the people of God. If, as is thus supposed, in the primitive churches the idea of one Christian people was the conception in which the thought of the several independent churches in different localities was framed; if these were regarded as "appearances of the great reality, the whole *ecclesia* in which the Word of God was authoritative"; among us, on the other hand, it might be said the opposite has become true; our particular communions and their authority occupy the foreground of our thought of the Church, while the primitive Christian idea of the one people of God becomes the subconscious thought. Just this contrast may be regarded as distinguishing our Church-consciousness from that of primitive Christianity. If so, for us to go back to the Apostolic Church would not be to find in its earlier forms the express patterns of our polities, but, above all other considerations, for us to recover and to fill all our churches with the dominating consciousness of the one people of God.

These creeds of Protestantism, taken all together, are a reassuring confession of the common Christian consciousness of the oneness of the Church of God. Moreover, there run through them certain integrating principles—principles potential with a future unity if they shall be worked out. Two of these integrating truths in these different creeds are fitted for the work



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of Church unity now urgent. (1) They contain the common assertion that the power is resident in the Church to determine what forms and ordinances are of necessity requisite to its obedience to Christ as a Church. Either explicitly or implicitly, the corporate obligation of the Church to judge and to ordain whatever from time to time is necessary to its being and for its well-being is recognized in the constitutional declarations of the several churches. Amid all the confusion concerning the nature and functions of the different gifts and offices of the Apostolic Church, one thing stands out undisputed; the power once exercised by the first Church in Jerusalem to determine necessary things is a power inherent in the Church, as its obligation also to lay no greater burden on men's consciences than necessary things is a continuous obligation in the exercise of its power. This inherent corporate power of the Church as a whole is comparable to the control in the natural world of an organism as a whole over its parts; it is a natural integrating power, essential to life, which does not, however, destroy the full and free functioning of the co-ordinated parts; a spiritual power likewise of the whole Church, to be normally exercised and justified by its fruits in the continuous growth and free service of the many members in the one life of the body of Christ. Herein lies no necessity of past enforced uniformity, but the possibility of future dynamic unity. It is noteworthy that the affirmation of the independence of the particular church was not carried so far in the Cambridge Platform of the Congregationalists as to deny entirely the principle of organic control; it is said that in the order of the Church believers "enjoy, moreover, an union and communion, *ecclesiastical-political*." Thus the fundamental difference between the Congregational polity and the Episcopal is not necessarily the Episcopate considered as an office of oversight in the Church; there is true insight in the remark once made by the late Dr. William R. Huntington that the fundamental difference

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between these polities lies in the fact that in the former the individual church, and in the latter the diocese is the unit of organization.

A second principle of vital unity is involved in what has just been stated; it has, however, been less consciously operative in the minds of the builders of different church organizations. We must look rather to the subconscious direction of the Spirit in the history of the Church for its evidence and verification. This principle is, in the spiritual realm, what the law of adaptation is in biology; it is the spiritual power of adaptation of the Church to its environment from age to age for the conservation of the life of the body of Christ. In this sense some Roman Catholic scholars have held the seeming paradox that mutability has been the virtue of the Catholic Church. By this same spiritual power of organic adaptability the living Church has virtue in it to reform its corruptions and to heal its divisions. What some Roman Catholic historians discern to be a principle of vital modification, even in the Church that claims immutability, has entered into the very spirit of the Reformed Churches and become life of their life. It would be denial on our part of the power of the living Christ in His Church for us to confess our ecclesiastical impotence before the present acknowledged necessity of mutual readaptations of our several church polities that shall be effectual enough to save the wholeness of the Church, that it may save the whole world. Above any controversial inferences from scriptural texts or doubtful generalizations from uncertain historical usages or schismatic elevations of secondary differences into separative principles, the ordinance of Christ for institutional Christianity—was it not given for our time, to be obeyed in this generation, when in the intensity of His divine consciousness He said of His own sayings, “My words, they are spirit and they are life”?

For the furtherance of Church unity attention is called

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in the extracts given above from the Protestant creeds to the common idea of the Church and its acknowledged integrating powers. To these extracts from the creeds, for the better practical conduct of the great venture of faith for the reunion of the churches, which we are now called by the providence of God to make, a timely precedent may be found in the following rules which were adopted as preliminary to the "Heads of Agreements" of certain Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in London in 1656: "That, where different principles lead to the same practice, we may join together in that practice, reserving to each of us our own principles. That, when we can neither agree in principle nor in practice, we are to bear with one another's differences, that are of a less disputable nature, without making them a ground of division amongst us."

In one of the Puritan pamphlets that has come fluttering down from out that storm-period in English history to find its resting-place with many others on the peaceful shelves of our libraries—a faded leaflet bearing the title, "Separation No Schism",—there occurs in a contentious passage concerning the broken fellowship with the Church of England this pathetic parenthesis: "We have but broke it by accident." By the accidents of history, not by the essentials of Christianity, has the oneness of Christ's true Church been lost; by return from the accidental separations of history to the essentials of Christianity shall that lost unity be regained. By return from all our separate ways, with mutual confession of fault and in common prayer and thanksgiving, shall we come again, not in name, but in reality and power, into the one catholic Church.

Is it too much to think that now, after the fruits for good and ill of these Protestant ages have been so fully gathered in, the whole world waits for another of the days of the Son of man? that the opening of this twentieth

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century marks another crisis in history—a day of judgment upon our civilization, a day of opportunity for a reunited Church to enter into a new era of world-conquering power?—another coming of the Son of man, if there be among His disciples faith enough when He comes? From the past, two great words of the Lord call us to greet the promise of the future; the one comes from the heart of the New Testament, the other from the boundless faith of the early Church—these two words, Charity and Catholic. Only by the one can the other be fulfilled. The greatest of these, said the Apostle, is charity. And the earliest, as it is the simplest, largest conception of catholicity, was that vouchsafed to Ignatius when he said: “Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church.”<sup>2</sup> From the midst of Ignatius’ directions, perplexing to our scholarship, above the uncertainties that confuse our knowledge of those too partially recorded times, clear and positive as an Alp in the sunrising, stands forth this sublime ideal: Where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church! A vision, this, of the dawn of Christian history, through the ages of controversies and confusions often beclouded but never wholly lost, a primal faith enduring in all the creeds of Christendom;—shall not the eyes of this generation behold it once more, now that the long day of storm and strife is passing and towards the evening’s hour of peace the glory of the Lord rests upon it! Love can make the Church catholic. Even so, come quickly Lord Jesus.

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<sup>2</sup>*Ep. ad Smyr. Shorter Rec. viii.*

# The French School of Early Church History

BY MGR BATIFFOL, LITT.D.

It has been said that the foreigner is ill acquainted with France, and all the worse because he thinks he knows her well. The French have a thousand faults, the gravest of which is self-calumniation, and this does not help to a just appreciation of them by foreigners who listen to them. Indeed, there are French values which fail of appreciation by even the most kindly disposed of outside observers, because such observers apply to them foreign or out-of-date methods of classification.

Let us attempt to furnish the elements of a fair judgment of the French scholars who for a quarter of a century have been devoting themselves to the study of the ancient history of the Church:—By what spirit have they been animated? and, since a tree is known by its fruits, what fruits has their activity produced? I would put this question and answer it as simply as possible, bearing in mind that the worth of a witness's testimony is the greater the less it resembles an advocate's plea.

The *Vie de Mgr d'Hulst* has just been published (1912). Mgr d'Hulst having been connected, as rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris from 1880 to 1886, with the origin of that academic movement of which I am to speak, we can find in this Life, which Mgr Baudrillart has written with the utmost scrupulosity, excellent elements of information, particularly upon one work which Mgr d'Hulst had very much at heart,—the International Apologetic Congresses. These Congresses were held from 1887 to



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1900, at Paris, Brussels, Fribourg and Munich successively: for about fifteen years they were the assertion of an encyclopaedic activity which is by no means extinct, and which heralded among the Catholics of that period the advent of a new conception of the defence of the old Church. Mgr Baudrillart mentions (p. 533), among the Cardinals who encouraged the work of the Congresses, Parocchi, Capecehatro and Newman.

It was an act of the highest and most opportune foresight on the part of Mgr d'Hulst to place this essay in the field of apologetic under the direct and public protection of the Holy See, then occupied by the great Pope Leo XIII. The calm and clear-sighted minds amongst us who still remain attentive to the development of the sciences, particularly of the historical sciences, should read over the letter of 20 May, 1887, by which Leo XIII accepted and encouraged the enterprise of the International Scientific Congresses of Catholics. "The Church," said Leo XIII, "has never lacked valiant defenders to array themselves in the very armour of her adversaries and to press the attack on their own ground." By this militant image the Pope defined the part played by apologetic: he distinguished it from the rôle of theology, which he reserved, but without wishing to discourage any fair science.

"Even in questions which have some relation with theology properly so called, each scientist must keep to his rôle of physicist, historian, mathematician, or critic, and must never trespass upon the rôle proper to the theologian, . . . without ceasing upon this account to regard as a duty the care to make out of all his scientific acquirements so many weapons offered to theology for her own defence, which is nothing but rendering to the truth the testimony which is its due. . . . Once more it will appear that all and each of the objects proposed by God for the belief and the hopes of humanity receive fresh confirmation from the truths discovered by human reason, and that between the two orders of knowledge not only does no discord exist, but there ought to reign, and does in fact reign, a full and perfect harmony."

Catholic language could have found no happier terms in which to remind us of the privilege of theology and at the same time of the worthiness and utility of history and criticism. Leo XIII did these two sciences of observa-

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tion and of conjecture the honour of counting upon them; in their proper domain, according to their own methods, they were to do their best work, rejoicing in the thought that their researches would be of service to theology "for her own defence."

If we look more deeply into these words of Leo XIII, we find in them the very distinct idea that theology as such is a perfect science, which has to defend itself, but not to renew itself. We also find in them that sciences like physics, history, mathematics, criticism, have methods of their own and constitute an order of knowledge distinct from that which is proper to theology. Lastly, we find that certain scientific questions may have some connection with theology properly so called: in which case Leo XIII wishes the historian to discuss them historically; the critic, critically, as the geometrician would speak of them geometrically, and without any confusion of methods. It will remain for the theologian to attach their values to the new facts. This fashion of dividing the labour was very well calculated to give confidence to the specialists in history, as well as to reassure the theologians: disputes could arise between them only, on particular points, as to boundaries.<sup>1</sup>

About 1880, at the Catholic Institute of Paris, a young professor (he was born in 1843) began his teaching: to speak more exactly, a teaching began with him. Whoever wishes to form an exact idea as to what that teaching was should look through the volumes of the *Bulletin critique*, which Mgr Duchesne founded in May, 1880, and which was until 1894 the bi-monthly record of his teaching, so far as that teaching was a method, and that

<sup>1</sup>It is very curious that nearly a year after the letter of Leo XIII, expressing his sovereign favour, there still existed at Rome a faction hostile to all this movement in studies, a faction of which Cardinal Pitra was the mouthpiece. These things are revealed by Mgr Baudrillart (pp. 536 and 546). Cardinal Pitra was no less refractory to the leading of Leo XIII in the political field. See Père Lecanuet, *L'Eglise de France sous la troisième république*, II (Paris, 1910), pp. 287-292. Leo XIII is reported to have said of Pitra: "M'ha trafisso! M'ha trafisso!" (He has stabbed me!)

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method was asserted in criticism of the authors whom he judged unfavourably.

Duchesne was not a man of theories, but of realizations, an enemy of generalities, above all a practical man, as his whole work will bear witness. Nevertheless, wishing to sketch a programme in the number of 15 August, 1880, he reproduced the preface given by the Abbé Ulysse Chevalier to *Les Lettres chrétiennes*, a shortlived review which appeared about the same time at Lille. Thus the same preface served for two reviews. Duchesne and Chevalier, both of whom are now Members of the Institute, and both of them the standard masters of French ecclesiastical learning, found themselves in 1880 of one mind in asserting the necessity of introducing criticism into the ecclesiastical studies rejuvenated in the contemporary scientific movement. Chevalier brought to this assertion a more traditional spirit than Duchesne, he felt this renewal to be a return to "our true traditions," and that a country which reckons in its past men like Mabillon and Tillemont is not a country that need improvise ecclesiastical learning. Chevalier used perfect tact in denouncing "the too exclusive preoccupation with theoretical doctrines" as an obstacle to the development of the "elevated, profound and methodical researches of erudition," denouncing, too, the rhetoric to which the French clergy had sacrificed too much and, lastly, denouncing "that infatuation which, for the sake of kindness of heart, lets shabby and valueless works pass, expecting to conceal under the flag of orthodoxy the mediocrity or spuriousness of the merchandise." Chevalier laid hold of "the cult of apocryphal legends" and "the edifying fictions"; he rose up against the out-of-date persons who "reproach true scholars with the scruples of their criticism," and who, "whether from cowardice or ineptitude, instinctively distrust pure science." "They tremble to compromise their faith handling the weapons of their adversaries." And Chevalier concluded: "It is absolutely necessary

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to bring back the mind of the learned Catholic world to severe science, rigorous methods, profound and permanent labours. High intellectual culture, which seeks only the exact truth, is often the best agent of the Christian apostolate." These declarations of the Abbé Chevalier, which Duchesne made his own, and which date from 1880, exactly express the needs of the critical minds around us at that date.

Duchesne's personality gave the *Bulletin critique* its character: we waited impatiently for every number, to read Duchesne's article, to enjoy his witty remarks—for he was terribly witty, and his wit was of the most caustic. And yet, reading over those pages now a quarter of a century old, one sees better in what their permanent aim consisted, what were the unvarying tendencies revealed in them, and whence Duchesne's work takes its magisterial character.

Duchesne's pitiless severity was applied to those books which pretended to be critical, but were fundamentally biassed. Read over his notices of Friedrich, Schultze, Langen, Duruy and many others, and you will perceive that in his view the first prerequisite to every historical undertaking is to get clear of every system and make up our minds not to want to impose any arbitrary classification or interpretation upon the facts. On the other hand, Duchesne applied himself to making known to his French readers the sane, strong works of a Kraus, a Krusch, a Wattenbach, a Zahn, a Swete, a Funk, a Harnack, a Lightfoot, a De Rossi. There were good workmen and bad, biassed or insincere critics and objective critics: time and time again Duchesne asserted his preference for the latter. This was the first characteristic note of his rising school—objectivity.

Duchesne seized a favourable opportunity for the better assertion of his principle (1 May, 1881) in reference to B. Jungmann, professor at Louvain, author of *Disertationes selectae in historiam ecclesiasticam* (1880). The



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antagonism between Jungmann and Duchesne is the clean-cut antagonism of methods. To assert his method, Duchesne defined it while approving its exhibition in a compatriot of Jungmann, Père de Smedt, the well-known Bollandist, whose *Dissertationes selectae in primam aetatem historiae ecclesiasticae* (1876) he contrasts with Jungmann's work. Duchesne writes:

"Père de Smedt is before all things a critic, while M. Jungmann is before all things a theologian. The former tries to see how things have happened, the latter to demonstrate that they have happened aright. And again, *happened aright* sometimes means happened in conformity with the writer's theological views. . . . On none of the questions treated does M. Jungmann trouble himself to indicate, group or classify sources. He states theses and demonstrates them with favourable texts, then he solves the objections derived from other texts. This is the method of theology imported into history."

In this way a few lines are enough for Duchesne to indicate the principles of critical classification of sources and the principles of criticism properly so called—in other words, to define the conditions of scientific work. Duchesne seems to me less happy in indicating the relations of the theologian and the critic. It will readily be admitted that Jungmann was before everything and in everything a theologian; it will be more difficult to admit that de Smedt ceased to be a theologian in order to be a critic, and though he was an excellent critic, though he organized the work of the present generation of the Bollandists, and particularly that of their admirable *Analecta Bollandiana*, no one will believe that in this enterprise he abandoned his profession as a theologian. Take, rather, his *Principes de la critique historique* (1883). Criticism and theology in reality work three-fourths of the time in separate fields: when they happen to be working in the same field, their work is still parallel, they observe one another and are watchful to agree in their certain conclusions without confounding their respective methods.

Père de Smedt was none the less one excellent model of the criticism for which Duchesne longed. Another,



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more illustrious, was De Rossi. He had been Duchesne's master at Rome, and Duchesne has often told me that his vocation came to him from reading De Rossi's *Roma sotteranea*. De Rossi's erudition, his fortunate, but still more methodical, excavations, his prudence in interpreting texts and monuments, the noble solidity of his work, the elegance of his Catholicism, so permeated with respect, docility and rectitude, made him a superior and singularly attractive master. He loved Duchesne as his favourite pupil and as his equal. "I write nothing," he once said to me, "without asking myself: What will Duchesne think of it?" De Rossi possessed more of the spirit of *finesse* and of *nuance*: "There are some things," he said to me, "that I see, and Duchesne does not." This remark well defined Duchesne, a clear mind which grasped only solid ideas.

I think that in naming De Rossi, de Smedt and Duchesne we have named the three initiators of historical work among us.

Restored historical teaching in France was to stumble at the outset over the legends which a timorous or defective criticism defends all the more vigorously the more tottering is their condition. Mgr Baudrillart, in the *Vie de Mgr d'Hulst* (pp. 466-474) has recounted the protests made against Duchesne about the years 1884 and 1885, because he had criticized the legends relating to the Apostolic origin of the Gallic Churches. "The inventors of these ambitious stories," as Père Delehaye calls them, had and still have their partisans, mostly persons holding positions of dignity: it is regrettable that Mgr Baudrillart, who records their grievances very exactly, has not noticed the adhesion which the Bollandists, more competent to decide, faithfully accorded to Duchesne's position, and has not mentioned the fine work of Père Delehaye, also a Bollandist, *Les Légendes hagiographiques* (1906), which justifies the critical method in these matters.

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An incident less well known than the objections made against Duchesne is the incident of the thesis with which M. Tixeront made his *début*. He was one of Duchesne's first pupils in history and moreover an excellent Syriac scholar. His thesis, dedicated to Duchesne, was entitled *Les origines de l'Eglise d'Edesse et la légende d'Abgar* (1888). No sooner had it reached the hands of Paulin Martin, the Professor of New Testament in the Catholic Institute of Paris, than he vehemently denounced M. Tixeront to his superiors: to listen to him, rejecting the tradition of the Church of Edessa as to its Apostolicity was a falling away into Protestantism. M. Tixeront's superiors did not take these utterances seriously, Mgr d'Hulst judged them still more severely, but the irascible Martin would not give them up, and poured out his wrath in a series of articles in the Lille *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques* (1889). It is not without interest to note that Martin was a collaborator of Cardinal Pitra, and to recall that he also defended the Areopagitism of the pseudo-Dionysius.

Church history is not concerned with legends only; it is concerned with dogmas, since dogmas have a history, and here it happened that Duchesne came into collision with the masters of theological teaching. Mgr Baudrilart has recounted (pp. 458-466) the sensation aroused by Duchesne's assertions on the ante-Nicene witnesses to the dogma of the Trinity; above all he has published a document of which we were ignorant, a letter of Cardinal Franzelin to Mgr d'Hulst (23 February, 1883). The Cardinal complained that Duchesne's teaching did not at all borrow the Roman method of interpreting the Fathers, but preferred a method borrowed from the German universities. As Duchesne took shelter behind the authority of Cardinal Newman, Cardinal Franzelin replied that the way opened by Newman was not to be recommended: "*Nam quod eminentissimum Newman attinet, particulares viae in studiis theologicis a venerando hoc viro emensae*

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*ae sunt, ut non videantur tanquam exemplar sequendae, certe non in nostras scholas transferendae.*"

Cardinal Franzelin concluded that it behooved the Paris professor to distrust his subjective prejudices (*subjectiva praejudicia*), and that, like Holy Scripture, which must be interpreted in conformity with the sense of the Church and the consensus of the Fathers, ecclesiastical documents should also be studied "*in sensu Ecclesiae et consensu Patrum.*" To which Duchesne might have replied by a self-evident distinction, namely, that the method here proclaimed by Cardinal Franzelin is exactly and exclusively that of the theologians, while that of the historians is otherwise. This misunderstanding was the whole conflict which thus brought Newman and Franzelin into opposition in regard to Duchesne.<sup>2</sup>

These long bygone years, stretching from 1880 to 1893, were, in spite of the incidents we have just recalled, years of confident enthusiasm. They were Duchesne's finest years: in 1886 he finished the first volume of the *Liber Pontificalis*; in 1892 he finished the second volume. Between whiles, he published, in 1889, his admirable study on the Latin Liturgy before Charlemagne, the *Origines du culte chrétien*, which is in the best tradition of Mabillon.<sup>3</sup> In 1894 came his edition of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, in collaboration with De Rossi.

<sup>2</sup>The conflict which thus manifested itself in 1889 is one which still lasts. We have seen it becoming more acute from year to year, and the attempts made to find acceptance for a *via media* between the irreconcilables of criticism and those of scholasticism have not found favour with either the one or the other; we shall have to wait for a calmer generation. Then, perhaps, the efforts will be remembered which we made between 1897 and 1907 to prevent the dangers which we foresaw. The beautiful essay of Père Léonce de Grandmaison, *Théologiens scolastiques et théologiens critiques*, published in the *Etudes* of 5 January, 1898 (pp. 26-43), will be especially remembered. Père de Grandmaison is a Jesuit theologian: I know no theologian whose vision in these matters has been more just, and who has expressed himself in more eirenic forms. His essay marks an epoch. See also his other essay, *Le développement du dogme chrétien*, in the *Revue pratique d'apologétique*, V (1908) and VI (1908), which represents a new and richer stage of the same theological thought.

<sup>3</sup>With this tradition we like to connect the learned and critical work of the

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What Duchesne is in the contemporary movement of ecclesiastical studies in Europe, has never been better said than by the author of *History, Authority and Theology* (London, 1909), the Rev. Arthur C. Headlam. He writes:

"... three different schools in England, France, and Germany have developed in a distinguished degree historical methods. One is Anglican, a second Romanist, a third Protestant or rationalist in its origin. With one is associated the name of Lightfoot, with the second that of Duchesne, with the third that of Harnack. It is not necessary to dwell, in this country, on the work of Lightfoot or of those associated with him. . . . The Abbé Duchesne has preserved the French neatness and lightness of touch; the edition of the *Liber pontificalis* is a work of the most exact and scientific scholarship, and the *Histoire du culte chrétien* is the most luminous and cultivated work on the history of Church services. . . . If the Anglican appears sometimes in Lightfoot, the Papist in Duchesne, Professor Harnack is as clearly possessed of prejudices, and is certainly inferior to the other two in judgment, in balance of mind and in critical methods; he is superior to both in fertility of thought and creativeness of ideas. . . . The existence of these three schools, approaching the same problems by the same methods, but from very different starting points, is the best guarantee for the future of Church history and the development of an historical theology."

What Duchesne was to his pupils, one of them, the Abbé Delabroye, tells charmingly in a digression which occurs in his book *Le besoin de Dieu* (1912), p. 233:

"We were not always more just, on some days, towards the severe and powerful lessons of a young professor of exceptional learning and exceptional talents, and—what perhaps is not known nowadays—of an excellent heart, who heaped up on all of us, both Dadolle<sup>4</sup> and Tixeront and Batiffol and still others as well as myself, the most beautiful proofs of interest, affection and devotion, a man of profound faith, a man of boundless attachment

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young French Benedictines, the true leader of whom is Dom Germanus Morin. While preparing a critical edition of Cæsarius of Arles for which we have been waiting for many years, he has produced a large number of studies in detail marked by a rare sagacity and admirable knowledge of the Latin liturgy and old Christian literature. Dom Morin is a Frenchman, although he belongs to a Belgian abbey. It is betraying no secret to recall that the exquisite little book entitled *L'idéal monastique et la vie chrétienne des premiers jours* (1912), which appeared anonymously, is Dom Morin's. We must associate with Dom Morin such younger men as Dom Wilmart, Dom Quentin, etc. I omit to mention Dom Leclercq, a man of prodigious learning, who is a Belgian.

<sup>4</sup>Mgr Dadolle died in 1911, Bishop of Dijon. M. Tixeront is now Dean of the Faculty of Theology of Lyons.



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to the Church, of perfect rectitude, who made it his principle that the truth is enough for us and that we must never bring reticence or falsehood into the service of the truth, but also a man of terrible wit, of an *esprit à faire peur*—a Catholic and Breton Voltaire,—let me add, a man with a scientific method and an implacable criticism, never mixing different kinds of work, preaching with piety in the Carmelite church, arguing with vigour in his lectures. . . . Since then he has continued and extended his learned researches, with his eyes, no doubt, in the new environments through which he has passed, fixed much more on the refutation of unbelieving scholars than on the edification of young Abbés, much more on establishing the essential facts of the origins of Christianity, or safeguarding them against the attacks of free-thinking and Protestant criticism, than on elucidating peculiarities of piety, theology or tradition, or on placing the supernatural element in a strong light for the apologetic and devotional purposes of pure Catholics. ‘To every man his place and his part,’ he thought, ‘in the vast field of religious defence; to every man his ground or his lot. I have by my side theologians, spiritual directors; my part is to decipher old texts, to estimate their value, to say what they contain. It is for others to choose what is opportune for this or that category of intelligences, for this or the other type of mind or of soul: that is no longer my business.’ Thus it is, at least, that we understood him, and that he seemed to understand himself. Was he mistaken or has he changed since that distant time? Has his terrible wit given itself freer play? Has he entered upon ground less familiar and less sure? Not having read his *Histoire ancienne de l’Eglise*, which just now seems to be arousing so much disquiet and alarm, I have no personal impression and calmly await the sequel, if sequel there is to be.”

In the beginning of 1895 Duchesne resigned his chair in the Catholic Institute of Paris and set out for Rome, where he had been entrusted with the direction of the French School of Archaeology at the Palazzo Farnese. Would he exert an influence in ecclesiastical Rome? We were not sure of it. Nevertheless he published there his *Eglises séparées* (1896), the only book he had so far written for the general public, the only book in which he had placed his profound science at the service of controversy: but what an admirable controversialist, and what a thorough lesson in history did he give to the Ecumenical Patriarch Anthimus, who had laboured so hard to reply to the letter *Praeclara* (1894) of Leo XIII! There Duchesne revealed one more trait in his character, that of being Roman—Roman in the trend of his studies, Roman in mentality, Roman by a pre-established fervent harmony which is proof against discouragement, for he has not renounced it. In my humble judgment, this



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book, *Eglises séparées*, marks the culminating point of Mgr Duchesne's work, a moment when it seemed that he was entering into collaboration with Pope Leo XIII.

In France, the year 1893, the date of the death of Renan, marks the beginning of a long *affaire*. Mgr Baudrillart (pp. 480-492) relates the initial phase of it, and how an article of Mgr d'Hulst in the *Correspondant* (25 January, 1893), on the *Question biblique*, brought on the first of that series of incidents of which M. Loisy's *l'Evangile et l'Eglise* (1902) was to be the term nine years later. A pretended *Histoire du modernisme* (1912) has employed all the resources of harsh rancour to make Mgr Duchesne appear as the father of M. Loisy's modernism; against this astonishing attempt M. Loisy is the first to protest. Those of us at least who knew Mgr Duchesne between 1880 and 1890 are in a position to know that the assertion is preposterous.

Duchesne was not inclined to venture upon the ground of the exegetical literature of first origins. We find, however, in the *Bulletin Critique* (1 September, 1881), a notice of C. Holsten's *Evangelium des Paulus* in which Duchesne expresses some interesting views. He reproaches Holsten with the radicalism which leads him to reject the Acts of the Apostles systematically: "To treat the False Decretals like this, when there is question of exposing the discipline of the first ages, that I understand; but to deny all utility whatever to a book like the Acts is to be lacking in historical sense." Duchesne added these precious lines:

"M. Holsten's work belongs to the category of those *a priori* systems of which German science shows itself so fruitful. Every page of the book confirms this impression. It is not St. Paul alone who is represented as the incarnation of a unique and invariable formula. The other Apostles, St. Peter, St. James, etc. . . . are treated in the same fashion. They are not men, they are automata. . . . The other day I complained of theologians who apply their deductive processes to history, and force facts to fit interpretations previously settled. It is not only among us that formulae are thus misused, and that we see historical documents treated like algebraic exercises."

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Farther on, continuing his appreciation of Holsten's book, Duchesne regretted that he lacked "a somewhat richer general erudition and a more special knowledge of Hellenistic literature," to enable him "to make a deep study of the primitive and fundamental documents of the history of Christian origins." And Duchesne ended with the pithy remark: "There would then [after that] be nothing more left for him to do except to guard his common sense against school rules-of-thumb and the seductions of absolute independence."

Let us by all means try to deduce the lesson which this page conveys: Duchesne's dislike of the subordination of criticism to *a priori* ideology, his repugnance to the seductions of absolute independence, his care to preserve his historic sense, his common sense—that is, clear vision of the real—against school rules-of-thumb and, just as much, subjective illusions—all so many reasons for repudiating Loisy's radicalism, his independence, his ideology and his sleight-of-hand exercises in exegetic algebra.

We must not lose sight, too, of the fact that minds and ideas were in a different condition about the year 1880 from what they were about 1900. In 1880 we in France had to struggle against Renan's intellectual hegemony, which the generation of Gratry and of Freppel had opposed with inadequate weapons. We had to meet Renan's romanticism with a severe empiricism. It was Duchesne's grand and beneficent rôle to gain credit for an objective method of treating the ancient history of the Church, and this was in fact substituted for Renan's artist-fashion. When, in 1882, Duchesne published his lithographed notebooks under the title, *Les origines chrétiennes*, we French Catholics had, for the first time, a manual, however condensed, to set against Renan's *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*. And if Renan has gone out of fashion since the time of his death, it is because of the coming in of this empiricism, at Mommesen's invitation and piloted to success by Duchesne,

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at a time when the theorematic manner of Fustel de Coulanges predominated, or the methods of the rhetorician which Lavizze employed.

Must we say, taking all this into account, that Duchesne's empiricism answers every requirement? Assuredly not. There were some of us among his pupils, about 1881 and the immediately following years, who opined that Duchesne was wrong to imagine a watertight bulkhead between history and faith. Duchesne was so afraid of not being objective, impartial, impassible, that he seemed to live in habitual defiance of his faith, and he reminded us of the historians of whom André Beaunier once said, "They watch themselves so closely that the reader feels nervous." We thought that no historian of the early Church, at least without confining himself to questions devoid of dogmatic interest, can abstract from his own faith, and that his faith is indeed an aid in restoring and understanding the past, in making for himself not only an exterior, but an intuitive, knowledge of it. He seeks to recover the past—the whole past: what an *a priori* proceeding it would be, and how contrary to sense, to reduce that Christian past to a natural history or be willing to note only its natural elements! Duchesne's method, then, seemed to us barely to escape the reproach of indifference and naturalism, I mean a methodic naturalism, as the doubt of Descartes is methodic. We thought, too, that he inopportunely turned his back on theology, because the historian, such as we conceived him, must seek the truth twice, first as an historian who wishes to be honest, and then as a theologian who wishes to be on his guard. This dualism, which has been finely remarked by André Beaunier, speaking of the lamented Thureau Dangin, in reference to the proper relation between history and politics, appears as well in the relations between history and theology. People who talk about "equilibrism" plainly show that they have no experience of the complexity of these matters.

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These reserves of ours also gave evidence that minds were already tending to a division. Two currents were showing themselves in Duchesne's surroundings. A Right was formed, with men like M. Tixeront and myself. A Left was formed, with M. Loisy. The Left had its Review in 1896, the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, which was to be for twelve years the organ of a more or less radical group, to fall at last into anarchical rationalism. In truth the group of the Left went on clearing its ranks every year: writers who at the outset had collaborated with it, such as Mgr Duchesne, Père Baudrillart, M. Paul Fournier and others, withdrew quietly. Did they clearly see into what radicalism the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* was being pushed? It may be doubted, so great was their good faith, and so firm their confidence. I know well that, in 1900, when I thought it my duty to publish in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* an article entitled *A propos de Richard Simon*, in which I pointed out this radicalism, which was all modernism—modernism before Tyrrell,—and in which I showed how it had been ingenuously exposed in a series of articles, by M. Margival, which had appeared in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, I could be sure that the rupture was thenceforward complete between the Right and the Left, for they made no scruple of telling me so, and in a tone far from eirenic.

Perhaps the only one who did not agree in this was Mgr Duchesne. In a letter which he wrote to one of us, 22 February, 1898, I find these lines:

"The essential thing is that there should be as little discord as possible among those who intend to serve the Church in the field of religious science. Why do you talk of Right and of Left? Is it not evident that on the one side the directions of the Church ought to be respected above everything, and that on the other side science is not made with extra-scientific processes? On this we are all agreed."

We see that Duchesne was faithful to his maxims of 1880, but since 1880 new problems had presented them-



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selves, and we had taken position on divergent lines: the Right had no pretensions to making science with extra-scientific processes, but was the Left so resolved to respect the definitions and directions of the Church? Mgr Duchesne, excellent master that he was, would not admit the existence among his pupils of those very dissensions which were giving him real pain, and at times he too readily imagined that the Right of his school was inclined to Pharisaism. And yet, what else were we of the Right doing but labour in the furrow opened for us by his *Eglises séparées*?

We thought, in fact, that Catholicism needed labours that should endow it with a history of its dogmas, sacraments and institutions, and we were undertaking to build up such a history. M. Tixeront published in 1905 the first volume of his *Histoire des dogmes*, the third and last volume of which appeared in 1912; M. Rivière, his beautiful *Le dogme de la Rédemption* (1905); M. Saltet, *Les réordinations, étude sur le sacrement de l'ordre* (1907). In the same period I contributed my two volumes of *Etudes d'histoire et de théologie positive* (1902 and 1905), and prepared my *Eglise naissante et le Catholicisme*, which appeared in 1908, after my banishment from Toulouse.<sup>5</sup> One spirit animated all these books,<sup>6</sup> their authors aimed at the realization of the same design, which no one has grasped and noted better than did the lamented and learned Bishop of Salisbury, J. Wordsworth, first in *The Guardian* (25 November, 1908), and then in his tract, *Ordination Problems* (1909). The reader will excuse my citing, just for the sake of recording the rest

<sup>5</sup>Many of these books are translated into English: Rivière, *The Doctrine of the Atonement, a historical essay* (London, Kegan Paul, 1909); Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, I (St. Louis, Herder, 1910); Batiffol, *Primitive Catholicism* (London, Longmans, 1911).

<sup>6</sup>It would be blameworthy not to mention, as a manifestation of the same spirit, the publications of M. Vacandard, particularly his *Etudes de critique et d'histoire religieuse* (1905, 1910, 1912), a work which has the disadvantage of being made up of papers on scattered subjects, always treated, however with learning and honesty. M. Vacandard much resembles Father Thurston.



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of the passage, a page where my name is mentioned too kindly. Speaking of M. Saltet's *Réordinations*, then, the Bishop of Salisbury wrote:

"This valuable book is one of a series of *Etudes d'histoire des dogmes et d'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique*, issued by that school of French Ecclesiastics of which Mgr Batiffol is best known in this country, and of which, without disrespect to his learned colleagues, he may be described as the leader. It is a school possessed of the three great literary virtues of candour, learning, and intelligence; and it has a yet further quality, which English Churchmen cannot but value, it is reasonably conservative and at least properly careful of its orthodoxy. As such, it is to be distinguished from what we in this country understand by 'Modernism,' in so far as Modernists exaggerate the right and duty and the competency of private judgment and leave the future aspect of most theological questions hazy and nebulous. It is in fact the modern representative of the old French historical school of which the great Oratorian, Jean Morin (1591-1659), was perhaps the most conspicuous ornament, profiting by the more detailed knowledge which has been accumulated, and by the exercise of the comparative historical method which has been developed, since the seventeenth century. It desires to clear dogmas and rites from accretions and exaggerations, and to express and describe them in terms which will be applicable to modern life, but to leave their substance thereby more, and not less, substantial."

Save for some shades of meaning, the group of the Right, which we were forming in the period of modernism, would recognize its programme in these very complimentary lines.<sup>7</sup>

The period 1893-1902, opening with Mgr d'Hulst's *Question biblique*, concludes with M. Loisy's *l'Evangile et l'Eglise*: at this moment we enter upon the modernist crisis. The whole attention of those who saw that crisis

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<sup>7</sup>Our group of the Right has since been strengthened by the formation of a group of Jesuit historians to whom we owe some excellent books. We have already mentioned *Les origines du dogme de la Trinité* (1910), by Père Lebreton. Add to this *La théologie de saint Paul* (1908 and 1912), by Père Prat.—I hesitate to add the publications of Père d'Alés, who is much more nearly allied with the manner of Jungmann. The *Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi catholique* (1911—), under the direction of the same Père d'Alés, is much better. With this will be compared M. Vacant's *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (1903—), which devotes much space to the history of doctrines, and shows great good will. These two dictionaries must have done much to cause the penetration of the historic method into theology.—Just at present the group of Jesuits has for its organ a very distinguished Review *Recherches de science religieuse* (1910—), founded and conducted by Père de Grandmaison. On our side we had founded the *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétienne* (1911—).

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was at first occupied with modernism itself in so far as, represented by its two leaders, M. Loisy and Father Tyrrell, it constitutes an attempt to reinterpret Catholicism by way of a radical exegesis and a no less radical philosophy of religion. Then attention was attracted by the repression of modernism in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church.

This repression led to a very severe reaction in feeling against the movement of the French historical school. In France, a great many people are led to believe that they must outdo authority. "*Prae nimia timiditate plus audent quam jubentur.*" Not long ago, a French Archbishop, Mgr Fuzet, of Rouen, lifted his voice with ostentatious solemnity against all religious learning that was not scholastic, notably against "tricks of erudition," "petty controversies of documentary interpretation," which, according to him, tended to make an end of all theology, all apologetic. Why should we palliate the fact that this reaction is a trial for all of us, and for some of us a bitterness? Is the present reaction the end of the historical work to which we devoted ourselves about the year 1880? and have these thirty years of study been useless, if not bad, for the Church which we were ambitious to serve? Is the conflict between history and theology interminable, and is Loisy right in saying that the Church and Science are turning their backs on each other?

We were asking ourselves this disquieting question, when our eyes fell upon an article in the *Etudes* (5 January, 1913), in which a Jesuit, Père Yves de la Brière, undertook to reply to the harsh attacks of Archbishop Fuzet. There we read this page:

"The grave errors concerning the very conception of Christian dogma and the character of dogmatic evolution, errors disseminated by Auguste Sabatier, Adolphe Harnack, Alfred Loisy, George Tyrrell, Edouard Le Roy and still others, have had the effect of calling forth in the orthodox reviews, the theological or apologetical dictionaries and collections, many pieces of very valuable work which seem to us not only to have successfully defended

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the traditional positions, but to have marked a genuine advance in religious knowledge. It would be difficult to imagine any future teaching of dogmatic theology, above all any course *De divina traditione*, that should fail to be enriched by the penetrating and solid explanations which come to us in this brilliant outburst of articles. The distinction between the dogma of faith and its theological interpretation; the distinction between the revealed truth and the dogmatic formula; the more delicate distinction between the concrete, familiar and practical aspect under which the revealed truth was originally transmitted and the theoretic, abstract, schematic aspect under which the same truth was afterwards conceived and defined; so many questions which the teachers of the Middle Ages and of the seventeenth century had not been led to investigate in detail; so many questions which two very different minds, Newman and Franzelin, had broached in the nineteenth century, but in such a way, nevertheless, that Newman's ingenious theory required correctives, and Franzelin's magnificent thesis demanded adaptations and complements; lastly, we will say, so many questions which the present contributors to reviews, dictionaries and theological or apologetical collections, working under the stimulus of modernist attacks, have studied with a profundity, precision and subtlety of learning, with a lucidity of formulae, which had never before been attained. It has become less difficult for the future to exhibit the likeness and the unlikeness between the historic development of Christian doctrine and the organic evolution of a living being; less difficult to explain how a doctrine belonged objectively to the deposit of divine revelation transmitted by the Apostles even though that doctrine may seem to have been unknown to Christian antiquity, and may have been the occasion of prolonged discord among Catholic teachers, when it asserted itself in the light of day, before conquering the unanimous adhesion of the teaching Church. *It will be during the earliest years of the twentieth century that Catholic theology will have been additionally clarified and enriched upon the question of dogmatic progress. . . .*

"We might have chosen other examples; for there are few dogmatic truths about which our Catholic apologists have not had occasion to meet the specious objections of modernism with some learned reply or useful elucidation. We cite in particular the dogma of the Trinity, the dogma of the Incarnation, the doctrine of the institution of the sacraments and even of the Catholic hierarchy by Christ, the Church's historical continuity with the Gospel, the nature and perspective of the Kingdom of God in the Gospel, the authenticity and historicity of the Gospels. Auguste Sabatier had written: 'The first link in the golden chain created by Catholicism to connect its hierarchy with the Apostles is a myth.' The works which have been appearing for some years in the collections, periodical or otherwise, of religious sciences will perhaps not be without their usefulness for the refutation of this radical thesis. They will, we believe, help seminary professors to establish it more and more solidly that the first links of the chain between Catholic Christianity and the Gospel of Christ are very real links and of pure gold.

"At the present moment these same collections can help the masters of ecclesiastical teaching, especially in the treatise *De vera religione*, to combat objections taken from the still new science of the history of religions. By exact and precise verifications, by serious investigations, the labours of the specialists are breaking down piece by piece the fabulous dependences which the rationalist manuals discover in the dogmas and rites of Christianity

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in relation to pagan religions and their grossest superstitions. This methodical refutation is a service of the first order to apologetic."

Let this modest and courageous page serve as epilogue to my article. I have recalled the origin of the historical movement among us, indicated its stages and noted its divergences. I might have dwelt upon the modernist crisis which was a tragic experience for that movement, but this is a page of history which cannot be written yet. The important point is that the movement inaugurated among us about the year 1880, the impulse of critical learning which sprang from it, is one which, in spite of the revolutionaries who have tried to get possession of it, nevertheless has, after all, contributed to a constructive work; and of this, testimonies like that of J. Wordsworth or of Y. de la Brière are calculated to assure us. A day will come when the language of Père de la Brière will no longer be bold, or deserving of especial thanks, or exceptional, but will be the very language of Rome. The correctives called for by our theses will come in good time, and the contradictions which they have aroused will have their correctives, too; time will teach us. Thus does Roman Catholicism accomplish its work and its progress, slowly, gravely; and with it no truth is lost.

PARIS.



# Christianity in the United States

BY SETH LOW, LL.D.

One may imagine that a foreigner contemplating the condition of Christianity in the United States might easily say to himself that nowhere else in the world is Christianity broken into so many fragments. Upon the surface this is probably true. It may sound like a paradox to say that perhaps nowhere else in the world are Christians of every name so nearly at one. In order to estimate intelligently the significance of this paradox, it is worth while to consider carefully both of its branches. Why is it that in the United States Christianity should be broken into so many fragments; and in what senses are Christians of every name so nearly at one?

Beyond all question, the many sub-divisions of Christianity in the United States can be traced largely to the historical, the political, and the social influences which have conditioned the life of the American people. These same influences also explain the large measure of unity that these sub-divisions conceal but do not prevent. To understand the American people at all, one must constantly bear in mind the conditions under which the United States came into being. A country, continental in extent and inhabited only by uncivilized Indians, suddenly became a land in which many of the most enterprising individuals of all the races of Europe sought to establish for themselves a new home. These men and women brought with them not only their racial characteristics and their different experiences with government but also their differences in religious affiliation and belief. The first to come were the Spaniards; then



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the French; then the English; then the Dutch; and then the Swedes. The struggle between these various nations for supremacy in the new world lasted for two centuries and a half. At the end of this struggle English authority was supreme from Florida to the frozen North. As a result of this, Roman Catholicism retained its foothold only in the Province of Quebec, at the north, and in the small holdings of Spain at the South. But the Protestantism which prevailed in the British Colonies at the date of the fall of Quebec was even then a divided Protestantism. By 1759, the Puritan theocracy of Massachusetts had already been somewhat modified by the sweet influences of Roger Williams in the neighbouring Colony of Rhode Island. Side by side with the English Church in New York, the mild and liberal religion of the Dutch continued to make its impress on that Colony. The Society of Friends was the dominant influence in Pennsylvania; while in the Southern Colonies the Church of England was then the most influential. Right in the heart of the English territory was the Colony of Maryland, founded by Lord Baltimore, himself a Roman Catholic, whose liberal laws from the beginning recognized freedom of conscience. These laws, lost for a time as the result of the political revolution of 1688 in England, were restored by Independence. As the political controversy with the mother country developed, the men of all the colonies were led more and more into acting together, until at last they uttered with a single voice, in 1776, the Declaration of Independence. The Revolutionary War which followed cemented this habit of concerted action on the part of the Colonies; so that when their independence was finally recognized it had become a tradition among Americans that religious differences, however strongly felt, were to be no bar to common action in the interest of the State. When the Federal Union was formed in 1789 under the present Constitution of the United States, it was evidently a matter calling for

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the wisest statesmanship to know how to harmonize, under a common government, the religious differences which prevailed in the various States. The problem of statesmanship was happily solved by providing that there should be no State Church; and by guaranteeing to every man freedom of conscience to worship God as he might see fit. Under these provisions of the Constitution the Roman Catholic Church, and later some of the Orthodox Churches of the East, have found themselves as much at home in the United States as any other Communions. Like all the others, they find themselves in "a large room." Thus, out of the religious differences born in Europe, there emerged in the new world a nation, which, by the common consent of its people, agreed to disagree in matters of religion, while holding to one another by hooks of steel in support of the common government. Thus the demonstration was begun which has ever since been continued on an increasingly wide and impressive scale, that men may differ as they will on matters of religion and yet co-operate with one another to the fullest extent in matters pertaining to the State.

The independence of the United States, historically, has meant much more than its freedom from the political control of Europe. This independence has meant that American life, in all its activities, has struck its roots deep into the soil of the new world, and has obtained its strength and inspiration from the large atmosphere and under the new conditions of a continent largely unembarrassed by the hampering conditions of the past. A colony draws its inspiration from the mother country by tendrils passing under the sea; but the independent state must strike roots deep into its own soil or perish. In other words, of necessity even more than from choice, American life has had characteristics of its own which are quite different from those of Europe. In all its departments, American life has been characterized from the beginning by the effort to adjust the principles estab-

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lished by the experience of mankind in Europe to the absolutely novel conditions of life which prevailed in a country that, at the beginning, was wholly undeveloped, and which even now, comparatively speaking, in many of its parts is but little developed. The Constitution of the United States strikingly reveals this characteristic of the American temper, which is constantly to try, by new adaptations, to fit itself to new surroundings and to new conditions. This temper was necessarily dominant in the Founders of the American Republic; but each succeeding generation has inherited it. As the problems of the times change, the operations of this temper change; but this same spirit may be traced through a thousand different operations in every department of American life. Its effect upon Christianity in the United States has been scarcely less marked than in the political domain. The first consequence of the achievement of political independence was to make all of the Churches free. In Canada, the Church of England is the Church of England in Canada still; but in the United States the same Communion is The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. And this Church is as tenacious of its ecclesiastical independence as the Republic is tenacious of its political independence. The Wesleyans in England are Methodists in the United States. The Baptists and the Presbyterians have experienced no such change of name; but they have experienced the same change of heart, and have covered this country with their churches, through organizations that are as independent as the State itself. The Roman Communion, and latterly some of the Eastern Orthodox Communion, are the only churches which look to a European centre for guidance and control. It remains to be demonstrated whether this conception of the control of Christianity from a common centre for the whole world, will ultimately affect American institutions more importantly than American institutions will affect this conception. The

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two ideas cannot live together without each one insensibly affecting the other. It is already proven that under the benign influence of American institutions Protestants and Roman Catholics and members of Eastern Orthodox Churches can live together in all the relations of good citizenship with mutual respect for each other, and with a mutual recognition of the right of every man to be guided in things religious by his own conscience. Under these conditions, the Roman Catholic Church prospers in the United States as perhaps nowhere else in the world at the present time. Growing continually, as it does, by immigration as well as by its natural increase, it relates itself to American life more and more easily.

This political survey of American history as it bears upon the development of American Christianity is already illuminating; but to these historical considerations must be added the continuous effect of characteristic social conditions during the whole period of American life. When the United States became independent the entire population of European origin lived on or near the seaboard. From that day almost to this the "Call of the West," the lure of the unknown, has sounded in American ears. The men of adventure, the men of initiative, in every generation have responded to this call as a lover to the call of his mistress; so that the frontier has moved westward decade by decade. At the edge of the frontier always there has been an area of sparse settlement, where the older Christian Communion seemed to be far away and not able to meet the present need of the time and place. Under such conditions, groups of American Christians have set up new church connections for themselves, very much as they have built up new States out of uninhabited territory. Such influences as this account in no small measure for the many sub-divisions of the large Christian Communion which are to be found in the United States. They are much less the result of wilfulness than the adaptation of strange conditions to old needs.



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This consideration also explains, to a great extent, why such bodies as the Methodists and Baptists have become so large in the United States. They, more than any other Christian Communions, have been able to make use of an unlearned ministry. There are in the ministry of both of these great Communions men whose learning and scholarship need not fear comparison with the ministry of any other Christian church; but there is also in the ministry of these two Communions a large body of men, comparatively untrained in the ways of scholarship but who have been taught of the Spirit how to lead their fellows to the feet of the Master. Whatever may be the importance of scholarship, and of theological and ecclesiastical training, for the Christian ministry, it cannot be gainsaid that without the comparatively unlearned ministry of these two Communions a great multitude of the American people would have drifted away from the influence of Christianity itself. The frontier communities of the United States have not long remained frontier communities. The advancing spume of the wave of civilization has been followed always by the wave itself, with the result that what was in 1832 the frontier post of Chicago has long been the second city in the United States. What has happened in Chicago has happened, after its own measure, everywhere. Is it not easy to see, as such places grow in population, being filled up by people from all other parts of the American Union as well as by immigrants from abroad, that the informality of frontier life has inevitably stamped itself upon the relations of the citizens in all their activities? As such places grow the older Christian communions build churches there. The citizenship of the place divides itself among the churches according to its inherited convictions, or according to the appeal which the different churches make to the individual conscience. Thus the division of the churches as churches is continued; but the unity of the citizenship in things social as well



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as in things political underlies all the churches. The younger communities in their growth permit this process to be seen; but it is exactly as true of the oldest communities in the United States as it is of the newest. Except in distinctly church enterprises, Protestants of every name and Roman Catholics unite together to serve the community and to advance the public good. Broadly speaking, it is true that there is absolutely no religious line to be even dimly traced, either in society or in industry, in philanthropy or in art. The trade unions are as free from it as are the industrial corporations; and so it may be said to be broadly true, that, as a result of American political and social conditions, although American Christianity is still divided along purely religious lines, it is absolutely at one, without regard to religious differences, in most if not all of the other domains of human activity. A thoughtful English writer pointed out, not long ago, that in a short visit to New York he realized that America had done away absolutely with the servile man, as he is seen in all the countries of Europe among those who for centuries have been dependent upon others. Precisely as America has done away with the servile man, and because it has done so, the class spirit is less strong in America than in any other country. This large absence of the class spirit lends itself to the spirit of brotherhood. This begins to make itself felt among the children of the public schools, and it is reinforced on every Election Day among the grown people in every hamlet in the land.

The paradox with which this paper began can now be understood. American Christianity is broken into many fragments because Christianity came to America in fragments; and because all the political and social conditions prevailing in America from the time of its first settlement by Europeans have favoured the establishment of new Church connections. The growth and spread of emigration on a colossal scale among peoples of different religious

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affiliations at home have lent strength to the process of division; and it has gone on, not so much because the American people are indifferent to religious things as because they have been dissatisfied, under the circumstances in which they have often found themselves, with their old church connections. Men who care nothing for religion give up their old Church associations; but they do not establish new ones. The fact that Christianity in the United States is so much subdivided has at its heart, therefore, this seed of encouragement and of hope. On the other hand, back of these divisions of the Christian Church in the United States is seen the broad fact of democratic citizenship in a common country, in which the very air which all men breathe inspires the same respect in every man for the religious convictions of another which he claims from other men for his own. This is why Americans can agree to differ on things religious, while working hand in hand as to all matters that affect the public weal, or the social life. This is the sense in which the Churches though subdivided, are so nearly at one.

It is in an atmosphere such as this that THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY has had its rise. If I understand the aim of the QUARTERLY aright, it is to set forth that which is fine and noble and of good report in the various Christian Communion of every land, without minimizing the fact that serious differences exist. To this end, it invites its contributors to state with freedom that which is characteristic of the various Communion to which they belong. It aims to present to its readers that which is characteristic of each Christian Communion, as sympathetically interpreted, so that its readers of other Communion may perceive what these things mean, when seen by sympathetic eyes rather than by eyes full of prejudice. It is literally true to say for myself, that, from every article in the first number which I have read, and I have read all but one or two, I have received some

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new and nobler thought concerning the Communion to which the writer of the article belongs. May THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY continue to do just this thing for me and for all of its readers.

NEW YORK.

# The Present Position of the Churches in Canada

BY R. A. FALCONER, C.M.G., D.LITT.,

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Anyone who is acquainted with the conditions of society in the Dominion of Canada will have observed that the churches exert great influence among the people. There are few countries in which over large areas the influence is so uniform and at the same time the outcome of popular conviction. On the continent of Europe the power of the churches is being seriously challenged; in Britain, though the depths of the people's life are probably not disturbed, forces have been playing upon the surface which give rise to disquietude for the welfare of organized Christianity. The churches of the United States have put forth, often against heavy odds, a strong effort to meet the religious needs of peoples of most diverse origins, traditions, and customs, who for a generation have been flocking to these shores with hand to eye straining for a glimpse of the home of freedom and material prosperity.

In Canada the churches are relatively much stronger than in the United States. It may also be confidently affirmed that they have played a not unimportant part in the political development of the country. They have helped both in welding the Dominion together and in adding strength to the links that bind us to the motherland. Following upon Confederation unions were effected in several of the Protestant churches, whereby they were organized into bodies that exercise supervision

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of their members from Atlantic to Pacific. The General Assemblies, Conferences, or Synods legislate on a national scale, and bring the resources of the richer sections to bear upon the needier districts old or new. This is parallel to the action of the Dominion Parliament and of our banks. By the Canadian Constitution the residue of undefined powers is left with the central government at Ottawa instead of devolving upon the provinces as it does on the states of the Union. So our great banks dealing through their local branches transfer money to the point at which there is greatest demand.

At the annual conventions or assemblies a wide national outlook is offered by the survey of the social and religious life of the people, which is then carried back to the churches and also presented to the country by means of the denominational periodicals. The bond is further strengthened as the people from the older provinces moving west find that money contributions from their eastern brethren help to provide them with religious ordinances, and that they are ministered to by men who at least until recent years have been trained in the older colleges of the East.

The churches have also strengthened the Imperial link because they have maintained close affiliations with those of the mother-land. Formerly the British churches sent contributions of money for the extension of church work in the Dominion, but this has ceased. We still receive clergymen and students who come to our help among their own fellow countrymen; every year graduates of Canadian colleges are found in the leading divinity schools of Britain pursuing advanced study and acquiring insight into the life of the Old Land; and the bonds of tradition and sentiment are strengthened by intercourse and correspondence between the official bodies of the churches. At the same time the Canadian national spirit is thriving sturdily and the younger generation know less of the heroisms of the Old Land than did their fathers.



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In Quebec the influence of the Church of Rome, which is practically the established church of the Province, is of course dominant. Probably there is no country in the world in which her authority is more unchallenged and popular. The freedom which under British rule this church has enjoyed in Canada has created in her leaders a strong sentiment in favour of the maintenance of the British connection, though in Quebec the nationalists, a political party which seems to have ecclesiastical support, have promulgated a policy which puts them out of sympathy with the progressive ideas of the English-speaking Roman Catholics.

This being the favourable condition of the Canadian churches we may seek for the causes which have brought it about. They are to be found in the history of the country. Quebec need not detain us long. There we have a bit of old France as it was before the Revolution without any violent rupture creating a new era. Under British rule there has been no judicial oppression, the church manned by sons of the soil educated at home has made no exactions to arouse resentment, one class has not despoiled another, and the peasant folk and small-villagers cut off from the outside world have hitherto for two hundred years and more lived on in the even tenor of their ways. The curé still holds undisputed authority.

But no other province is so homogeneous as Quebec. Ontario and the Maritime Provinces have had a strikingly similar constitutional history which is due to the struggles of people of similar origins, but these origins were not homogeneous. During the hundred years of the history of the Maritime Provinces and the shorter period in Ontario there have been waves of immigration from several directions, but the two most permanently influential were the loyalists and the farmers and villagers from Britain, people of downright characteristics, single-minded, honest, Godfearing. Of the former we have

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this partisan but probably not essentially untrue description,

"in that emigration there were Christian men of all the churches, but not one infidel of the type of that archtraitor Tom Paine! He belonged emphatically to the rebellion. The loyalists came with their Penates, their household gods, their Bibles, the sacred communion vessels of their altars, the tables of the ten commandments from the chancels of their churches, these sacred objects they brought with them out of their abandoned temples. And these ten commandments they set up anew in the rude churches which they built to the worship of God in Canada."

Antecedently we should not look for a revolt on the part of the loyalist against the established order represented by the church, and on the whole until this day his descendants have abode by the sanctities of the altar.

The other stock drawn from the countryside and small towns of Great Britain and Ireland brought with them a strong reverence for the church and an almost equal appreciation of the value of the school. These farmers lived for two generations in secluded districts where their beliefs and practices were undisturbed, and many of them found most of their reading in the books which sprang from the evangelical revivals of Great Britain. There were not many highly educated people, nor any large cities with the cultured class on whom in Britain and the continent the new scientific spirit reacted negatively in the matter of religious faith. The better educated Canadian had these ideas presented to him not by powerful thinkers living close by, but in the leaves of a periodical and from afar. Our universities have since produced a large reading class which influences a wider public, and modern views of course reached these shores long ago, but when they arrived they were received not as visitors from a pest ship to be quarantined, but with reserve as a discoverer with a new remedy which is reported on favourably elsewhere though the local practitioner cannot forego the suspicion that it is dangerous. Criticism had given way to constructiveness before the Canadian churches were disturbed.

Two other factors have helped to prevent an alienation

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between the churches and the people. There has been no established church. No section of the community is forced to give precedence to any other, and therefore privilege does not breed revolt. Every church being thrown on its own resources has summoned forth all its latent strength, and with the good will of others maintains its hold upon its own people by satisfying their religious needs. Also, the land has enjoyed material prosperity, though until recent years men got no large returns for their hard work. We had no great cities, no great wealth, no marked social grades, no accumulated grievances. Only now are we beginning to realize the presence of evils which in Europe have brought rightly or wrongly much criticism upon the churches; and if some among us are asking whether the churches are not responsible for present day social conditions, it may be that more often than not the question has been imported with the questioner, instead of being the perplexed or rebellious utterance of a Canadian embittered against the social system and the churches of his native land.

The year 1867 was the birth-year of the Dominion, when the four provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia came into Confederation. Other provinces were added but the greatest impetus since was given by the opening up of the West. Its agricultural possibilities were heralded by the bolder pioneers from the East who had forced their way across the intervening wilderness, and the meaning of the West seized upon the imagination of the Canadian. Not till many years later did the outside world discover that there was a land of promise awaiting new inhabitants. The eastern Canadian being the first to enter laid foundations similar to those which he had left, and now when the settler arrives from Europe or the United States he finds that he must build as the Canadian has drawn the lines.

The occupation of the West has affected the national life to an extraordinary degree. In multitudes the best

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farmers have been drawn from the settled districts of Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, the newspapers having announced for example last week (March) that on one day six hundred farmers had left the Union Station in Toronto for the West. This exodus has drained some excellent districts, and many Canadians are found saying that even materially the exchange is not a good one for them or for the country, though it is difficult to balance accounts in such cases. But as the eastern farmer goes west the call of Canada to Europe grows louder, and immigrants from cities are coming who find lodgment for themselves in our eastern cities. On the crest of the wave are many broken or feeble lives which are caught on the barrier of the East and will be stranded in eastern cities. This deposit is creating the most serious social problem that we have yet had to face. At the same time the West has made a return in the wealth that has come from it into the eastern cities large and small. Thus the East, supplying the wants of the West in addition to those of its own agricultural population, is filled with manufacturing towns which employ some of the European immigration. Inevitably there follow in their train problems as to housing, sanitation, and the relationship of employer and employed.

The increase of population during the period between the last two decennial census was greater in proportion to the population of the country as a whole than that of the United States. Moreover this immigration is mainly drawn from British and North European stock either directly or through the United States, the proportion of South European and Slavonic peoples who came in 1912, to take one year, being only nineteen per cent. of the whole. In the main this country is drawing an excellent class of immigrants who will soon adapt themselves to the healthful if somewhat rigorous conditions of this climate. [E] Such then being the situation of Canada today, the result of several generations of slow and stable growth



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followed by a rapid inflow of peoples during the last decade, it is not surprising that the Canadian churches find it necessary to put forth the utmost exertions. Vigorous though they are and able to accomplish much by reason of the hold that they have upon their members, they yet require wisdom and abundant energy to control an almost unprecedented situation. They find themselves confronted with several conditions.

(a) The social problem of the city. Already there are several large cities with a population of more than 100,000, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver. Are the homes of these cities to be filled with people who through neglect in the present or inherited antipathy will settle down into a non-church-going multitude? What can the churches offer them? Some advise the churches to aim chiefly at social reform; others seem to believe that the church can pursue her work in indifference as to modern economic and social conditions; but most probably are asking themselves whether the church can supply a divine idea which will react healthfully both on the well-to-do and the less fortunate so as to prevent class-bitterness and the degradation of the mass. That the problem is not entirely one of wages is seen by the phenomenon in Argentina of a vehement anarchist propaganda among the immigrants of Italy and Eastern Spain, with regard to which Mr. Bryce (*South America*, p. 343) says,

"Our age has seen too many strange incidents to be surprised that these acts of violence should be perpetrated in a country where, though no doubt there is an ostentatious display of wealth, work is more abundant and wages are higher than in any other part of the world. Such acts are aimed not at oppression, nor at bad industrial conditions, but at government itself."

There are no such conditions in Canada, but this phenomenon proves that change of environment in itself, however good materially, will not exorcise an evil spirit. Like all the Christian churches those of Canada have to consider the quality, the measure and the method of their cure for the social evils, to the existence of which the modern conscience has become sensitive. This is a time of



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bewilderment. Western civilization has begun to realize that it has been smitten with a disease. Critics abound, expert diagnosticians are few. The church in a spirit of meekness accepts criticism though she puts in the plea that she is not wholly blamable for the plague, and hustled hither and thither in the market place she has not yet clearly proclaimed the sufficient remedy to calm the even more bewildered populace. At least the people think so and many of her own prophets agree with them. Most believe that the remedy that has cured many social evils during two millennia is still potent, though possibly it has to be differently administered, and to be accompanied by other therapeutic aids. One result of this state of uneasiness is that men of similar purpose are being compelled to understand one another and to work together.

As far as my knowledge enables me to judge I should say that the social problem of the cities is bringing the churches together. They find that there is much work which they can do in common in the way of educating the foreigner, arousing the public as to the necessity of seeing that he and their own people have proper housing, that disease be circumvented, and that the agencies that promote vice of every sort be repressed. From the heavy clouds of distress blessings may descend in showers upon the human heart, and when the ray of faith breaks through and warms it, works of unselfishness will spring forth and choke the bitter roots of proselytism.

(b) The problem of the depleted countryside. Into the fertile plains of the West the railways lead like so many channels and drain off much of the best life from the East. The small congregation in the old, settled districts often finds itself in a pitiful case. In the quiet and beautiful valleys or on the farm concession stand the old church and the old school, the former maintained with difficulty by those who are left, the latter attended by too few children to secure the advantages of a good teacher.

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Where once there were people enough to support several good congregations now one church would accommodate all. In Ontario and the Maritime Provinces there are many men in charge of several small churches who are covering great areas in order to find sufficient people, who are wasting physical and moral effort and who therefore are discouraged. In the East energy should be conserved. Union of the like-minded would bring strength and happiness and create a centre of moral force. A more united, cheerful and intelligent society would keep many in the old home who now turn to the West as the land of promise. Good roads, hydro-electric connections and rural telephones would also add to the outward comfort of life.

(c) The magnitude and quality of the immigration. According to the Government returns there was in 1912 a total immigration of 395,800 persons as compared with 350,370 in 1911, numbers which may well stagger the Christian churches of Canada if they are to provide religious ordinances for them and to help to make them Canadian citizens. Of these nearly 146,000 came from the British Isles and 140,000 from the United States, the majority of them being people for whom the Protestant churches may be supposed to minister. Nor do all these newcomers take up their abode in the West, for of the British immigration over 86,000 gave as their destination places in one of the provinces east of Manitoba. Of the American immigration on the other hand more than 93,000 were bound for some part of the West. The type of the English settler differs so greatly from the American that great versatility is required in those who minister. As for the rest who came from Europe the complexity is startling. There were 19,000 Ruthenians, 6,300 Bulgarians, 5,000 Germans, 4,000 Jews, 14,000 Italians, 8,000 Poles, 16,000 Russians, 2,000 Finns, 4,000 Swedes and Norwegians. Many of these have settled in the East, but many are also found at different

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points right through to the Coast. It is therefore impossible for the churches with which these peoples have their affiliations to confine their efforts to any one section of the Dominion. Those in control must direct their attention from one province to another lest they lose sight of the moving multitude.

But is it possible for the churches, organized ever so well, to provide enough men for work requiring such varied capabilities and scattered over such an extensive and diversified area? The church problem is but one phase of the whole Canadian problem. The most urgent demand today in Canada is for equipped men in all branches of work. When our politics, our education, our churches are criticized by those who compare them with similar institutions in older countries, it must be borne in mind that Canada is calling herself a nation and is boldly claiming to be judged by the national standards of the most highly developed Western civilization. As yet we have only 8,000,000 people, and they are scattered over an immense area, 1,800,000 of them in provinces recently established, on land which is being developed almost too rapidly. We have had to provide at extremely short notice for all the organization of nationhood. We have to maintain nine provincial parliaments and one at Ottawa, to provide councillors for cities that are growing with extraordinary rapidity, teachers for schools both in old districts and in the West, professors for the universities of a people who probably surpass most modern nations in the numbers that they send into the highest grades of education, directors and managers for banks, railways and business of every sort. We actually have not the people to do all the work of the highest order that is waiting to be done, and it should occasion no surprise that at a time of such material development the supply of those preparing for the ministry of the churches is less than the demand, though it is unfortunate that the homegrown men, who understand the conditions

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better than others can, are not ready in as great numbers as might be wished. Some relief is given by those who come from abroad to minister to their own people, men of their like having always been a splendid gift from the old to the new.

As may be inferred from this review of the past conditions and the present situation of the churches in Canada, there exists on the whole a very good feeling among them. The lines are not drawn with nearly the same sharpness as in the Old World, and the pragmatic test of results is applied with reasonableness and the open mind. Canada with her history of political experiment which has been of immense importance in the development of the Empire, is at present facing a religious experiment which may be equally successful, and if so it may have no less important issues in religious history. The Canadian people do not hold lightly by their religious convictions, and whatever changes they may originate will not be due to fickleness or indifference to denominational ties; but in this new land there is a vitality which does not shrink from experiment especially if the desirability of the experiment is indicated by the pressure of conditions. Confederation arose out of the pressure of provincial necessities: religious union if it comes will be the result not of theory but of practical urgency.

I have said that if union comes it will not be the result of theory. This is true in part only, for Canada has been living her life during the present generation in the light of modern thought. The younger ministry of the various churches have been educated in modern institutions where historic method has introduced a new viewpoint both for the study of the Scriptures and the history of doctrine. They could not escape the influence of this quickening atmosphere, and they have therefore found themselves ready to appreciate the views of those in other churches, and to recognize that many divergencies once thought to be essential are so no longer.



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Of course this change is most marked in certain of the non-episcopal Protestant churches, especially the Congregationalist, Methodist and Presbyterian, though the attitude of Roman Catholics, Anglicans and the non-episcopal churches to one another has also been modified. An effort is made to regard the positive good in which they can unite rather than to magnify and throw out of proportion the peculiar doctrines and practices of each. But this is not to deny the other side which was clearly set forth by Mr. Wilfrid Ward in the first number of *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY*, for I would not leave the impression that the churches sit loose to their convictions, or that their leaders are fingering the tiller as though there were no need of a firm grasp to steer straight in these northern waters.

About seven years ago a sudden movement was made towards organic union by the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches of Canada. A preparation had been going on subconsciously in many minds, and when the committees of the three churches set to work to draw up a basis of union, they found it easier than they had imagined to formulate a common document, which was adopted with large unanimity by the joint committee. These men discovered that old questions as to church government and the implications of dogma which once had aroused keenest controversy had lost their vitality, and might be left to individual judgment while they could work together on a broader basis. This basis of union, however unsatisfactory it may appear to be to those who desire an entirely new doctrinal formulation brief and if possible in the language of Scripture, is a remarkable proof of the proximity of these three churches and of the temper of the Canadian mind.

But to the mind thus prepared the obvious proximate cause that suggested union was the pressure of such facts as have already been referred to in this article, and the necessity to supply this land east and west, city, town,



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village, and countryside with the ordinances of religion and pastoral oversight. The man in the East working in a district where each of two or three denominations has but a handful of people who might be better served by one church, and the man in the West, who notwithstanding all his efforts cannot give the newcomers what they ought to get, would both receive a new hope were the evil of denominational competition removed, and were they placed in communities for which they alone would be responsible.

Last year the three negotiating churches voted on the question, the Methodists and Congregationalists giving a very large majority, the Presbyterians a less favourable though large one in favour of organic union. The Methodists and Congregationalists are ready to go forward, but the majority in the Presbyterian church who feel their responsibility in the matter, in all probability will ask the next General Assembly to continue the negotiations and have another vote taken in the near future, in the hope that it will be sufficiently decisive to allow the church to proceed to union.

It should be clearly understood that those who have been in favour of this movement in the three churches would gladly welcome a wider union still, but the indications are that at present a further step would be impracticable. So rapid, however, have been the changes in the past few years that it is impossible to forecast what a generation may see. In this country there are no strongly marked social differences, nor is the ecclesiastical question involved in the political, and the average Canadian understands little of the traditions of an older world. If his action is guided by a pragmatic philosophy it will also be informed by an idealism working toward a noble end, which will be to realize such a society as will allow the Christian religion to do its best for human life.

# Orthodoxy in Its Essence<sup>1</sup>

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To the sacred memory of the Most Reverend Antonius (Vadkovsky), Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Ladoga, Presiding Member of the Most Holy Governing Synod of all the Russias.  
† 1912, XI, 2 (15).

It is not superfluous to consider, for the sake of good neighbourly relations, the question, "What is Orthodoxy in its essence?" in the pages of an Organ for reunion and for expressions of opinion from all branches of Christendom, an exact and positive introduction being of course required before everything else. Such a discussion, however, in the present instance, may appear even absolutely necessary in view of the actual circumstances of the case and of its nature. Without running the risk of indelicacy one may affirm that Heterodox West possesses the least knowledge of Orthodoxy, although it gives it an appellation of an ancient form of Christian Religion. One may be tempted to think otherwise of the United States of North America, for there Orthodox faith, with all her hierarchical organization and cultus, is freely exercised and among the Slavs widely spreads, but it may, after all, prove one of the greatest illusions. It would not consequently be inopportune if an orthodox theologian, in his private capacity, took upon himself the task of explaining the subject with a view of at least brushing aside prejudices, of which in the

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<sup>1</sup>Professor Glubokovsky selected his own translator and the above paper is printed from the translation received.

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West there exist so many, concerning it. In the Church Services, in which is manifested the very life of the faithful in their communion with Christ Jesus, Liberal Protestantism, in the person of the well known Professor Adolf Harnack (*Das Wesen des Christenthums*) found nothing more than mere mumbling (*mümmeln*) of stereotyped exclamations and prayers. Others see in Orthodoxy Roman Catholic Ritualism of its own peculiar kind, whereas Roman Catholics themselves persist in suspecting that even the Mother of God is not venerated by the Orthodox on the same level with the saints. Orthodox doctrine is taken to mean mere immutable conservation of various traditional dogmatic formulæ, creeds and definitions of faith, which did not attain their rational development, and have only the appearance of mimicking scholastical polish, whereas in reality superstition appears to prevail among almost all classes of society. Particular institutions are no less subject to misrepresentation; thus we still hear from the Rev. T. A. Lacey (*Marriage in Church and State*, London, 1912) that marriage amongst the Orthodox, as amongst the Roman Catholics, is indissoluble, divorce being obtainable only by means of dispensations, so that a new conjugal union of divorced persons as a matter of fact is nothing but bigamy. Church organization is represented either as papistical Hierocratism (in the Greek Church of Constantinople), or as undisguised Cæsarism with the despotism of the Civil Power (in the person of the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod in Russia). The strengthening of such and similar misapprehensions and distortions has been lately, to a great extent, helped by the religious propaganda of Count Leo Tolstoy. In the West people were inclined to reckon him—both in a positive and negative sense—as the product of Russian Orthodoxy, and their judgment concerning the latter coincided with that view. To Orthodoxy was ascribed everything that was bad in Tolstoism, and with regard to the best parts of the latter, it was particularly

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underlined that Orthodoxy, as such, rejected them, when it excommunicated Count Tolstoy in the name of the Church. As a matter of fact, everything here is wrong, and the orthodox are fully entitled to adapt to Tolstoy the words of St. John the Divine (I Epistle 2:19), in a slightly varied form, namely: "he went out from us, but was not of us," for he did not know Orthodoxy in its historic manifestation and actual condition, he did not live it out by means of inward penetration and heartfelt obedience, but—on the contrary—he nourished his religious searchings with grossly popular critical liberalism and grounded them on principles of autonomic rationalism. Every elementary principle of Tolstoy is foreign to Orthodoxy and does not reflect it at all. All the same, the West has got into the habit of looking at Orthodoxy from Tolstoy's point of view and it is there either suspected or sneered at, and sometimes falls even under distinct condemnation as a reign of religious darkness and unbearable tyranny.

### I.

The above described state of things becomes reduplicated by the fact that, for many reasons, proximate study of Orthodoxy appears to be for the Westerns an extremely difficult task; not to mention its bad reputation, which of course does not make the subject more attractive. Usually, in accord with the Western standards, people begin their research by asking for "Symbolical Books of Orthodoxy," but from this point of view orthodox dogmatical monuments are too extensive in their dogmatic generalizations and do not supply explicit definitions of the very nature of Orthodoxy.

The latter has no elaborated and authoritatively sanctioned formulæ which express its distinctive substance, both in itself and in comparison with other Christian denominations. Therefore, there are adopted and made use of as characteristic of Orthodoxy various

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current phrases, which are utilized and sometimes even defended by orthodox writers also. As a matter of fact therewith are brought in new misconceptions, in which the internal is overpowered by the external and becomes distorted by the violence of the attack.

Of such a kind is the conviction, spread more widely than any other, namely: Orthodoxy is a certain nationalistic form of Christianity, which finds therein both national limitations and nationalistic exclusiveness, when, whilst confined within the limits of a nation, the latter has appropriated particular rights of pre-eminent possession and of being the necessary medium for obtaining and distributing Christian blessings. As a basis for this conception are taken the appellations—generally accepted even by the Orthodox—"Græco-Eastern Orthodoxy" or "Eastern Græco-Russian Church." The epithets here mark off the distinguishing characteristics of the subject, and the conclusion thereby acquired is to the effect: Orthodoxy represents something Græco-Eastern or Eastern-Græco-Russian. And it is incontestable that the nationalistic momentum appears in this combination the predominant, if not the sole one. Neither can it be denied that for this view are found historic justifications and strengthening facts. The Greek-Byzantine-Constantinopolitan Church deserves the greatest praise for having uninterruptedly preserved Orthodoxy in its entire type, and saved it from being annihilated or swallowed up. To her we are indebted for the fact that Orthodoxy, in the midst of painful and fearful historic vicissitudes has not perished under the yoke of Mohammedanism and did not succumb under the pressure of Heterodox propaganda, particularly on the part of Roman Catholicism, which from time immemorial and with all her strength is striving to obtain complete domination over the East. The Greek nationalism, in the course of history, was fused with Orthodoxy and defended it by its own self-preservation, finding in it, in its turn, a spiritual basis



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for its own independence. Orthodoxy and Hellenism became united in the closest reciprocity, wherefore the first began to be qualified by the second. And Christian Hellenism actualized and developed this union precisely in the nationalistic spirit. The religious momentum played the part of a factor in the national aspirations and was subordinate to the latter, phanariots being not the only people who made use of it in serving Pan-Hellenistic illusions. The latter were deeply intertwined in the orthodox religious element and gave it their own colouring, since the Patriarch of Constantinople has become endowed with the dignity and rights of Ethnarch.

In the result it appeared that everything spiritually excellent in Christianity should be accounted as belonging to Hellenism and by others may only secondarily be acquired from it. For Orthodoxy it meant that it is wholly contained in Hellenism and is by the latter administered under its domination and control. In this respect, the learned Gregory Bysantios, Metropolitan of Khios (from 1860, ✠ Heraclios 1888) testified in a categorical manner as follows: "The mission of Hellenism is divine and for all the world." Herefrom proceed those immemorial and never ceasing pretensions to exclusive supremacy in Orthodoxy of Hellenism alone as its possessor and dispenser. In the words of the first reply (from May, 1876) to the Theologians of Tübingen by the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Jeremy II (✠ 1895), who was speaking in the quality of "Successor" (δέσπορας) "of Christ"

*The Introduction*): The Greek "Holy Church of God is the Mother of Churches and, by the grace of God is the first in knowledge; she irreproachably boasts of purity of the decrees of apostles and of the fathers, and though she be new is old in her Orthodoxy and placed at the head"; wherefore "every Christian Church ought also so to celebrate the Liturgy as she," Græco-Constantinopolitan Church<sup>7</sup> (Chapter 13 *sub. fin.*). At Constantinople always manifested themselves the tendencies to Church absolutism

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in Orthodoxy; so that no favour whatever was shown to the development of national independent Churches; these were not easily recognized, even in cases of hierarchical equality. Amongst the Eastern Patriarchates Constantinopolitan Hellenism would not do anything at all to promote national Christian independence and will by all means stand up in defence of its hierarchical hegemony in the government, resisting the national independence of Damascus (Antioch) and of Jerusalem. It was far from spontaneous inclination that at Constantinople (at the end of the sixteenth century) they agreed to the independence of the Russian Church and have not yet thoroughly reconciled themselves to the autocephalousness of that in Greece (from the middle of the nineteenth century). As regards the Church in Bulgaria, the nationalistic intolerance was stretched to an open rupture between the two Churches, Constantinople having (in 1872) declared that Church—in her whole extent—“in schism.” One’s wonder reaches the highest point when one remembers that the very champions of extreme nationalism in the sphere of the Church declared at the same time that nationalistic tendencies in other Churches cannot be tolerated at all, and even proclaimed them as a newly invented heresy under the name of “philetism.”

The Hellenic nationalism as depicted above with the most common strokes, almost entirely covers Orthodoxy, wherefore the latter would be, as it were, nationalistic denomination. Orthodoxy is here represented as national in the quality of Eastern or, more particularly, Græco-Russian denomination. But the phenomenon just described is of a purely historical and conditional character; it does not exhaust Orthodoxy, but merely adapts it to certain national historic forms. This bears testimony to the fact that, in its essence, Orthodoxy is higher than all external combinations although it does not destroy them with violence, but spiritualizes and transforms them internally. This has always and very loudly been

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proclaimed by the very Hellenism of the Byzantine Church, seeing that it principally justified its Church's supremacy by the obliging care of the latter for good organization and normal development of local national Churches. The Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, the head of which from the times of John IV the Faster (582-595) enjoys the title of "Oecumenical," in proof of its supremacy points straight only to its maternal care for younger sisters and youthful daughters, without bringing to the front its nationalistic prerogatives, although the latter may be, as a matter of fact, in ascendancy either in part or wholly. Orthodoxy permeates and animates Christian Hellenism, but does not belong to it at all as its property, conferring thereon exclusive rights. Wherefore other orthodox nationalities have also not counted as indissoluble a union in which both parties were held together and suffered jointly in the same degree. Thus when the Old Slavonian Church Service Books were corrected in accordance with the Greek models, the ancient Russian Church people, who later on formed what is called "schism" (*Raskol*), had no scruples (in the seventeenth century) in reiterating that Orthodoxy with the Greeks got "rather shaky" and became "stained," and yet much later (in the forties of the nineteenth century) the descendants of those very dissidents appealed to the Greeks to obtain a Chief Pastor in order to form their "Hierarchy of Belokrinitz."

Now the inference is clear: Orthodoxy by its very nature, cannot be covered up by nationalism and it won't grow into it. It surpasses nationalistic individualizations and, settling in their midst, it works as a conciliating element. In this direction a new aspect is being evolved which is all the more remarkable that therein the end proceeded much beyond its beginning. Ideal makers and best exponents of such a conception of the world in Christian Russia were the so called "Slavophiles." Enthusiastic, single-minded and enlightened champions

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of a wholly Russian self-existence,—they did in this case set out from the doctrines of Hegelian philosophy concerning the predominance of the antinomic division into two which are united in the third principle. If this law obtains in the universal history in general, its sway is, of course, to be presumed in the sphere of the Christian religion as well. It is from this point of view that the whole position of Christianity is further illustrated. Some basic principle subjugating peoples differentiates itself gradually in a nationalistic way, until, in the West, it becomes finally mixed in the two grand Christian groups—Catholic and Protestant. Here are two poles mutually negative one of the other and counteracting, in which Christianity in its entire aspect is refracted in nationalistic forms and bifurcated in accordance with their typical differences. This discord of antagonism is not produced solely by the object itself, but by being conceived in a narrow nationalistic way and consequently cannot possibly remain unreconciled, as otherwise duality will have to be conceived in the fundamental basis itself, which, of course, is absolutely inadmissible in view of Christianity being all perfect and of divine nature. Now, Orthodoxy is declared as the principle which unifies and engulfs the antinomy of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. In this, its novel office, it should be imagined to be nationless or as supernational. So it is actually the case *a priori*. But then Orthodoxy would appear a pure abstraction, whereas in history it is only concrete forces that are productive and progressive. Consequently Orthodoxy also may become an historic factor only in a definite concrete embodiment, but as such it has always, everywhere and unfailingly been national, obtaining realization among certain people who become bearers of its spirit and diffusers of its work. A nation proves to be the holder of Orthodoxy with all its contents. In the “Circular Letter of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church to all Orthodox Christians,” issued



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in the name of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Anthimos VI, in May, 1848, in reply to the Encyclical Letter by Pope Pius IX of 6th January, 1848, addressed to the Eastern Christians, and accepted in Russia, it is frankly stated in the name of Orthodoxy (Paragraph 17) "the guardian of piety with us is the body of the Church, viz. the people themselves." But the latter to carry on such a mission ought not to be a mechanical conglomerate, ever ready to fall to pieces, but a whole complex with a directing centre and unifying head. Orthodoxy enters here into union with national Kingdom and finds therein its strength. Hence is derived an ancient Russian formula: The first Rome has betrayed, the second or new (Constantinople) fell, and they both were succeeded by the third—Moscow, but a fourth there never shall be. Now a Kingdom cannot be imagined without a King who defends and symbolizes it in every respect, including, of course, Orthodoxy as well. Thus it was in Byzantium, where the Emperors were actual planters and custodians of right faith and in point of principle they appropriated divine origin and hierarchical dignity in the Church to their own power. The same is also true of Russia. Here, according to the "Spiritual Statute" which regulates the organization of the Church from Peter the Great (from the twenties of eighteenth century) and the "Fundamental Laws" (Art. 42): "The Emperor, as Christian Sovereign, is the Supreme Defender and Protector of Dogmas of the Dominant Faith, Guardian of Orthodoxy and of all piety in the Holy Church." In the times of Paul I (1796–1801) were advanced some claims to the supremacy of the Emperor even in Church affairs. The unity here is of the closest kind, for it had been wrought by life itself in her history and was welded together until it became monolithic. Orthodox Church has historically produced Orthodox Tsar in Russia and secured for him a monarchical form of government, and the Tsar, on his part, protected and



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defended her, assuring to her inner sway and outward grandeur. Orthodoxy was made one with the people in the Autocratic Anointed Sovereign. In this way, as the result of the whole process, there grew up in the soil of the Slavophil idealistic conceptions, and in practice became compounded a more concrete thesis which is still adhered to by many, namely the famous triad: "Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality."

In this formula the predominant part belongs to the religious element, which interpenetrates the two others, for it brings religious sanction to and makes the temporal power inviolable, and on the nation it bestows universal destiny in her orthodox Christian mission to all the world. Nevertheless, Orthodoxy, in its very influence, finds its actual medium in nationality and is assisted by temporal Sovereign Power. As a matter of fact it is applicable to Orthodoxy as it is represented in history, just as it is true about Roman Catholicism and Protestantism since the first bears clear impress of Latin in its Roman nature and physiognomy, and about the second is testified (Eduard von Hartmann) that as Germanic it even excels the very Christianity itself. Such close approximations always threaten with identification. A most striking example of this is before the eyes of all in the latest Judaism, wherein Nationalism prevailed in the very religion itself to such an extent that it has become necessary first by blood to be united with the Jewish people (in circumcision) in order that thereafter one might participate in their faith and promises. Something similar is undeniable also with respect to the above enumerated triad, although it has never found an expression to its full extent in history, and with a perfectly typical exactitude. Therein Nationality does not quite equate Orthodoxy without any remainder, yet it serves for the latter as its support and repository, wherefore it works and is conceived under the forms of the former. Here becomes evident the Nationalistic limitation which is all the sharper

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and narrower, since Orthodoxy unites itself more particularly with one type of State Organization. In this direction authoritative and scientific attempts were even quite recently made by the hierarchy in Russia at a dogmatic justification of Autocracy on the ground of the truth of the Most Holy Trinity, although others on the same basis were in favour of either limited Monarchy or even of democratic Government. At all events the doctrines under examination have all either become theoretical abstractions or sunk to the level of the narrowest Nationalism. The first was distinguished by perfect deliquescence and would not yield what was most necessary since it spoke only of Orthodoxy, but did not either exhibit or define it as a concrete living power. The second sinned in an opposite direction, since it exposed only a certain display of facts and either screened or distorted its natural substance, by squeezing it into the National structure. Neither there nor here was attained what was most important, *viz.* to make clear in Orthodoxy its inner, essential nature, which is manifested at sundry times and in divers manners (Hebr.), never changes in its depth, nor is exhausted in its amplitude. Instead whereof there was, strictly speaking, offered a simple description of historical sketches as to how Orthodoxy was understood or adapted, but no definition of it as such was given.

Herewith is also connected the third formula. It is the most superficial one, and, yet has to be mentioned in view of its popularity and extensive spread, although these qualifications are attained merely thanks to its primitiveness. We mean the current maxim that Orthodoxy is the golden medium or royal road between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. There is no need to argue that this thesis cannot be made available even on its purely external side, for in comparison with the extremes to be reconciled, the mediating principle must be the latest and yet it is considered and has necessarily to be thought

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of as the earliest and independent one. Here then arises the solely important question: What was Orthodoxy at the time when it had no correlation with these, then non-existent contrasts? If in the correlation is presented to our eyes a comparative characteristic of Orthodoxy, the correlation would then deprive the latter of its peculiar features and may bring about its total destruction. Let us try to take away from Roman Catholicism everything which is negated in it by Protestantism, subtracting from the latter every particular denied by Roman Catholicism, and in the result we shall have scarcely anything left for Orthodoxy. It would then follow that the latter does not share denominational extremes simply because it has no contents of its own, being a mere subjectless fiction. But both in conception and in fact Orthodoxy claims to be autonomous and independent; consequently as a matter of necessity it must have doctrinal originality which secures for it a distinctive autonomy.

### II.

The preceding review shows that Orthodoxy surpasses in equal degree both the extent of any historic Nationalism and the peculiarities of all denominational varieties. These attributes are apt to make one think that, placed outside historical movement in real life and concrete thought, Orthodoxy would present something like an extreme abstraction, closely related to ephemeron. But as a matter of fact it always declares itself and advances as living element in the Christian historical process in which it always acts constructively and is never exhausted by concrete forms of National embodiment and denominational features. It is not at all merely ideal, but an entirely real power which performs its functions from the very commencement of Christian development, sustains it and serves as vivifying regulator of the consecutive progress. No other point of view is applicable here, but that Orthodoxy feels and conceives itself as vital

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principle with a distinct individuality. Now is the time to look for characteristic traits of the latter. But in the general description are to be found all the data for particular definitions.

First of all, Orthodoxy is absolutely independent of all historical National realizations; it is these latter, on the contrary, that are nourished and live by it, yet by no means exhausting it and only preparing the ground for better and wider adaptations. Orthodoxy from this point of view is an inexhaustible Christian energy, which flows from its original source with uninterrupted continuity and never changes or grows weaker. It is clear that by these attributes it becomes one with Christianity itself as the living agent of divine grace. But in the history of the world, the Christian stream was by degrees divided into a multitude of brooks which sometimes became so far separated one from another as entirely to forget the common source. To all these particularizations Orthodoxy contrasts itself in the dignity of central unity, whole in its essence and immutable at all historical progressive stages. The contrast with Christian denominations decidedly asserts that they are but partial reflections of Christian unity whereas Orthodoxy claims for itself entire fulness of Christianity both in being and in contents. However, even in the first case partial reception is assumed to be an historical embodiment of the whole and as a matter of fact does realize it. Naturally the whole in this case is brought down to the level of the particular and is appraised according to this narrow standard which is not identical with it. The whole is not embraced in its entire width but is apprehended in its partial limitedness and for that very reason is represented not in accordance with its natural grandeur, or defectively in an objective sense. The object is revealed only by one of its parts and being swallowed up thereby, is manifested one-sidedly and incorrectly. This is a conception "unright" on account of its particularness,



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which of necessity becomes a limitation and even distortion of the whole, when it tries to replace it, whilst it is displayed at a certain historical moment as the sole representative of all Christian sum-total. Orthodoxy, on the contrary, wants to be a complete revelation of Christianity, so that the latter may be reflected therein adequately and, consequently, correctly. In this sense Orthodoxy is a right confession—Ὁρθόδοξία—because it reproduces in itself the entire comprehended object, itself sees it and exhibits it to others in a “right conception” in all its objective richness and with all its peculiarities. Orthodoxy exactly corresponds to its “right” norm by coinciding, in all its extent, with its object as it is given in fact and as it exists independently. As such, however, would appear the authentic and primitive Christianity of our Lord Saviour and of His Apostles, and Orthodoxy successively preserves and holds it, adapting it and developing it amid various historical conditions.

It results therefrom that, in its inward trust, Orthodoxy thinks itself as Christianity in its primordial completeness and incorrupted entirety. It marks its separation from other Christian denominations principally not as truth from errors, but in the quality of a whole compared with its parts. It is then the latter that separate themselves from it and for their justification and assurance of their autonomy are driven to insist on direct individualization with sharp underlining of their distinguishing traits and of a dissimilarity which would exclude both mixing and transmission. Through its very entirety Orthodoxy does not feel therefor any inward need, for it bears in itself all parts and has neither occasion nor inclination to differentiate itself from them. By the peculiarity of its very nature, Orthodoxy contains everything in itself and instils it into the closest harmonic union of all the organs of the Body of the Church. Therefore its normal function would merely consist in the inner unification of all parts, with predominance of the assimilating centripetal



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force and with suppression of all deviations and fallings off. There is here no objective analysis and therefore there would also be no subjective one, or in the self defined Creed either. From this point of view, in Orthodoxy would naturally appear only the Creeds of general character which reveal its authentically Apostolic contents, but do not dismember therein different elements. For the whole surely can never and nowhere be opposed or set against by certain parts; such adversativity can be thought of either amongst the latter or in their relation to the whole. They part company one with another precisely as being mere parts, and for their justification of parting from the whole they individualize themselves from it. As a contrast to this, the whole has not the slightest reason, nor inner requirement, expressly to distinguish itself from parts; this fact is self-evident to every one who has his eyes open. The whole from the beginning was before the parts and will always remain greater than they; this does not require any proofs, which therefore, quite naturally, are not given at one's own initiative, for the sake of one's own self-definition. In this peculiar trait lies hidden also the source of an odd phenomenon which was sufficiently understood and properly valued by the Western Heterodoxy. The latter demands exact "Symbolical Books" from Orthodoxy and even tries to help it by collecting and editing such. But herein lies a great misapprehension which practically amounts already to palpable error. As a matter of fact, Orthodoxy has no "Symbolical Books" in a technical sense of the word. All the talk about them is extremely conditional and conformable only to the Western Confessional schemes, in opposition to the nature and history of Orthodoxy. It considers itself the right or authentic teaching of Christ in all its primitiveness and incorruptibility; but then—what particular distinguishing doctrine can it have except that of the Gospel of Christ? The Orthodox Church herself down to the present time does not make

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use of any special "Symbolical Books," being satisfied with the general traditional documents which have the character of defining the faith. This we see at the consecration of the Bishops, when the consecrant, in testimony of his Orthodoxy, reads only the Ancient Creeds. Yet still more decisively and in a greater relief this trait is displayed in the "Order of Orthodoxy" which is until now celebrated after the Liturgy in the Cathedral Churches on the "Sunday of Orthodoxy," ἡ κυριακὴ ἢ ἡ ἑορτὴ τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας, viz., on the first Sunday in the Great Lent, in commemoration of the triumph of Orthodoxy (19th February, 842), under the Byzantine Empress Theodora (842-845). At this service are rejected and condemned only the false and heretical opinions, coupled with a prayer for conversion and saving of erring sinners, and as a confession of Orthodox faith an ancient Church Creed is used. "Following the saving revelation" of God is here expressed by the universally accepted "Nicæo-Constantinopolitan" Creed, and it is expressly in relation thereto that it is loudly proclaimed:

"This is Apostolic faith, this is the faith of the Fathers, this is Orthodox faith, this faith has established the world." Further on it is added: "We also accept and confirm the Councils of the Holy Fathers, and their traditions and writings conformable to the Divine Revelation. . . . Consequently just as we glorify and extol those who make their reason captive unto the obedience of the Divine Revelation and struggle for it, so following the Holy Scripture and holding the traditions of the primitive Church we excommunicate and anathematize those who are opposed to this truth, in case they should remain unrepentant although the Lord looketh for that they may return and become repentant."

Orthodoxy makes appeal to the immemorially old Christian norms and does not point out for itself any special "Symbolical Books," because it has nothing symbolically new in respect of dogmas as compared with the epoch which preceded the conclusion of the seven Oecumenical Councils. This shows that Orthodoxy preserves and continues the aboriginal Apostolic Christianity in its direct and uninterrupted succession. In the historical flow of Christianity throughout the universe

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this is the central stream, flowing from the very "source of Divine water" and not deviating in all its extent to the end of the world. Here is to be found the root and explanation of all other principal peculiar features of Orthodoxy. If therein be confessed the worth of authentic Christianity in its correspondence with the original,—the above characteristic trait is deduced and assured to it by means of constantly upholding the most intimate indissolubility from that original, whilst it is left free to continue its own work, which then forms Orthodoxy in its historical existence. Original Christianity in Orthodoxy is drawn, supplied and guaranteed by a way of successive reception, whereat the new acquires the authority of Christian primitiveness and the latter in its very ancientness displays unceasing reanimation. Material perfection is coupled with the formal principle of traditional successiveness, which contributes to the historical progress of Orthodoxy, in all its stages, remaining in contact with its fundamental principle.

Therefore, Orthodoxy, by its inward conscience and conviction, appears to be authentically Apostolic Christianity in a direct succession, although in certain definite historical forms, to which—in the spirit of the epoch and conditions—were not foreign also the primordially Christian times. But in this respect, whilst losing distinctive characteristics in coinciding with the primitive Christianity, Orthodoxy apparently does not differ from other denominations and from some most recent scientifico-theological currents, sometimes even openly rationalistic. Now, Catholicism by its very name (from καθολικός) speaks of its divine universalism, which is appropriate to the Gospel of Christ. Protestantism also, at its inception, was induced and until now prides itself that, having discovered in Catholicism undoubted distortions of the primitive Apostolic Christianity, it wanted to return precisely to the latter, setting aside all the later accretions and collateral diversions. In its idea Protestantism

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should have been and appeared as a restoration of the primitive authentic Christianity in opposition to the Catholic perversions thereof. To the same end was directed Anglicanism as in its attempts of renewing itself in a protestant way, whilst remaining Catholic, but having joined its fortunes, as a matter of principle, with Protestantism. And if this attempt is not looked upon as a success by all Anglicans, even these sceptics do not lose sight of an identical moving purpose which permeates their criticism and animates their longings. There is no need to enlarge on the subject, for it is well known to every one how frequently, loudly and energetically resounded among the Anglicans the resolute summons: "Back to Jesus," albeit across Apostle Paul's corpse. Protestant science has for a long time and very diligently been cultivating this idea, striving hard to discover authentic Christianity in a rationalistic way and to return to it their religious attention, which was obscured by the mist of Church modifications and accretions in the course of history.

Everywhere is being preached the renewal and adoption of the true original Christianity, in its authentic entirety. This looks as if it were similar to the self-definition of Orthodoxy, and yet it conceals the profoundest difference. It is by no means for the sake of criticism, which is here out of place and which to us is altogether antipathetic, but simply for the purpose of clearing up the matter that we permit ourselves a reminder, that Protestantism was born with the active help of scientific knowledge and has powerfully contributed to the grand progress of the latter. The scientific Western Theology appears as a child of Protestantism and therefore may serve for it as a self-evident characteristic. And now it is in this respect especially important to bear in mind that Protestant rationalistic science does not find, either in all its present Church order, or in the preceding historical Church development any embodiment, more or less exact, of the



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primitive Christianity. It seems to have been, somehow and somewhere, suddenly lost and never had an adequate expression. In the historical process there are found only fragmentary chips with but partial and impure reflexions of the authentic Christian ways. Our eyes meet only disarranged Christian materials, out of which the primordial whole is to be made up anew. Of course this would require a work of scientific rational creative power which with the aid of hazy outlines could through the mist of centuries discern the authentic image of Christ and delineate it with a realistic lifelikeness. For our purpose we get therefrom the inference that here as a creative factor would be working scientific reason, acting in a rational method. How far one can proceed in this way,—we well know by the deplorable lessons of the new Protestant criticism. In its extreme fractions it does not acknowledge any authentic representation of the Lord Saviour, ascribing everything to a mysterious impersonal process of successive moulding of Christian traditions, which were laid up in the New Testament Books. Separate individuality did not play here any constitutive rôle and is not required at all for the work, whilst science, just as also life, cannot stand anything superfluous. But—what is true about the continuation of a process must be not less true with respect to the commencement also—that the individual factor is as little required for it, and this factor is now straightway set aside by the most recent “historico-religious” knowledge from any participation in the consecutive development wherein act only the general laws of progressive development, coupled with differentiations, interlacing novel formations, etc. In the end, at the rise of Christianity would appear perfect void, where there is neither Christ, Paul nor Apostles. This deduction is of course not the one generally accepted by Protestant science, but it also does not appear for it as anything monstrous, for it represents only extreme adaptation of its fundamental



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principles. The conclusion cannot then be resisted by us that therein the principle of Christian restoration is, if not open rationalism, at least unfailingly pure rationalness. Under such conditions it would be clear to every one without any arguments that here we have the sharpest contrast to Orthodoxy. The latter most decidedly and exclusively is based on traditional successivity of direct reception and entire preservation. According to the Orthodox self-consciousness, authentic Christianity would of itself be obligatory as dogma; historically it is something which has been given as a matter of fact and which really acts precisely in Orthodoxy. But that which actually does exist cannot be a thing sought for. It has no need to be discovered; it has only to be preserved; with sacred veneration, which is obligatory in respect of what has been revealed from above by God through the Son in the Holy Spirit. The constituent of rationalism of Christianity for Orthodoxy is secondary, as a rational comprehension and scientific justification of the fact which may be beyond the power of human limitedness and in its divine substance would forever remain for it irrational (I Cor. 1:18 to 27; II Cor. 2:11 and many others). Orthodoxy confesses with St. Paul (II Cor. 4:13): Having the same spirit of faith according to that which is written (Psalm CXV, 1), I believed, and therefore did I speak (ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα); we also believe, and therefore also we speak (καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν). Orthodoxy is only a declaration of immemorial Christianity by receiving, not founding, it through faith and not through reason. The latter knows precisely by faith (Hebr. 11, 3 πιστεῖ νοοῦμεν) and in the very rationalistic comprehension of Christianity is in entire subjection to the actual supremacy thereof, merely striving to make it clear by inefficient means of its own.

Christianity is depicted as a living reality, independent in its being and attributes from human comprehension. Of course, doctrinal preciseness would also be here

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required, but it would be made by the action of the object itself and therefore would be traditionally passed on together with it. It becomes therefrom evident that for Orthodoxy Christianity manifests itself not as a doctrine, but as life of mystic communion with God in Christ and of restoration by the grace of the Holy Spirit in entire brotherhood of the faithful, when they all by the union of faith with the Son of God are affiliated in Him to the Heavenly Father and thereupon become by grace brothers one of another. That is why in Orthodoxy are so predominant the Sacraments of grace, which embrace the whole existence of man in every respect. They are here not an outward symbol, not a ritual accessory, introduced, widened and shortened at pleasure, but an indispensable element of the vivifying power of Christianity itself which is assured by hierarchical priesthood in a direct succession from the Lord Saviour.

But it is indisputable that one cannot actually join real life through mere theoretical enlistment in a simple rationalistic acknowledgment of it. One would be obliged to unite oneself with it by actual immersion therein, in the same way as the communion of a separated brook would be restored only through the confluence with the central stream. Orthodoxy assures to itself authentic primordial Christianity by means of successive reception, which would warrant uninterrupted flow, and does not admit the possibility for any one of other ways and connections. Rationalistic restitution of authentic Christianity is inadmissible for Orthodoxy as a matter of principle, as it is in its very root utterly at variance with such premises. Therein Christianity is represented chiefly as a doctrine, albeit even divine, yet more rational in the quality of an especial religious conception, be it even "God revealed." Therein it possesses perfect analogy with all other religious schools and philosophic teachings. And with regard to these it is in all ways admissible that one may reach similar conclusions and contemplations

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in a perfectly independent way; wherefore, for example, one might think of Pythagoreans by conviction who never knew Pythagoras and his system through study. Yet a still simpler process would be in adopting through books certain philosophical views of religion and becoming their confessor without ever coming into actual contact with their authors. Essentially such is the view of Christianity entertained both by rationalistic Protestantism and Scientific Rationalism; they would not find any difficulty in acknowledging for a Christian, say, Li Hung Chang, who was supposed to have read the New Testament, if this Chinese Bismarck accepted the latter, but confined himself to a theoretical agreement therewith, without entering into actual union with any Christian Church.

Orthodoxy would absolutely reject such a method both in its basis and mollified modifications. In the first instance it is supposed that a heathen, having studied the Books of the New Testament, made Christian truths his own and by that very means came to be a real Christian; judged by rational logic, this is both inevitable and normal. As a type of the second would be a case in which some heretical community would reject its errors and by that very act would *eo ipso* restore its truly Christian dignity. Such a phenomenon becomes probable according to rationalistic views and as a matter of fact is illustrated by Old Catholicism. The latter on giving proofs of and testifying to its faithfulness with regard to dogmas and Church canons of the Ancient undivided Church of the seven Oecumenical Councils, desire and demand that Orthodoxy should straightway acknowledge it without uniting it with one of the existing Orthodox Churches, and outside such unity. What is proposed and demanded here is not reunion as such, similar to the one which *e. g.* took place in Russia in 1898, when Syro-Khaldean (Aisorah) Nestorians were reunited at St. Petersburg (25th March) in the person of their head, Mar-Jonah,

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Bishop of Supurghan, but a mere intercommunion, which with such want of propriety is practised in the West in all kinds of intercommunions. Down to the present time these Old Catholic pretensions proved unsuccessful and were, as they deserved, met with a decided refusal. Now, on the part of Orthodoxy there was neither haughtiness, nor capriciousness, since it was called for by the very essence of the matter. When therefore, the Old Catholics use their endeavours to attain quite different relations, they self-evidently show that they as yet have not penetrated in their life the depths of Orthodoxy and did not grow so close together as to be with it one in spirit, in its Christian disposition, which continues to remain with them rationalistic and Western. It is unthinkable to obtain water out of a source which cannot be reached, without turning to a river flowing therefrom, and without the intermediacy of the latter to enter into communion with that source. Orthodoxy is Christian life of grace, and prerogatives thereof cannot at all be made use of in reality by theoretical acknowledgment or abstract enlistment, but exclusively a real union in life itself, when people first join it and thereupon draw therefrom all the benefits.

What is necessary, is equally obligatory for every one without serving as a lever for domination of some or derogatory for others. In this respect Orthodoxy puts forth only what is proper to its nature, by which are determined its relations to all Christian denominations. In virtue of the straight succession from the Apostles, it claims to be as the traditionally received and incorruptibly preserved Christianity in its primordial living entirety. The confessional groups apportion to themselves therefrom particular points and develop them systematically, but they derive their strength precisely from the generating whole and are mutually connected one with another through it. Orthodoxy by no means would deny to them this bond of affinity with itself and therefore

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would make no attempts against their Christian dignity. Its distinction consists not in a peculiar individualization, which would require of others approximation to itself, but in its all-embracing nature, in virtue of which being Divine in Christ and universal, it is catholic (καθολικός or universal (οἰκουμενικός). On account of qualities of such a kind Orthodoxy does not supplant other denominations, taking away from them localities belonging to them, but only dissolves them in itself in so far as it becomes itself swallowed up in the divine Ocean of regenerating, saving and vivifying grace of Christ. Wherefore Orthodoxy, rich in great deeds of Apostolic mission, is foreign to a proselytizing propaganda and has never been energetically active in this thorny field. It exalted itself not for the sake of subjugating all others under its feet, but precisely through the consciousness inherent in its nature of the relation of fundamental whole to its parts, derived from it. Orthodoxy calls to union with itself only on account of its own unity with Christ in the divine truth successively preserved, incorruptibly held and acting by grace. And on its banner shine only these holy words:

“This is Apostolic faith, this is the faith of the Fathers, this is Orthodox faith, this faith has established the world.”

St. PETERSBURG, 1913, III, 3 (16),

*The First Sunday in the Great Lent, “Sunday of Orthodoxy.”*



# The Transformation of the Messianic Hope in the New Testament

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"The materials for an objective biography of Jesus Christ do not exist." Such has been the sorrowful conclusion of more than one candid New Testament scholar; and no stronger confirmation of the verdict could be found than the triumphant manner in which one subjective theory after another is allowed to carry all before it, till it is subverted by another, equally onesided and equally short-lived. Novel interpretations of great careers are only plausible when the evidence is defective; and in the case of the Synoptic Gospels, which are themselves not biographies, but presentations of a revelation, written to awaken faith and love, the subjectivity of the critic has almost unbounded scope. The central figure has been draped according to the fancy of the commentator, who has sought for and found his own ideal in the life and teaching of the Divine Founder of his religion.

It cannot be denied that those whose faith has its centre in the Person of Christ, rather than in the institutional forms which Christianity, like every other great religion, has created for its own preservation, are at some disadvantage when they attempt an objective estimate of the human life of Christ. They are candid, but not disinterested inquirers. They, not less than the Catholics, wish to find the universal in the particular, the *quod semper*,

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*quod ubique* in the visible and temporal. The Lord whose lineaments they seek to trace in the Gospel records is the Christ who is "the same yesterday, today, and forever." And so in their treatment of New Testament history, what seems to be local and accidental, the casket in which the jewel was preserved, is given less prominence than would be its due if their object was merely to give a faithful picture of the conditions of life and thought which prevailed in Palestine in the first century. In particular, the claim of Jesus to be the Jewish Messiah is a topic of little interest to modern Christians, and has been therefore but little emphasized. In treatises which ostensibly aimed at pure historical truth, this was a real weakness, and one which was sure to provoke a reaction sooner or later.

This reaction has now arrived. A new subjective theory of the life and character of the Founder, which in vigour and rigour surpasses all its predecessors, gives exclusive prominence to those aspects of the record which Liberal Protestantism had unduly neglected. The "eschatological school," of which the ablest representatives are Schweitzer and Loisy (the Frenchman, in my opinion, is by far the finer critic and scholar of the two), represents original Christianity as pure Messianism, and regards the Messianic hope as the substance of the "good news" which Christ delivered. This view derives much of its force from a new study of the Jewish apocalypses, which shows that the expectation of a purely supernatural "Kingdom of God" had, at the time when Christ lived, to a large extent displaced the older hope of an earthly political deliverance, to be brought about by natural means. Critics had formerly supposed that when Jesus repudiated, as He unquestionably did, the rôle of a political Messiah, such as Theudas and Bar-Kochba aspired to be, He had broken decisively with the Messianic hopes of the Jewish people, and called upon them to exchange their aspirations for others of a new and different kind.

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The new critics insist that this is not the case. Jesus believed Himself to be the Son of Man predicted by Daniel, a supernatural being whose destiny it was to appear on the clouds of heaven, and to inaugurate a new world-order, which would involve the destruction of all existing institutions. It is supposed that during His earthly ministry Jesus regarded Himself as the Messiah-Designate—as His own forerunner, so to speak. His mission in Galilee was simply one of warning and preparation. “The kingdom of heaven is at hand.” Such ethical precept as was mixed up with apocalyptic prediction was necessarily only stop-gap morality (*Interimsethik*), since there was no question of any long continuance of the existing world-order, or of a Church with a long history. Thus, we are told, the attempts of the expositors, both orthodox and liberal, to find moral guidance for modern problems in the Gospels, are futile. “Jesus refuses to be modernized.” He was a product of the very peculiar conditions under which He lived, and He must remain for us a mysterious Oriental figure, with whose mentality we can have very little sympathy.

There are several contributory causes which have made this theory acceptable to many. In the first place, it guarantees to its adherent immunity from any further shocks on the side of historical criticism. Even if the fantastic theory that the historical Christ never existed should gain credence, it cannot be said that we should lose much by the disappearance of the “deluded prophet,” whom accident rather than design associated with the birth of a world-religion. There is a satisfaction in parting with everything at once. *Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*. The creeds need not be abandoned—not a word of them need be altered. They are true of the Christ who is worshipped by the Church, though not of the historical Jesus. The thorough-going institutionalist can even smile at the thought that the Protestant has lost his Saviour, while the Catholic retains his Church.

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If he is a pragmatist, as many institutionalists are, he may even profess his eviscerated, phantasmal orthodoxy with a good conscience. And if he is a socialist, he has a natural sympathy with apocalyptic dreams, and likes to think that the first Christianity was no more than a confident hope in "a good time coming."

Nevertheless, the price demanded is ruinous. To discredit our Lord's moral teaching; to impugn His wisdom and even His sanity; to turn even the Lord's prayer into a series of petitions connected with a purely imaginary catastrophe; to distinguish truths of faith from truths of fact, thereby setting up a double standard of truth and even of veracity; to cut off the tree of Christianity from its roots; to accept the cynical conclusion that a great world-religion, which we profess to believe in ourselves, arose out of the crazy visions of a mistaken enthusiast—all this is to bring desolation, not peace, to the mind of the troubled believer. No doubt Catholicism, of a kind, could survive the victory of such a theory, and mysticism, of a kind, could survive it. Institutionalism and mysticism are both older than Christianity, and have no essential connection with it. But the religion which could rise out of the ruins made by the eschatologists would be not Christianity, but a cult of a different and alien type—the worship of a non-historical dying and ascending Saviour-God.

The fact that a theory is unwelcome, or even destructive, is no reason for rejecting it, if the evidence in its favour is cogent. And the believer must always be on his guard against allowing his wishes to warp his judgment. I have tried to bear this in mind, while confronting the arguments and assumptions of Schweitzer and his school with the documents themselves, and I do not plead guilty to prejudice. The impression left on my mind after a very careful reading of the whole of the New Testament with a view to test the "eschatological theory," was not indeed quite what I had desired, but was entirely

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fatal to the theory, as affecting my own convictions. It has become more and more clear to me that between the earliest and latest books of the New Testament we can trace a progressive transmutation of the Messianic idea, away from the dreams of Jewish apocalyptic, and in the direction of the spiritual religion which we find in the Johannine writings. But also I am convinced that for some decades after the close of the Galilean ministry there was a counter-tendency in some Christian circles to accentuate the eschatological element in Christ's teaching, and, to that extent, to misrepresent its true character. The Synoptic Gospels<sup>1</sup> are very far from being consistent with themselves or with each other in their treatment of our Lord's Messianic claim. At least three strata of Christological Doctrine are plainly discernible in each of the three documents. These strata lie side by side, or cross each other, with that astonishing naiveté which characterizes them all, though it is much less apparent in Luke than in Matthew and Mark. According to one of the theories which we find in these records, Christ kept His Messiahship a strict secret till the eve of His journey southward to Jerusalem. It was at Caesarea Philippi that Simon Peter first guessed and gave utterance to a truth which, as Jesus said, could only have been revealed to him by God the Father Himself. And yet the earlier chapters of these Gospels abound with sayings and actions which are quite inconsistent with the view that Christ walked on earth as a mere man amongst men, keeping His supernatural claims hidden even from His most trusted disciples. He called Himself again and again the Son of Man, *i.e.*, the apocalyptic Messiah of Daniel; He worked miracles which even at that time were certainly not considered to be possible to ordinary men; and the Sermon on the Mount, which Matthew places at the beginning of the ministry, is couched from first to last in the language of one speaking with superhuman authority. (Compare



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especially Matt. VII. 21-27, with which the discourse ends: "Not everyone that saith unto me Lord, Lord," etc.) These are no isolated instances; they belong to a stratum of doctrine which may be said to predominate in the Synoptic Gospels. Christ speaks not only as the last and greatest of the prophets, but as a Being inspired and infallible, the Saviour of mankind here, and their Judge hereafter. In by far the largest portion of the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus is very nearly the Christ of popular orthodoxy. But there is a third stratum, firmly imbedded in the Synoptic record, though only to be found here and there, like nuggets of gold in quartz. This is the Johannine doctrine of the Son, which we are almost startled to find in Matt. XI. 27 and the parallels to it, a passage in which the language as well as the thought suggests the Fourth Gospel. It is remarkable that the closing verses both of the First and Third Gospel contain the Johannine doctrine of the Spirit of Christ immanent in the hearts of the believers—that doctrine in which the Parousia is finally spiritualized and transmuted from the region of thaumaturgy to that of mysticism. In Matt. XXVIII. 20, the risen Christ takes leave of His friends with the promise that He will be with them all the days, even to the end of the world. In Luke XXIV. 49 He says, "Behold, I send forth the promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye in Jerusalem, until ye be clothed with power from on high." In the Third Gospel the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which is definitely anti-eschatological, is already prominent. Luke also substitutes "the Word of God" for "the Word of the Kingdom"; he speaks of the Kingdom as already come (*e.g.*, in X. 23); and such parables as Dives and Lazarus belong to a wholly different circle of ideas from that of the apocalypses.

The recognition of these different, in part incompatible doctrines of the Person of Christ in the Synoptic Gospels obliges us to view the details of our record with

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more suspicion than we could wish. But one thing is clear. The "deluded prophet," who thought the world was coming to an end in the lifetime of most of those who heard Him, even before they had time to traverse "the cities of Israel" in a missionary tour, is not the Christ of the Gospels, but a figure quite as mythical as any of the earlier portraits which Schweitzer criticises so severely. The passages which support this idea of Christ are neither very numerous nor, in my opinion, very convincing in themselves. Many have doubted the genuineness of the chief apocalyptic passage (Mark XIII., etc.), and even here the main tenor of the prophecy is contradicted abruptly by verse 10: "The Gospel must first be preached unto all nations." To any unbiassed critic, the bedrock of certainty in the Synoptic Gospels is to be found in the wonderful apophthegms attributed to our Lord, words which bear the stamp of genuineness all the more decisively when they are set beside other sayings which the second generation of Christians put into His mouth. Now these wonderful sayings are in the manner of *ancient prophecy*, not of contemporary apocalyptic. It was as a prophet that Jesus appeared to His countrymen, and as a prophet that He went about among them and taught them. He used the traditional prophetic language about "the day of the Lord," and, as a Jew preaching to Jews, He threw His idealism into a temporal framework. To the Hebrew mind, as Caird says most truly, "insight always expresses itself as foresight." He was crucified as Messiah, no doubt, but as a political Messiah, which it is admitted that He never pretended to be. He was condemned on a vamped up charge of threatening to destroy the Temple, which proves nothing for the eschatological theory. The supernatural claims, and the supernatural powers, which fill so large a space in the Gospels, are a problem for the critic, but in any case they do not fit the "Messiah walking incognito."

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It must of course be admitted that the first Christians lived in expectation of the Lord's return, and that they believed that He had led them to expect this event. But it is certain that it was not Christ who kindled this hope: it was in the air before He began to preach. Nor was it stronger among His disciples than among the other Jews. There was, as both Tacitus and Suetonius testify, a *vetus et constans opinio*, which had spread over the whole East, that out of Judaea should come He who should be lord of the world. It was distinctly a national aspiration, which with some was conceived politically, by others apocalyptically; though the two forms of Messianism were never so sharply sundered as the new critics would have us believe. The psychology of this aspiration has not been studied with the care which it deserves. Even a slight acquaintance with Old Testament literature, and especially such books as Isaiah and Amos, ought to convince anyone that the Hebrew mind had recourse naturally to a peculiar crude visualizing of the ideal as something about to happen in the future. If this hope had been a rational confidence in progress, such as is now so widely diffused, we could not have equated it with the Greek idealism, which took such very different forms. But it is clear that the Messianic hope was quite other than this. It was the externalization of religious faith, still entangled with the dreams of fanatical patriotism. Now hopes of this kind are very much more vague and ideal than they appear to be. The belief in a coming deliverance is not much more than a hope presented by faith as a kind of claim. It is not held in such a manner as to alter appreciably the calculations upon which common life is based, nor the ethical standards which exist independently of it. We can see the truth of this by observing the behaviour of our modern apocalyptists—the socialists. They are fond of wearing the prophet's mantle, and crying, "It is coming, it is coming." But they conduct their propaganda as if its coming depended

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on their own exertions, and their pecuniary affairs as if they knew that it is not coming at all. This comparison is an unworthy one, but it illustrates my meaning. It by no means follows that men who "waited for the Kingdom of God" were incapable of accepting a spiritual and moral revelation which had no integral relation to Messianism at all. The "thorough-going eschatology" of Schweitzer is wrecked on psychology even more decisively than on history. The "thorough-going eschatologist" is a lunatic; and the Christian religion was not founded by madmen.

The Messianic hope was the first of the "earthen vessels" into which the Divine treasure was poured. It is for ever impossible for us to determine how much of the apocalyptic language in the Synoptic Gospels is founded on the actual teaching of Christ. We can trace, as I have already said, a growth in the eschatological tendency, when we pass from Mark to Matthew; and even Mark may be unconsciously influenced by the feeling of expectation and tense excitement which, as the two Roman historians tell us, was at its height about the time when he wrote. What is quite certain is that the Church shed the husk of Messianism with an ease which proves conclusively that it was never an essential part of the new religion. In the remainder of this article I shall try to indicate briefly how this transmutation may be seen taking place before our eyes in the other books of the New Testament. Schweitzer's book on St. Paul may be regarded as a *reductio ad absurdum* of his own theory. To explain all the Pauline Epistles as containing no theology independent of Jewish apocalyptic, is a *tour de force* that might have daunted a more sober critic. His amazing statement that the mystery-religions were not popularized in the Graeco-Roman world till the second century gives the measure of his scholarship. I shall therefore pay no more attention to this unfortunate volume, but shall consider the evidence afforded by the Epistles themselves.

Christian thought about the Messiah bifurcated, not



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into political and apocalyptic, for the political Messiah has no history within Christianity, but into apocalyptic and cosmic. The one led to the "Revelation of St. John," the other to the Fourth Gospel. The apocalyptic tradition survived, although discredited, in Chiliasm, and has broken out, in the lower intellectual strata, at several periods of social ferment. But the future belonged to the other line, which, as we shall see, St. Paul followed. He began, as Wernle truly says, by "placing the whole figure of Jesus within the framework of the Jewish picture of things to come, which lay ready to his hand. The only addition was the name of Jesus." This incongruous framework was shattered partly by the Cross, which could find no place in Pharisaic Messianism, and partly by the apostle's conversion from nationalism, for the apocalyptic no less than the political Messiah was the creation of Jewish patriotism. Even in his earliest epistles, he has no love for the Messianic phrases "Son of Man" and "Kingdom of God." For him, the Son of Man belonged to the past, and the Kingdom of God (when not spiritualized as "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost") is, as it were, merged in the doctrine of the Christ Himself. This at any rate is the direction in which his thoughts are clearly moving.

St. Paul was a pioneer, and, like other pioneers, he held concurrently ideas which afterwards became the watch-words of rival parties. He is the founder both of Catholicism and Protestantism, of institutionalism and mysticism, within the Church. In his Christology we can trace, besides the reports which he received of the actual life and teaching of Jesus, three different factors. One is the apocalyptic Messiah; the second is the Philonic idea of the generic archetypal man; and the third is the Logos-doctrine. The second factor, which inspires much of the argument—to us rather arid and difficult—of the central Epistles (Rom., I and II Cor., Gal.) depends on the Platonic theory of ideas as understood and applied



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by the Jewish Alexandrian school. Christ is the ideal, representative man, the archetype of the race, as Adam is the concrete, imperfect copy of the archetype. "In Christ" the pure archetype is imparted to man. As Christ is the image (εἰκὼν) of the invisible God, so we are "transformed into the same image from glory to glory." By the resurrection, the earthly flesh was overcome, and the spirit of the heavenly man was set free as the animating principle of a new humanity. This is the meaning of the "new creation." The Church, as Christ's body, re-enacts the process which was already an accomplished truth in the ideal world. The fusion of the apocalyptic Messiah with the archetypal man was possible for St. Paul, though the two ideas are in reality widely dissimilar; but while apocalyptic ideas still dominate his thought in the two Thessalonian Epistles, the Philonic heavenly Man comes to the front in the central group of letters. (It cannot be proved that St. Paul had any knowledge of Philo; but Philo is for us the representative of this branch of Hellenistic speculation.) But St. Paul's Christology shows traces of another line of thought, which indeed is also found in Philo, that of the Logos. The identification of the Messiah with the Logos is never suggested by Philo, nor is it formally made by St. Paul, who never used the word Logos in its philosophical sense; but it is none the less true that nearly all the Johannine Christology could be paralleled by quotations from the Pauline Epistles. There are several passages in which St. Paul invests Christ with attributes very similar to those of the Philonic Logos, as when in I Corinthians he says, "that rock was Christ"; *i. e.*, the care and providence of God as manifested in Old Testament history are attributed to Christ. The Philonic Logos is "the bond of all things, which holds together and binds all the parts, preventing them from being dissolved or separated." This and other passages agree closely with St. Paul's later doctrine (which, however,

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appears even in the central group, *e. g.*, I Cor. VI. 8) that Christ was the instrument in creation, and is the cosmical spiritual Power through whom all things hold together. This cosmological doctrine received no further development from the author of the Fourth Gospel: it is an aspect of the Logos-Christology which has already attained completeness in the third group of Pauline Epistles, that group which contains Philippians, Colossians, and (if it is a genuine Pauline Epistle) Ephesians.

We have then three distinct ideas operative in St. Paul's Christology: (1) The apocalyptic Messiah, (2) the archetypal man, (3) the cosmical principle—almost the "soul of the world"—the Logos. From their joint influence was evolved the characteristic Pauline doctrine of the *Kenosis*. Humanity is the beggar's garment which the Prince assumed for a while. Christ is "man," rather than "a man." He appeared "in the likeness of sinful flesh," laying aside the Divine mode of existence which was properly His. The *locus classicus* is Philippians II. 6-11, which gives us in very clear language the latest form of the Pauline Christology. It is not quite Johannine. In the Fourth Gospel the earthly life of Christ is not the opposite of His Divine glory. For this writer, the heavenly radiance of the Son shines forth continually through the veil of flesh, so that the earthly life of Jesus is no humiliation, but a revelation of the glory of God. The *Kenosis* is not a Johannine idea. Rather, the humiliation and exaltation together are integral parts of the "glory," which is manifested in the human life of Christ. There is an added nobility in this view, which makes suffering part of the experience of a Divine Being as such; but on the other hand we miss in it the value which St. Paul attributes to the actual happenings in time—the historical passion and resurrection. For St. John the whole drama is a kind of mystery-play, in which the eternal counsels of God and His love for the world are revealed.

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But though we must note this difference between the Pauline and the Johannine treatment of the Incarnation, St. Paul has almost reached, in this third group of Epistles, that complete detachment from Jewish Messianism which we find in the Fourth Gospel. The antithesis between Law and Gospel here falls quite into the background; justification by faith and similar problems of Jewish controversy are no longer central; the supreme royalty of Christ is more strongly insisted on; family and social ethics, and the idea of the Church, take their proper place, as the cramping expectation of the Parousia fades away; and we can recognize, I think, an increased familiarity with the nomenclature and ideas of Greek philosophy, which is shown by the large number of abstract words in Philippians, Colossians and Ephesians. It would have been impossible to write those Epistles in any other language than Greek.

But it was St. Paul's personal religion—that which is sometimes called his mysticism—which played havoc with the crude eschatology of Messianism. Why should he dream of the Parousia, when he felt Christ already in his heart? Why should he look for Him in the clouds, when he already possessed Him as the core of his personal life? "I live, yet not I; for Christ liveth in me." He who can so speak expects no catastrophe, and listens for no angelic trumpet. The Holy Spirit, whom he never tries to distinguish from the glorified and indwelling Christ, has come into the Church, with His "still, small voice." The wind, the earthquake, and the fire henceforth seem to be, as they are, effects of stage-scenery which are unworthy of a spiritual religion. The gift of the Holy Spirit was only the "earnest" of better things to come: this St. Paul never forgot; but no cataclysm could bring that fruition nearer: the consummation of spiritual growth consists of spiritual union between the soul and God.

So we see, within the space of a few years, a rapid and wonderful development in the apostle's thought,

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away from apocalyptic Messianism towards the spiritual Christianity of the Fourth Gospel. In this latter, it need hardly be said, the coming of the Holy Ghost is quietly set in the place of the Parousia, while much of the glory which the first generation of Christians had associated with the second coming is thrown back into the earthly ministry. Above all, the most revolutionary change which the Christian Church has ever made has been quietly accomplished. The scene of future bliss has been removed from this world to another. The eschatology of the Christian religion has been fixed by the adoption of a belief more Greek than Jewish, that the destiny of the righteous is to be admitted into the "many mansions" of their Father's house in heaven, whither Christ has gone "to prepare a place for them." This passage in the XIVth Chapter of the Fourth Gospel marks logically the end of apocalyptic Messianism within Christianity. That the older views, or some of them, lingered on as otiose articles in the Creed is no refutation of this statement; for religion never cuts off her dead branches, she leaves them on the tree till they drop off of themselves.

The rapid evolution of doctrine during the first century is a striking proof of the suppleness and vitality of a great religion while it is still young and fresh. Now, the Church's joints are stiff; she dreads any unwonted muscular movement; and in consequence there are open rifts between the best science and philosophy of the time and ecclesiastical dogmas. The only remedy is for candid thinkers of all denominations to confer together and co-operate. It is but seldom that the inert mass of unthinking conformity can be brought to consent to any changes in doctrine, however imperatively they may be demanded. But in all the great religious bodies there are educated men who desire to know, not "Catholic truth," but truth without any adjectival qualification; and by the mere fact of this desire, they are nearer to each other

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than to the "believers on authority" within their own denomination. Christianity is divided into numerous associations for public worship, which must for a long time to come be independent of, and not always friendly to, each other. But behind and beneath these external divisions, there is a real and deep unity among the followers of Christ, which is stronger in proportion as they really are His followers. There are many fields in which the divisions of Christendom may be said not to exist. Such are scholarship, social philanthropy, philosophy, and, above all, the life of devotion. Activity in all these fields must be interdenominational; and it is a matter of happy augury that such ventures as THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY should have been welcomed by truth-lovers and men of good will belonging to every branch of Christ's Church. The Anglican Church may claim to occupy a very central position, which brings it into touch, and I hope into sympathy, with Catholicism and Protestantism alike. Its internal divisions, which from one point of view seem almost a scandal, are from another a proof of its comprehensiveness, and even of its vitality; for it is only in the dark that all colours agree. So long as the fresh springs of the Spirit of Christ continue to "spring up unto everlasting life" within the hearts of believers, changes may be made without danger. A living organism must change; immobility is only a sign of petrification. And conservatives may console themselves with the reflection that it is most unlikely that any such revolutionary changes will ever again be demanded of the Church as that which in the first century transformed it from a band of Syrian peasants, steeped in nationalistic and Oriental modes of thought, into the champions of a world-religion, equipped for the conquest of the civilized world.



# Problems and Possibilities of American Protestantism

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Notable among the impressions carried away by those who attended the Edinburgh Conference was the consciousness of having assisted at the making of history. It was not that the ideals expressed at the Conference were new. The conception of a Christianity conscious of its strength, girding itself to the task of world conquest, has long been a familiar one, and in recent years has laid hold with increasing power upon the imagination of many individuals. But at Edinburgh there came to those present a new understanding of the significance of these isolated hopes. It was perceived for the first time that the realization of the common ideal had come within the range of practical politics, that there was already such unity among Christians that without the sacrifice of any principle, with full recognition of existing differences in belief and polity, definite things of the highest practical importance could at once be accomplished. And it was felt that the time had come for action that should translate this possibility into fact.

This conviction has been justified by the event. Definite results have already followed from the action of the Conference. The organization of the Continuation Committee, the launching of the International Review of Missions, the spread of accurate missionary information through the rank and file of the church, the preparation

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of statesmanlike plans for the occupation of unoccupied fields, and the solution of perplexing problems, as well as the securing of interdenominational co-operation in social and educational work in many parts of the field, notably in China:—all these are directly, or indirectly, traceable to the new impetus given to the missionary movement by the self revelation of the Edinburgh Conference. More important than any specific thing accomplished is the new sense of confidence and assurance which characterizes the entire missionary propaganda. More clearly than ever before Christians have come to realize what is involved in the claim of Christianity to be a world religion and are definitely setting themselves to do the things which must be done if this claim is to be proved true.

It would be strange indeed if this experience should not raise questions as to the church at home. If conscious union has done so much for foreign missions, why may it not do as much for home missions as well? For at home as well as abroad there are problems so large that no one branch of the Christian church can deal with them alone, and the consciousness of these problems is being brought home as never before to the mind of Christendom.

In the first number of this Quarterly Professor Shailer Mathews has written of the awakening of American Protestantism. In impressive survey he passes in review the new forces which are at work in the churches of America. He calls attention to the intellectual awakening which shows itself in the new attitude toward physical science and historical criticism. He points out the hospitality of the leaders in the different churches to new truth and their readiness to readjust old statements to new conditions. He reminds us of the growing disposition to emphasize the things that all Christians hold in common and the new enthusiasm for service that has come with larger freedom. He calls special attention to the increasing prominence given to the social as-

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pects of religion. He notes the appointment by great Christian denominations of commissions of social service. Above all, he calls attention to the steps which have been taken toward practical co-operation through such movements as the Laymen's Missionary Movement, and the Men and Religion Forward Movement, and more significant still, through the formation of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

I do not propose to traverse the ground he has covered but rather to ask what must be done if we are to utilize these new forces aright. There is danger that the very many-sidedness of our activities may result in waste and inefficiency. It is not enough that the forces that promise victory are present and alert. They must be mobilized for effective action. But for this we need to realize our community in interest and in responsibility more vividly than we have yet done and to act accordingly.

This need of conscious unity has voiced itself in the call for a World Conference on Faith and Order. But with every sympathy for the aim which the promoters of this Conference have set themselves one must recognize that the end which they seek lies in the distant future. To bring all the branches of Christendom together into organic unity would require not only the overcoming of the practical difficulties which result from the separations which have grown up in history, but the transcending of differences of conviction, and what is scarcely less important, of sentiment, so fundamental and far-reaching as to lie wholly outside the range of present possibility. Yet the problems which press upon us for solution cannot be postponed. Are there not possibilities of present co-operation open to us as American Christians, upon which we may enter without delay? Even if we cannot secure the complete unity which many Christians desire, are there not some things that we can do now?

It is this narrower question that I would raise in the article that follows. My theme is the problems and possi-

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bilities of American Protestantism. Not but that similar problems confront other countries as well, still less that any proposed solution can be final which leaves the Catholic church out of account, but that any discussion which contemplates definite results must confine itself to a limited field and must begin with those forms of co-operation which lie within the range of immediate possibility. I shall ask, first, what are the common problems which confront American Protestantism; and secondly, what are the possibilities at present open to those men of good will who believe that Christianity is a world religion and that it is our duty and privilege to realize this faith in fact as well as in word.

### I.

And first of the problems. Of the many that might be named I will mention three only: first, the race problem, second, the social and industrial problem, and third, the religious problem. By the race problem I mean the problem which grows out of the presence within a single democratic state of a large and increasing number of men of different races, many of them speaking different languages, many of them holding different religions, all of them having different historical antecedents and different social habits, sentiments and traditions. By the social and industrial problem I mean the problem which results from the economic changes which in revolutionizing industry have created social classes unknown before, shifted the centre of population from country to city, increased the instability of residence for large sections of the people, and so radically altered the conditions which originally determined the organization of the church and which it was designed to meet. By the religious problem, finally, I mean the problem which results from the breaking down of the older conceptions of religious authority due to the acceptance in wide circles of the methods and results of modern science, together with the

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weakened attachment of considerable groups of highly intelligent and moral people to the church as an institution.

I have put the race problem first because it is more easily isolated. In one phase of it, that which is concerned with the negroes at the South, it has long engaged the earnest thought of all lovers of their country, and in such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee, and through such agencies as the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Association, as well as the great educational foundations, efforts are being made to deal with it co-operatively on a scale such as its magnitude and importance deserve. But there is another phase of the problem more recent in origin, which presents perplexities of its own—I mean that which arises from the stream of immigrants which has been pouring into this country in ceaseless flow for the past dozen years. There is something unexampled in recent history in the spectacle of more than half a million persons leaving their homes among the older civilizations, year after year, to seek new homes across the sea.<sup>1</sup> For its parallel we should have to go back many centuries to the great migrations which first populated the countries of western Europe. What is taking place before our eyes is the genesis of a new nation, not politically or socially merely, but racially, and the problem how to weld its separate elements into a single consistent whole is one to tax the resources of enlightened statesmanship.

It is worth while to linger over this problem for a moment, for it is often misconceived. It is not the problem of assimilating a mass of persons who belong to a lower social stratum, morally and religiously, but of the disintegrating effect produced by a new environment upon people of good capacity and intention suddenly transplanted from familiar surroundings into a new country,

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<sup>1</sup>This figure takes no account of the hundreds of thousands who come to this country every year, without the intention of becoming permanent settlers.



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of whose traditions they are ignorant and in whose social and religious life they have no share. No doubt there is a problem of the undesirable immigrant, serious and important enough to engage the most earnest thought of patriotic Americans. But compared with the problem of the desirable immigrant it is both smaller in bulk and simpler of solution. It is not the question how we shall keep out of this country those who ought not to come in, that makes the greatest demand upon Christian statesmanship, nor even how we shall deal with those undesirable citizens whom lax laws or defective administration have already admitted, but how we shall introduce to the genius of our institutions and the spirit of our national and religious life those men and women of good will who by the hundreds of thousands are pouring into this country year by year to make their home with us and contribute their strength, their longings and their aspirations to the raw material of our citizenship.

It might seem a natural disposition of this problem to put the prime responsibility for its solution upon the religious bodies to which the bulk of the immigrant population already belongs, and this is doubtless wise and right so far as it is possible. A large proportion of our present immigration comes from Roman Catholic countries, a very considerable proportion is Jewish, and even of those who come from the farther East not a few are members of the older branches of the Christian church, Greek Catholic, Armenian, and the like. All good Protestants will rejoice in every evidence of success on the part of Catholic churches and Jewish synagogues in holding the newly arrived immigrants to vital religion and training them for intelligent American citizenship. Surely there is enough for us all to do without trespassing upon fields already actively cultivated and richly productive.

But the seriousness of the situation consists in the fact that this solution is only in part possible. One of the first effects of the disintegration already referred to

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appears in the weakening of the ties which bind the new arrivals to the churches of their former allegiance. In many cases these ties have already been severed before the transit was made. No thoughtful student of American conditions can be blind to the fact that there are multitudes of our fellow citizens of foreign birth and speech who have lost touch with the older forms of religion without having gained any substitute. The situation is complicated by the isolation in which many of these people live. Herded together in definite localities with others of their own race, speaking many of them no language but their own, engulfed almost from the first in an industry which is planned solely for economic profit and takes no account of the social and spiritual conditions under which life is lived outside the factory, cut off from the restraining influence of the more rigorous government of the home land,—is it any wonder that their condition should cause anxiety to every lover of democratic institutions? Is there not here a problem which demands the earnest thought and concerted effort of our united Protestantism?

How serious this problem is has been forced upon our attention by the drama recently enacted at Lawrence. A New England town, the centre of a well-established industry, highly protected and prosperous, suddenly becomes the scene of a strike which shakes society to its foundation, results in riot and loss of life, attracts national attention, organizes groups of disorganized workmen into a compact and effective mass, and wrests victory from conditions where experienced observers deemed success hopeless. And the participants in this moving drama, so engrossing in its interest, were people of many different nationalities, speaking different languages, hitherto without community of interest, who in common opposition to the existing order of things, found the consciousness of a common purpose and the enthusiasm of a common faith.

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But we do not learn the full significance of the Lawrence strike till we turn our attention from the led to the leaders. The two men most responsible for the success of this strike, Ettor and Giovannitti, are both Italians. Arturo Giovannitti, the less known of the two, is a man of good education and social standing. A student for the ministry at two different theological institutions, an active worker among his fellow countrymen as the leader of Protestant missionary work in three different cities, his growing interest in social questions and his increasing sympathy with socialism, led to strained relations with the ecclesiastical authorities and started him upon the career of radicalism which has carried him into the most revolutionary of labour organizations and found expression in such lines as these:

"Beyond your flesh and mind and blood  
Nothing there is to live or do,  
There is no man; there is no God,  
There is not anything but you."

Yet into this creed, so pitiful in its negation, he has poured a wealth of poetic imagination, a passion for sacrifice, a heroism of devotion which has not only won the admiration and affection of the thousands who call him leader, but deeply impressed the critical audience who were present when at his recent trial for murder he spoke in his own defence. If it be too much with a recent journal to call Giovannitti a social portent, there is surely much in his career to give food for thought to sober-minded Protestants.

Mention of the Lawrence strike has already brought us face to face with the second of the three problems to which reference has been made,—I mean, the social and industrial problem. This has been made so familiar to us by public speakers of every faith, political and religious, that there is slight danger of our forgetting it. But its full bearing upon the religious situation is not always clearly understood.

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We all realize the magnitude of the changes which have come over American life as the result of the transformation of the industrial system, due to the invention of machinery. The massing of men in great cities that they may be near the centres of production and distribution, the great aggregations of capital necessary to create and control the tools of effective production and the machinery of effective distribution, the increased mobility of labour, due to the rapid shifting of industrial conditions as the result of the increased facilities of transportation which have brought all the world into touch and made industry international, the growth of class consciousness as men have become detached from the conservative influences of land and home and found their natural bond of union in the factory or the mine,—these are all familiar phenomena whose social significance we are not in danger of underestimating. They constitute problems making the keenest demands upon our intelligence and consecration as churchmen, but their bearing upon the church itself we are only slowly beginning to understand.

Considered as an economic and social institution, the American church was the outgrowth of conditions which precede the era of modern industrialism, and she still bears in her constitution the marks of her origin. In each of her more important Protestant branches she was the creation of a comparatively simple and homogeneous society in which our modern extremes of wealth and poverty were unknown, where the opportunities of self improvement were apparently limitless, and the organization of the church, so far as support and propaganda were concerned, naturally followed the model set by other forms of contemporary social organization. Under this system the churches grew and prospered, increased and multiplied, perpetuating into the era of the new industrialism individualistic methods natural and proper in an earlier and simpler era, but wholly inadequate to the more complex situation they are now



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called upon to meet. It was not that the churches did not feel responsibility for the Christianization of the country as a whole,—the splendid history of home missions abundantly disproves this,—but that the missionary problem was conceived in terms of the conditions of an earlier day. Help was to be extended for a time, schools started, churches founded which in due course would become independent and self-supporting like the home churches which had lent their aid, and when this had been accomplished, then the work of home missions in the accepted sense would be over.

We are awaking suddenly to a realization that so far from our home missionary work being over, it has scarcely begun, and so far from its scene being confined to the western regions which we have been accustomed to regard as the home mission field *par excellence*, the storm centres of home missions are the strongholds of the older Protestantism, the great cities of the East and the country churches.

The causes of the change are obvious. They are found in the emergence of the new situation which we have been passing in review. The rapid influx of foreigners, the massing of men in great cities, the denuding of the country districts, the growth of class consciousness with all the social and industrial problems which it has brought in its train,—here we have a variety of causes which make demands upon our churches of a startling and unexpected kind.

The same causes which create the demand increase the difficulty of successfully meeting it. The organization which was designed to meet a situation of one kind proves ill adapted to meet the radically altered conditions which now confront us. What is needed in our cities today is a group of strong churches, with ample resources, highly organized, fully manned, well equipped for social and educational as well as for distinctly religious work, intelligently linked in a well planned parish system,



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with an efficient central organization fitted to cope with new conditions as they arise, and flexible enough to try needed experiments without the sacrifice of continuity of purpose. What we find is a group of churches planted under the conditions of an earlier day, working in more or less isolation and independence, having no definitely marked parish lines, but ministering to people of widely different localities, held together by a principle of elective affinity, and feeling already the drain upon their financial and moral resources, which is due to the increased cost of living and the consequent transfer of many of their most loyal supporters from the city to its suburbs. What is needed in the country, where conditions are exactly the reverse, is a wise husbanding of resources, in which there shall be one church to a community, and in which all waste of men and of material shall be avoided in order that the widest possible territory may be most effectively covered. What we actually see is a group of struggling churches planted, many of them, under conditions wholly different from the present, competing one with another for a support which would be scarcely adequate properly to maintain a single effective church.

The difficulty is not simply one of organization. It is even more one of temper of mind. The habits formed in the older individualistic era persist after the conditions which created them have passed away. Imperialists in our conception of foreign missions, we have been accustomed to think provincially at home. Our cheerful optimism as to the native resources of our country, spiritual as well as economic, has blinded us to our larger responsibilities and duties, and we have been content to follow the line of least resistance and do the thing which was easiest and most congenial religiously. It is not simply that we have not anticipated the new responsibility. We have not even apprehended it.

Such blindness is however becoming increasingly difficult. It is not simply that the practical tasks already

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referred to force earnest Christians to a revision of their conception of duty, but that far-reaching influences affecting large bodies of men have made the older individualistic Christianity less and less satisfying.

It is not my purpose to discuss in detail the movement of religious unrest which is making itself felt in greater or less degree in all the Protestant churches. In part it is due to intellectual causes, such as the changes in mental habit brought about by modern science with the consequent breaking down of the older view of religious authority. In part its causes are practical, such as the dissatisfaction felt by men who have been trained to deal with large affairs with the prevailing methods of denominational Christianity. In part its roots are spiritual, growing out of a suspicion on the part of many earnest people that the church is not committed with her whole heart to the moral interests which seem to them of supreme concern. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that there are many intelligent and earnest men and women who no longer look to the church for intellectual and moral leadership. It is not that they have ceased to be religious or even Christian, still less that they have lost interest in the works of practical helpfulness to which the church is committed, but that they are no longer in sympathy with the methods employed or with the principles by which these methods are determined. So they have turned elsewhere for their inspiration. Some, like Huxley, make science their religion; others have given their lives to philanthropy or political reform; still others are in the ranks of labour, and find in the Union or in larger movements like Socialism the spiritual satisfaction and religious faith which they would formerly have found in the churches.

I am not raising the question here whether this attitude is justified or not. What I wish to point out is that at the very moment when the church is faced with new practical tasks of the greatest seriousness and difficulty,

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calling not simply for the largest consecration but for the wisest statesmanship, she finds that she can no longer command the unquestioned allegiance of the very men whose aid is essential to her highest success. Side by side with the problem of readjustment forced upon her from without there is another no less momentous facing her from within, the problem of such a restatement of her own purposes and ideals as shall enable her to recover her hold upon the thoughtful men and women who now hold aloof from her.

These then are the chief problems which confront American Protestantism today: the race problem, the social and industrial problem, the problem of religious alienation and unrest. Independent in origin they are yet closely related; formidable in their isolation they are all but insuperable in their union. What, we have now to ask, must we do if we are successfully to meet and overcome them?

### II.

There are at least three things that we can do: the first lies in the realm of knowledge, the second in the realm of conduct, the third and the most important in the realm of the imagination. We must master the facts which constitute our problem; we must create an organization capable of dealing effectively with the facts when found; we must realize anew the spiritual resources which Christianity puts at our disposal and so gain the needed dynamic to make the organization we create our servant and not our master.

And first of the need of knowledge. I put this first because it is the point at which progress must necessarily begin. Before we can do, we must know what needs to be done. But what I have in mind is more than an acquaintance with the facts as such; it is a certain temper of mind which should govern our approach to the facts. It is not so much that we are ignorant of conditions as

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that we have not yet put our knowledge in its true perspective. We have studied from the point of view of our community or denomination or local environment, and ignored larger issues and possibilities. Presbyterians have been content to know what Presbyterians have done, and Methodists what Methodists have done. As to what neither Presbyterians nor Methodists nor any one else has done, as to what might be done if Presbyterians and Methodists would join hands with Baptists and Episcopalians and Congregationalists in intelligent and concerted action, we have thought too little. The time has come when we need to survey the entire field with a view to considering the possibilities of united action.

One of the encouraging signs of the time is that so many persons are realizing the necessity of such a common study. The example set by far-sighted individuals like Dr. Laidlaw of the Federation of Churches is being followed in many quarters. A year ago the home missionary societies of the leading Protestant churches conducted a joint survey of fifteen western states. This survey revealed the fact that while the towns and larger settlements are well supplied, often oversupplied with churches, the need of the smaller settlements and the widespread rural population is almost entirely neglected. The mere statement of such a condition should be enough to make its perpetuation in the future impossible.

But it is not simply our problems that we need to study, but the resources at our disposal to meet them,—resources of men, resources of money, above all, resources of spiritual power. We must inquire how far these resources are wisely invested, whether and in what direction redistribution is advisable. We need to break down the barrier which at present exists in our thought between the strong churches which control the sources of supply, and the weaker churches which are dependent upon their bounty, just as we are beginning to break down the barrier which used to exist between the church at home

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and the church abroad. We need to conceive of the church as a whole in all her parts equally committed to one great task and equally responsible for its successful execution.

It would be foolish to underestimate the difficulties to be overcome; not only the difficulties of habit and sentiment already referred to, but differences of conviction as to what is best to be done and as to the best method of doing it. But formidable as are these differences, our agreements are greater still. We may differ in our convictions as to what form of Christianity is inherently the best, but we are agreed that any form of spiritual religion is better than materialism and infidelity. We may differ in our schemes of social reconstruction and in our views as to the extent to which the church as such can rightly be committed to any comprehensive social programme, but there are certain outstanding evils affecting the very life of society as to whose danger and menace we are all agreed, and in opposing which we are all ready to unite. We may be persuaded that any form of federated activity is only a makeshift in comparison with the organic unity for which we long, but we shall surely agree that while denominations exist it is better that their resources should be effectively utilized and that they should co-operate intelligently on those points in which co-operation is possible. Agreeing in these points, is it not simply common sense to study the ways in which we may make this agreement effective in action?

To take but a single example. There is the whole question of the responsibility of the church for Christian ministry in communities where direct propaganda seems out of the question. Thus far we have all but ignored this responsibility. When conditions have changed so that the community no longer responds to the message of the church the church has commonly moved away to seek some more congenial constituency. Or, if she



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has remained, has confined her ministry to such secular activity as does not offend the religious prejudice of her neighbours. But, surely there must be some other alternative. It is not philanthropy which is the supreme need of man, but religion. And if Christianity be, as we believe, the universal religion, answering more completely and in more satisfying ways than any other the perennial needs of the soul, there must be some way in which we can interpret this fact to those who have not yet discovered it. Propaganda, in the sense of direct proselytizing, may not be everywhere possible, but, if God be God and man his child, regeneration and spiritual enfranchisement must always be possible, and it is for these that the church exists.

This is but one of many problems which require more careful study than they have yet received. We need not only to learn what has already been accomplished here and across the sea in interpreting Christianity to men of alien faiths, but to inquire whether there may not be new ways of meeting the new situations which confront us. Such a study will take time and patience. It will require the co-operation of the ablest men and women in all the churches. It will need above all for its effective prosecution some organ for the exchange of experience and the discussion of policy which will do for the church at home what *The International Review of Missions* is beginning to do so effectively for the church on the mission field.

Our second need is organization. When we have found out what we ought to do, we must be in a position to do it. For this we need to create no new and complicated machinery, but only to extend the existing machinery and to correlate it so as to avoid duplication and waste, in ways whose practicability has already been proved.

Such correlation has already begun. One notable step forward was the organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, an interdenomina-

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tional body representing no less than thirty Protestant communions, which has just held at Chicago its second quadrennial meeting. Still more significant in its promise for the future was the organization in 1908 of the Home Missions Council, which brings together in annual conference the official representatives of the leading home missionary societies of nearly twenty denominations, to take counsel concerning those matters of national interest which are of equal concern to all the churches. Each year that passes shows more clearly the wisdom of such concerted action and opens new possibilities for the future, as those responsible for the common work come to understand one another better and trust one another more completely.

But what has been done thus far is at the top. It is not hard for the leaders of the church to come together, for the greatness of their task forces them to see things in the large, but in the local community conditions are different. Here habit has familiarized the average church member with certain methods, and he does not see why he should change them. Yet without willingness to change for the better progress is impossible. What is the use of forming plans on a large scale unless you can secure the co-operation of those whose help is necessary to carry them into effect? But this is possible only through a process of education in which men of good will in all the churches come together for the purpose of comparing notes as to what needs to be done and devising methods of doing it. The delimitation of parish boundaries, the best location for new churches in undeveloped territories, the assignment of neglected fields to the body best qualified to undertake the work, the consolidation of existing churches where such consolidation would work for greater effectiveness, the joint holding of doubtful points where no one church is strong enough to do the work alone,—all of these offer opportunities for co-operative treatment whose advantage lies on the surface.

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In the larger centres the first steps have already been taken; sometimes through voluntary associations like the local Federations of Churches, and again through official bodies like the Co-operative Council of City Missions in Chicago. But these bodies are as yet independent and unrelated, and at best cover but a part of the field. Moreover, in many cases they do not include the men who actually control the policy of the churches. What is needed is to make the local associations more truly representative, to multiply them until they cover the entire country and to connect them with one another and with the national organizations in a comprehensive plan. Such local groups should be voluntary in the sense that their action would be purely advisory, and their only authority that of the moral value of their suggestions, but they should be in close touch with the National Home Mission Boards, and their representatives in the various localities should be, so far as possible, men officially connected with the local missionary agencies and therefore in a position to carry into effect, so far as any individuals can, whatever policy may commend itself to their judgment.

Such correlation of forces, if effected, would accomplish two things. It would provide the machinery needed to carry into effect the plans agreed upon by the national federated bodies; but, more important still, it would be a means of developing the common understanding and sympathy without which intelligent planning on a large scale is impossible.

This is true in each of the fields of which we have spoken. It is true of the immigration problem. This cannot be dealt with adequately by the missionary societies alone. It cannot be solved by opening special churches for foreign-speaking peoples, useful and even necessary as this may be in certain places. It can be solved only as the churches in each community where immigrants congregate are brought into close and sym-

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pathetic touch with their neighbours of foreign speech, opening the doors of their own buildings for their uses, providing for them such facilities of recreation, education and friendly counsel as they need, sending their own workers to visit them in their homes and minister to their necessities, and so developing that inner sympathy and understanding which will bring them, or when that is not feasible, their children, into active participation in the life of our American Christianity.

Still more necessary is this general co-operation in the case of those far-reaching evils which grow out of adverse social and economic conditions, the vice problem, the drink problem, the problem of disease and overcrowding, of child labor and of unemployment, of the care of the criminal and the insane. It is a cause of thankfulness that the church is awakening as never before to the consciousness of these problems and of her responsibility for their solution. It is a good thing that the cry for social justice should be heard in the councils of the churches, that resolutions should be passed and commissions of social service appointed. But resolutions alone will go but a little way. What is needed is groups of men and women in every city, town and country district throughout the land, organized to deal with specific evils where they are found. Unless the church can create such centres of moral power and correlate them for concerted action, her protests will be unheeded, and the vast resources at her command will not be put to effective use.

Even more important will be the reflex influence upon the spiritual life of the church. "The union of forces to fight the social evil in Pittsburgh," writes a member of the Morals Efficiency Commission of that city, "has done more to break down theological fences than any one issue in Pittsburgh."<sup>2</sup> In the nature of the case it must be so. When men stand shoulder to shoulder in a common cause,

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<sup>2</sup>New York Times, March 1, 1913.

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barriers of reserve are overthrown, suspicions are dispelled, misunderstandings removed, undiscovered sympathies brought to light, and so the way opened for a brotherhood of the spirit, possible in no other way.

Such a common consciousness is our supreme need as Christians,—not only for our own sake, that we may do our work effectively within the church, but for the sake of the men and women now estranged from historic Christianity, that we may interpret to them the true genius of our religion, and win them back to the allegiance they have for the time renounced. When Christianity is presented in its purely individualistic aspects, there are many who will be untouched by our appeal. But when men come to realize all that is involved in the Christian propaganda, how it touches all sides of life, how it calls for all kinds of service, how it makes room for all sorts and conditions of workers, how it contemplates not simply the salvation of individuals but the transformation of society in all its manifold relations, and the establishment of brotherhood and justice in national and international as well as in individual life, the magnitude of the enterprise will arouse enthusiasm, and the greatness of the demand be met by an answering response. Ask little of a man and he will give you little. Call upon him for great service and he will respond heroically. If for no other reason, for the sake of our own sons and daughters whom we would win and hold for the church, we must get together.

And so I am brought to the third of our needs, the greatest of them all, the need of vision. More than knowledge, more than organization, we need imagination,—the power to see the things that eye hath not seen, and to hear the things that ear hath not heard, and to feel the things that have not entered into the heart of man, and to be sure that these are of all things the most real. We need to recover the lost consciousness of Christianity as a living religion, creative, originating, as magnificent



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in its possibilities of world conquest now as in the days when the Damascus vision first started Paul on his missionary career. Without this the most complicated organization will be useless,—machinery without the power to drive it, an encumbrance taxing our strength instead of an arm to execute our purposes.

Characteristic of the age is a new consciousness of the universal aspects of religion. Religion is more than doctrine; more than ritual; more than organization. Religion is life, and Christianity is the world religion because it offers the highest, the most complete and the most satisfying life. Many causes have contributed to this discovery. Modern science has done its part, with its criticism of the narrowness and inadequacy of mere denominationalism. Modern business has contributed its part with the example that it has set of co-operation on a world-wide scale. The pressure of the hand-to-hand struggle with irreligion and sin has been a powerful influence, for it has revealed to us as we could have learned in no other way how much we have in common, how insignificant by comparison are the differences which separate us. There are many in all the churches who have learned this lesson; who see eye to eye, and stand shoulder to shoulder. But there are many to whom the vision has not yet come. We must make our vision common property, and there is no better way to do this than to come together in the spirit of Christ to ask one another what we can do jointly to promote his cause.

Imagine an Edinburgh Conference held in New York or Chicago, gathering together the Christians of America for the purpose of a common study of their common problems, giving to this study the same trained intelligence, the same concentrated attention which characterized the foreign missionary Conference across the sea, prepared for through as long a time, enlisting as completely the co-operation of all the churches, issuing in as statesmanlike recommendations for action,—would it

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not have an equally tonic effect upon the religious life of American Christianity?

But whether reached in this way or another, of one thing we may be sure, that if we are to solve the problems which confront us as American Christians, it must be through the renewed consciousness of our common Christianity. We must realize one and all the resources of faith and power which our religion puts at our disposal even now. We must study the tasks which all alike face, and we must act on what we find, in the same spirit of intelligent and whole-hearted co-operation which is the key to success everywhere and always.

In all that I have thus far said, I have been careful to confine myself to present possibilities. What more might come of these beginnings in the way of that larger unity for which many Christians are longing and praying I do not presume to say. Here are some things which we can do now if we will.

# The Place of Religion in the Woman Movement

BY LADY HENRY SOMERSET.

It must seem at times that Woman has lost her way, that having left her accustomed shelter, "the dedicated ways of Womanhood," despising the seclusion and restraints of the past, she has dismissed her protections, has refused to read the guide-posts of the wider world, and is now rushing to certain disaster along unknown tracks, full of danger and difficulty. If that were so, we should indeed have reason to fear, but to those who have studied what is now called "The Woman Movement" it must be apparent that the impetus which has carried many women beyond the accustomed boundaries has long been gathering, and that through the last two hundred years she has found increasing difficulty in accepting the position that growing changes have wrought for her. An age of transition must make us sad, but hope is with the generations which are to follow. We are in the pangs of a new birth. Woman "holds a promise for the race," and when we remember the cause for which she left her sheltered ease, we need have no fear for the ultimate issue. The present may only give the still-born offspring of a love of power and a desire for opportunity, but the source of Woman's desire for freedom lies in her knowledge of her true vocation. To give life is Woman's essential calling, and in some form all are called to fulfil it, not the life only which adds one more to the people on the planet, but to give life in the larger sense which is not individual, to be the mother of the common weal, to bring health and wholeness and re-creation, to bring to the

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moral world the protection which Woman so pre-eminently gives.

Every idea which has lost its proportion is apt to be dangerous, dangerous to those who support it and to those who oppose it, and it is true to say that the presentation of Woman's claims has lost proportion. But this has happened with every great movement. The flood-tide of reform has always swept away much that was useful and much that was beautiful, before the flowing waters have made their proper channel.

We are agitated and disturbed because Woman claims equal rights with Man in the management of national affairs. She asks for the Parliamentary vote, and to many it may seem that the very claim forfeits for her the attributes which are her best heritage, but when we consider the changes that her position has undergone, we rightfully appreciate the justice of her demand. For only in modern times has Woman ceased to be actively recognized as the helpmate of Man. In the Middle Ages women were admitted to the Guilds and Fraternities on equal footing with men. The female furriers and tailors of Frankfort, the female bakers of the Middle Rhine, the embroiderers of the coats-of-arms and the female saddlers of Strasburg, the women tanners of Nuremburg and the women goldsmiths of Cologne were celebrated. It was only at the close of the Thirty Years' War that women were expelled from these trades; and from that hour Woman lost her footing in the commercial civilization of the world.

In the early annals of the Church the position of Woman in religious life was recognized as being on an equality with Man.

"In the Kentish Charters, the names of the Abbesses follow those of the Bishops. In Saxony, it fell to an Abbess to act as representative of an Emperor during his absence. As independent land-owners who held their property of and from the King and Emperor, the Abbesses took rank with the Lords temporal and spiritual, in the right of jurisdiction which they exercised, and in the right of being represented in Parliament or at the Imperial Diet as the case might be.

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"Among the Abbacies founded before the Conquest, the Abbess, like the Abbot, had the power of the Bishop within the limits of her own house, and bore the crozier as a sign of her rank.

"The Abbesses of Shaftsbury, Wilton, Barking, and Nunnaminster were of such quality that they held of the King an entire Barony, and by right of tenure had the privilege, at a later date, of being summoned to Parliament, though this lapsed on account of their sex. And in still earlier times, the name of Hilda, Abbess of Whitby, stood not only as an example of justice and piety, of peace and of charity, but her house was a centre of learning. Five men who had studied in her Monastery were promoted to the Episcopate."<sup>1</sup>

How much the loss of such regard for women in the Church in our land today is due to the fact that for three centuries we have shut our hearts and closed our lips to the name of the most "Blessed among Women," who can say?

In the home, Woman's enforced abdication is none, the less marked. The steel fingers of machinery robbed her of her industries, and the household factory stood idle. In the education of her children, the little school within the precincts of her home, or at her gate developed into the completer education which places children in the hands of experts. The sick were no longer her care, nor the dispensing of drugs her art, when the skilled aid of hospitals had been brought within the reach of all. Thus little by little the work of the home has widened beyond the garden-gate, and to one and another outside is assigned the task which was essentially the prerogative of Woman as the home-maker. What wonder, then, that Woman, looking over the boundary fence, felt she had a claim to some direction of the work in the outside world, a wider though an integral part of her own home, the world, where her children are taught, her goods are made, her sick are tended, and the poor whom she formerly fed are kept alive by the State instead? But more than this, we must remember that Woman, when she accepted the privileges of life without any of its burdens, turned aside from her true destiny. This she discovered when, her conscience awake, she tried to win her way

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<sup>1</sup>*Woman under Monasticism*, Eckenstein.



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back to her rightful place. A quarter of a century ago the subject of Woman's wider freedom was associated with nothing but ridicule. We can turn to the pages of old caricatures (and nothing presents the thought of a time more vividly) and there we find Woman held up almost to universal ridicule, Woman in her jealousies, her pettinesses, her tyrannies, her age, her loss of beauty, indeed, her aspirations are not exempt, and even the fulfilment of her greatest calling is the subject of jest in the drawings and writings of the caricaturists and humourists of that time. "This great immorality centred in the irreproachable days of the Exhibition of '51 or thereabouts."<sup>2</sup> It seemed the lowest level to which Woman had been consigned. Roused to the danger of her situation, she looked back and saw what she had lost; she looked around and saw the result of giving her work into other hands. For in spite of the chivalrous protests of men that women are their special care, she saw her less-privileged sisters forced into the labour markets to compete with men, in an unequal struggle where chivalry was not mentioned, but where the very disabilities of their sex were used as weapons against women. All those who consider the conditions under which women work must realize how powerless Woman is to better those conditions unless she holds the only weapon which moves men to think her claim worth considering and her support worth gaining.

Who can deny that in thousands of cases homes are supported by the labour of women—that by the "sweat of their brow do they eat bread," that the children owe their education, their clothing, the roof over their heads, to the work of the mother's hands? Men are not asked to "represent" in the labour market women whose husbands are dead, or who are deserted by worthless men, and are therefore forced to work. It is only when she comes to the edge of the Rubicon where toil is merged

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<sup>2</sup>Mrs. Meynell.

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into privilege and penalties pass into power that she is told to stand back—thus far and no further!

England and America have been roused lately by that international crime which is called the White Slave Traffic. This is no sensational or sentimental agitation, but a sober battle conducted by those who know the strength of the enemy and the difficulty of storming his entrenched position. And to what is the supreme difficulty to be attributed but to the false classification of women in the minds of men—that very classification which has doomed some women from their cradles?

Men think tenderly about their homes; they think of the faces that looked lovingly upon them in the dawn of life; they remember the hands that ministered to them on beds of pain, the hands whose very touch brought them refreshment and repose. They think of the quiet household ways and of the preciousness which surrounds every incident connected with those whom they have enshrined in holy memories, and yet as they shut the door upon the home and go forth into the devious ways of life, they begin at once to place women in different categories and to judge them by different standards.

I remember a woman who was to perform an acrobatic *tour de force* in one of our great music-halls. She had to throw herself from the roof of the vast building and drop some sixty feet. "The Black Butterfly," as she was called on the programme, a mere child, stood waiting to ascend the rope-ladder which was to take her to the dizzy height. I said to her, "Are you not nervous? Does it not frighten you?" "Of course it does," she said, and the tone of the words was hard and bitter, "but if I did not risk my life the public would get no pleasure out of it, and they wouldn't come."

And so, from the outset, in a man's mind, there is a class of women set aside to minister to the public enjoyment, to gratify the public taste, to meet the public's brutal necessity. The woman who dances in a garb in which

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a man would not tolerate the thought of seeing his wife or sister, is a woman who had a good woman's instincts before the bloom was off the blossom, before necessity had wrenched from her the garment of purity; there was the first shrinking, the first sickening dread before she faced the eager Leviathan public waiting for the prey.

We who have moved among them know the sad romances of real life, the pitiful poetry that comes to us from the tenement-houses where all sense of shame has vanished almost as life dawns; from the densely populated districts where the poor are herded; from the little village where the girl trusted and was deceived; from the home where the servant girl was "found out" and drifted, the flotsam and jetsam of the world. They are there, that great throng, but as we look at them, God help all women to remember that for every girl there is a man, and as they cower in the shadow of their shame, not one is there alone. Is the existence of such women to be a bar to Woman's political privilege? If so, we must admit at once that our social fabric is built on perilously false foundations.

The more we seek to unravel the tangled skein of reasons that are given to prove that women must not face the great public questions of the time, or endeavour to enter the maze of politics, the more clearly we understand that these many reasons resolve themselves into one, and that one is the disability of sex. It is not education that is wanting, because higher education now places many women above the level of the ordinary voter and some on an equality with any statesman, and the average woman on an equality with the average man. Nor is it the question of property that can bar Woman's way to the polling-booth. From the hour when the Married Woman's property was restored to her, she was at least allowed to be an individual. The grotesqueness of the law that prevailed a short time ago in England became apparent when a certain poor man married a rich woman

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and made a will by which he kindly left the woman her own property, on the generous condition that she should not marry again! As the sequel of public agitation men granted this measure of justice to women.

Nor is it that men fear lest they should tread the dusty ways of public life. A member of the present Cabinet has recently said that the grant of the suffrage would "add neither to the happiness of the home nor the safety of the country." Presumably he believes the happiness of the home is dependent upon Woman keeping herself apart from all the sordid details of political life, but even the men who oppose the women's vote do not appear to hold this view. At election times a flight of women helpers accompany the candidate like working-bees. The Woman is to speak, to write, to canvass. In short, she is to win votes. Every committee-room clamours for her help, every platform asks for her presence. Woman is already needed in politics, but her calling now is to decoy others into the polling-booth, although her "sheltered life" does not permit her to go there herself!

The women who for the most part oppose the franchise are those who, content to be sheltered and favoured themselves, know nothing of the bitter, unequal struggle for honest existence endured by thousands of their fellow-women. The privileged few are not in a position to judge of the necessity or the need of protection which such power will give. It is the desperation of helplessness which has driven women into taking measures which are to my mind indefensible in themselves, and yet which are, we cannot but admit, terrible perversions of splendid and self-denying capacities. The vote will eventually be granted in Great Britain to women. The day and hour is uncertain. The only certainty is that it *will* be granted. But great as will be the gain when such a measure of justice is conceded, it is as nothing, to my thinking, in comparison with the wonderful possibilities which now lie to her hand, and which Woman can use to the eternal welfare of the



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world. The woman of this century, awake and enlightened, looks out on a world of new duties and new responsibilities. The cynical materialism of the past has disappeared in our day before the dawn of idealism. Everywhere men and women are reaching out pitifully hungry hands. Never has the need of bread for starving souls been so great. Never has a more plentiful supply of stones been doled out in its place. This scheme, and that, are put forward for the betterment of human ills. With wearying reiteration we hear each hour of some new plan at last evolved which is to destroy pain, remake homes, eliminate evil. We listen to the enthusiast's account of each patent remedy, and we realize that, like all its predecessors, it is doomed to failure. Something deeper than reform is necessary. The work that is now waiting for Woman demands more than she ever gave to the kingdom of her home in the past. For we have come to her great moment. It is significant that at such a time a publication, having for its title, "A Journal of the Faith and Work and Thought of Christendom," has drawn together the sympathy of East and West, North and South, and therefore through its pages an appeal can be made to those women who, having faced the changes which have come in their position and standing, still loyally hold the faith of Christ.

The Christianity of the future rests with the women of the present. To all the wisdom and prudence that she brought to her work as home-maker, when she ruled, guarded, trained her smaller kingdom, fed, nursed, clothed and educated, she must add tenfold of intelligence and love and strength of will. She must give more than all her other gifts—the willing sacrifice of herself. Turning away from all dreams of power, and that most insidious of all temptations, her own development—falsely so called—she must look, not to what she herself would desire to do or to be, but to what is there, waiting for someone to do. Everywhere there is territory to be



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reclaimed. The schools are recruiting-grounds. Let women of education adopt teaching as their calling, impelled to this by the love of God. The infirmaries and workhouses are places where women of refinement and enthusiasm for Christ are needed. Let them offer their services as servants of the poor. First and foremost perhaps are the prisons, where souls are sometimes done to death because we do not realize the value of the life that is in them or the power of expansion that such life holds. Educated women must be willing to be trained for the service of prisoners and captives, if prison reform is to be a reality and not a newspaper discussion. Such work is not sentimental, not indulgent; it will not lose sight of the penalties of sin, for real love is often severe. If suffering is good, love metes out suffering, but is willing to share the pain. Speaking of the greatest Love in the world, Bossuet says:

*Elle est tendre, mais elle n'est pas molle; elle est ardente, mais elle n'est pas faible; elle est douce, mais elle n'est pas flatteuse.*

There are a hundred avenues of work open to women, work which will rebuild the world, work which has behind it a Power which we know to be invincible. The voices of the prophets of our day speak smooth things; they tell us how to circumvent pain, avoid care, rise to calm thoughts and look out with joyous indifference on the life of the world; but all such voices fail when we stand by the solemn, silent realities which bring us into those regions across which the philosophies of man cannot reach. There is much work undertaken today and spoken of with a capital "W," which is busy and fitful, but which brings no return. I overheard two women discussing the cases which had been allotted to them by a Society which distributes such, for the individual care of persons of money and leisure. "How lucky it was for me!" said the speaker, "I was given a darling burglar to look after, and poor So-and-So had only a dull drunkard, with the usual half-starved family! My burglar told me all sorts of interest-

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ing things about house-breaking and crime. He was so entertaining. I took him with me to see some of my friends, who were thrilled."

I pondered this conversation long. It seemed to me to be the key of so much of the "good-doing" of our time, undertaken partly from curiosity and the love of a new sensation, and partly as a soporific for the conscience of the idle, "good-doing," which has resulted in so little, and which does not even attain the excellence of educating the people who undertake it, or showing them the futility of their labour. We must set a definite standard before us if our efforts are to avail.

It happens that I have lived for many years among the delinquent classes and I have seen women of all sorts pass in and out of Homes in a Village Colony in Surrey, where women of all ages are received and kept for varying periods of detention. I speak after years of deliberate thought when I say that if we aim at reform, we fail. If we aim at redemption, we succeed. By reform I mean the endeavour to patch up the material that is there, content to send it out into the highways of life, shabby from the past and the worse for wear, but mended in the best way we can. By redemption I mean the realization that there is something in everyone that is of God, and belongs to God, and to us is given the joyous task to try to bring it back to the One to whom it belongs, to hand it over to God, so that His Spirit may possess that life again, and the penitent soul be set free to start afresh. Can this be done? Yes, it is done, but the price of the training is paid for in blood and tears, for those who have learned the real value of a soul have understood it by the knowledge of their own redemption. They have faintly grasped the secret of the sorrow which pierced the perfect heart of the "Mother of God, Mary most holy." That sword in some measure must pass through the heart of all who work to bring wanderers into the way of life. Evil in these days is often thrust aside with airy ignorance,

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but only as we understand the dark places in our own hearts can we dare to grope our way into the winding ways of other lives.

I see before me a great procession of those who come into our gates, the misery of their homes, the terror of their children, the curse of their country, women often well known to the Police. I see them out in the world today, clothed and in their right mind, gentle, loving, trustworthy, redeemed. They have seen themselves, but they have seen something more, they have seen God.

I once travelled along a white road on the South Coast, on one side the sea, on the other, green meadows where cows pastured, and purple clover-fields over which the bees were droning their working-song. "These lands are redeemed," my companion said. "But a short while ago, they were the marsh-land of the sea. Nothing grew there but the coarse sea-grass and weeds, and the waves would sweep across it, and the spring-tides would cover it, but later it was raised, and the soil made new, and it was ploughed and sown." And as I looked over the golden-green in the sunlight, I saw the redeemed land yield its increase and give back to the cattle, to the bees and to man.

The thought remained with me all day, for I remembered the many lives that I had seen beaten back by the waves and the storms, lives desolate and waste, and I knew that they must be redeemed with the same patient purpose that enabled the toiling hands to buy back the country of the sea.

Will the women of our day realize their great opportunity, or will they—misled by false dreams of power—miss their true vocation? Some few may lose their way, but the instinct to shelter and guard is too firmly rooted in the heart of Woman for her to swerve from her path. Her children, not only those who gather in her home, but in the slums of our great cities and in the lonely districts of the remote country, will call her blessed.

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The sick of her family, wide now as the earth itself, will trust to her trained hand and skilful touch. She will clothe the naked as she brings God's gift of faith to starved minds, and feed the hungry with the deep wisdom of the knowledge of God. The fair linen she will weave with care will be the restored mind and will, the renewed courage, the steadfast purpose, of those who were once the weak-hearted, the down-trodden, the outcasts of the earth. And in the place of the sweet-scented balms and spices with which she once made fragrant the precincts of her home, she will, by her hope and faith and courage, distil from bitterness, remorse, failure and despair, sweetness that will make glad the city of God.

# Baron von Hügel's "Eternal Life"

BY W. L. BEVAN,

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Baron von Hügel has an authoritative position in contemporary religious thought which is altogether independent of his productivity in authorship. His influence came to be a known factor in the world of learning long before any work bearing his name made its appearance. His unique place is well defined in the *Quarterly Review* for January of this year when the reviewer in an appreciation of Father Tyrrell's career characterizes Baron von Hügel as "a man of European as distinguished from merely English culture. To have come into touch with him was to have left inland seas for the open main." The general public is now fortunate in having placed before it such a notable example of Baron von Hügel's method and interests as his *Eternal Life* (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark; New York, Scribner's, 1912), which strikingly illustrates his faculty for uniting freedom of speculation with the utmost deference to the authorities of the religious communion of which he is a member.

Dialectical proofs of immortality are not involved in Baron von Hügel's conception of Eternal Life. His subject and his treatment of it lie rather within the area of Johannine thought. Eternal Life from this point of view is essentially life as it is actually lived, though its timelessness may be concealed under human conditions.

It is, he says,

"an experience, requirement, force, conception, ideal which is, in endless degrees and ways, latent or patent in every specifically human life and act; which, in its fullest operativeness and its most vivid recognition, is specifically religious; and which, in proportion to such fulness and recognition, is found



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to involve the consciousness, or possession, of all the highest realities and goods sought after or found by man, and the sense (more or less) of non-succession, of a complete Present and Presence, of an utterly abiding Here and Now."

The mystic element in Baron von Hügel's system is clearly visible in this passage. His originality lies specifically in the relation worked out between the Eternal Life and its various metaphysical relationships, but the strongly human element is never allowed to remain in the background; we find notably a passionate emphasis placed upon "the intolerable horror felt by the wideawake human soul for mere succession of any kind." This antagonism to succession and this longing for simultaneity is treated as the guiding conception in Eternal Life and traced in its various phases and developments through the long series of philosophies and theologies that have marked the progress of mankind. The pragmatic principle that man in his present physical and intellectual constitution is the measure of all things is adroitly and convincingly combined with a recognition of man's capacity for hazardous flights of abstract thought. Baron von Hügel speaks frequently of this association and he never loses sight of what he calls "the profound need and continuous action of the body, of the senses, of sensible objects, and of the physical environment, within and for man's mental, spiritual, religious life." It is illuminating and instructive in this connection to note how Baron von Hügel—a devout and loyal Roman Catholic—finds himself at one on this crucial point of the energizing of the whole of human nature in religion with George Meredith who, as is well known, had little sympathy with any form of organized Christianity. In one of his recently published letters, the text of which goes back to 1861, George Meredith writes:

"How great the error has been, the error of all religions, I fancy, to raise a spiritual system in antagonism to nature. What though yonder Alp does touch the heavens? Is it a rebuke to us below? In you and me there may be lofty spiritual points pure from what we call fleshliness."

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Baron von Hügel's main thesis is so comprehensive that it admits without artificial pressure of a broad survey, covering the entire field of religious philosophy. For this task his wide reading and his unusually active historic sense give him unique qualifications. He passes from one period to another, preserving always a sense of proportion in his treatment. No matter how extensive the prospect may be, the reader under his guidance is assured that he is in the hands of an expert, who will never content himself with a fragmentary outlook. The mighty figures of speculative thought of all ages are not forced into service to support the author's own views, neither are they cross-examined with the purpose of proving that they must be deserted when they fail to satisfy some neat, modern formula. Yet Baron von Hügel is no advocate of finality in the past conclusions of religious thought, no matter how accredited they may be because of their connection with famous names. In his search for a higher unity, too, the weak, intangible position of the eclectic is not taken as a model. How far he is willing to go in his vision of theological reconstruction may be seen from the following passage which deals with one of the most vexed questions in historical theology:

"The Pauline, Augustinian, Lutheran, Calvinist, Jansenist trend, impressive though it is, will have to be explained, in part, as a good and necessary (or at least as an excusable, temporary) corrective of some contrary excess; and, for the rest, it will have to suffer incorporation within a larger whole, which, in appearance more commonplace, is yet in reality infinitely richer—the doctrine and practice of Jesus Christ Himself. 'In my flesh abideth no good thing,' will have somehow to be integrated within 'the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.' "

The same power of insight into the complexities of a great problem is equally characteristic of von Hügel's handling of the newly worked vein of New Testament scholarship, Eschatology—filled, as it is, with surprises and pitfalls for the unwary. Such dangers are met in a style so frank, so vigorous, and so marked by a healthy optimism that the whole passage must be quoted:

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"A strong insistence will be found throughout these pages upon the *Parousia* the Proximate Second Coming—upon the Eschatological Element operative in the life and teaching of Our Lord and in all genuine and fruitful Christianity. The problem involved is so delicate and so far-reaching that we cannot wonder if the great majority of believers have, ever since the first enthusiastic age, turned away from it with instinctive fear or sickening dismay. Yet no repudiation of historico-critical scholars, however audacious or one-sided they may be in part of their conclusions, will prevent the battle concerning Christianity—the testing of its claim abidingly to supply the full sanity and truth of religion and of life—from turning, more and more, in this and the next two or three generations, around the precise significance, place, and range of this element in Christian teaching. . . . And here the writer would take his stand very deliberately with those who indeed find a genuine and full eschatological element in Our Lord's life and teaching, yet who discover it there as but one of two movements or elements,—a gradual, prophetic, immanent, predominantly ethical element; and this sudden, apocalyptic, transcendental, purely religious element. Indeed, the interaction, the tension, between these two elements or movements, is ultimately found to be an essential constituent, and part of the mainspring, of Christianity, of religion, and (in some form) even of all the deepest spiritual life."

This suggestion that a true eschatology may be traced outside the limits of the historical period which saw its birth should be provocative of the kind of faithful research into the phenomena of Christian consciousness of which the author's own life of St. Catherine of Genoa is so fine an example. The readers of this earlier work cannot fail to note how Baron von Hügel is ever careful in this new volume to preserve the viewpoint which led him to select St. Catherine as the representative of normal mysticism. The limitations and qualifications so carefully laid down in that biography are maintained in a condensed form wherever the monistic tendencies of mysticism are under review. For example, the critical attitude of the Church authorities toward Eckhart is approved because of his exaltation of abstract Being—a conception by which the Godhead is robbed of the richness of actual life as revealed in man's consciousness. This hostility to the Absolute reached by negation is enforced by pointing out the dangers of cutting religion loose from the stimulus that comes to it in and through "the varied tensions and difficulties in the experiences of historic personalities." Even more clearly is this

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conclusion emphasized where von Hügel commends Spinoza's doctrine "of a ceaseless sense of the presence and of the immense, continuous importance of the human Body, for good as well as for evil. Not all the materialistic, and yet also dualistic, inadequacies of his formulations can rob Spinoza of the glory of this deep, wholesome, terribly neglected insight." Spinoza's happy disregard of consistency is also praised, and in this connection is accepted as a mark of leadership in speculation. Sensitive as he was to the richness of life, he passed beyond the limits of his artificial system and exalted, though a Pantheist, the powers and attributes of the individual soul. Of course, souls as such, according to Pantheism, are of no value, being only one among the countless fleeting modes or one of the attributes of the Infinite Substance, and Substance, Spinoza affirms, is bereft of all will, love, and self-consciousness.

An equally independent line of interpretation is taken in the discussion of Kant's ethical and religious teaching. His deep realization of the positive existence of evil is acknowledged to give him a unique place. He saw the problem, von Hügel admits, more clearly than many doctors and saints of the Church who accepted the attractive, if unreal, Neo-Platonic teaching, under which evil becomes a minus quantity. But despite his emancipation from the naturalistic postulates of the age of Enlightenment, Kant, von Hügel says, shows a remarkable obtuseness to the phenomena of conduct that fall within the sphere of human nature. The grounds for this rigorism are not altogether unjustifiable because Kant felt impelled to find a place for the ethical mandate where it might be protected from those abuses and misrepresentations under which moral standards had been transformed during long ages of social struggle. Such isolation proved disastrous to Kant's ethical theory. In spite of the splendidly inspiring axiom of the categorical imperative, this theoretical regulation of conduct is so divorced from



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social life that it has little more direct connection with the problems of conduct than a sonata or a sonnet. The failure of Kant's ethic is put without qualification when the Baron remarks:

"We men learn to know truth and goodness, not abstractly, as Laws, but concretely, as qualities of Persons. And what we thus learn most fully has cost their all, of sweat and tears and blood, to these our teachers, and costs anxiety, self-discipline, and humble docility of soul to us the learners."

The less authoritative figures in speculative thought are treated with discrimination. Even in the most unlikely environment the seeds of spiritual potency are found disguised often as they are by an anti-ecclesiastical antagonism which so frequently turns souls of restless energy in their upward struggle to adopt an attitude of protest. There is no pose in Baron von Hügel's eulogies or his criticism; when he speaks in praise or blame, his summing up is that of a judge who brings to bear on each point the weight of an erudition which places him in his own sphere on a level with Lord Acton. It is significant, therefore, that the leaders of the idealist school, Wallace and Caird, are reproved for their lack of sympathy with the "good and true richly present in that wayward and chaotic man of letters," Nietzsche. Even his Superman is allowed a religious value in a passage where it is characterized as

"that pathetically hopeless misapplication of our instinctive need of adoration,—in which Professor Aloys Riehl, himself for so long an aggressively negative philosopher, finds one of the many significant and powerful (because utterly sincere, indeed as yet unconscious) reawakenings of the religious passion and conviction in these our times."

How much of alertness is demanded on the part of the reader because of the writer's own association of ideas that carries him to names and works not always accessible is admirably illustrated in the above reference to Aloys Riehl, whose volume on Nietzsche occurs in a series somewhat similar to the *English Men of Letters* collection and whose work on epistemology would probably be familiar only to the specialist in modern philosophy.



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Admirers of Kierkegaard will be glad to see that he has not been omitted. As we believe there exists no English translation of his works, it is to be hoped that his association by von Hügel with such names as Pascal and Hurrell Froude may lead some publisher to make this original mystic accessible to the English-speaking public.

The attention given to obscurer examples is never fortuitous or arbitrary. Von Hügel shows how important it is not to leave unclassified any type of religious speculation which takes this broad view of religion; the view which teaches that man is not merely intellect, but also sense, imagination, feeling and will, and that all these elements act and react together when man projects himself beyond the environment of material existence. Even though still remaining associated with matter, he brings himself into contact with the realm of spirit, whose energizings and activities are like his own, and through it and with it recognizes himself as united with the infinite Spirit—the ultimate ground and most intimate bond of all that is real. This reality is no mere illusion because it is a reflection of self-consciousness in its highest potency. As von Hügel remarks, in his criticism of Feuerbach for eliminating religion on the ground of subjectivity,

“My consciousness of God is no more because of this simply my self-consciousness than is my consciousness of a pebble, of a plant, of my friend.”

The discussion of Bergson is admirably done and illustrates Baron von Hügel's ready scent for discovering the weak elements of a most deftly constructed theory. He attacks the very centre of the Bergsonian citadel—his analysis of Time—and, though the dialectical criticism is penetrating and acute, the most effective and easily understood test of Bergson's dual division of spiritual and temporal objects that have nothing in common will be found in a passage where Baron von Hügel points out that if Bergson's division is accepted,

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"Science would then hover completely outside of the concrete reality which it would still claim to interpret. And such a complete Fluidification of Human Life would be the destruction of this Life, since there would be here no rational, spiritual necessities, no ideal, organization or end which could lift the toil and trouble, the joy and sadness, above sheer, blind happenings and soulless things."

Though apart from the exalted atmosphere of speculative thought where Baron von Hügel's special aptitude in interpretation is so vigorously and originally employed, the chapter on Institutional Religion reveals the mastery of a trained observer of concrete facts and happenings. In this field he makes good use of his theory of the concordant operation in religion of man's whole personality, of his physical, mental, emotional and volitional elements, and tests it in its broadest field. He takes, "as representative of religious Institutions, the Roman Catholic Church, as by far the oldest, most widespread, and most consistent of all such bodies; and as alone, so it happens, known and well known from within to the present writer," and asks why Institutional Religion as such has lost and is losing ground. The causes of decline he classifies into intellectual and moral categories, five in number, all types of some weakness and repulsiveness in Institutional Religion and yet all nearly allied to its real strength and attractiveness. First, he points out the close relation between church authority and a given philosophical system which represents a continuous pressure in philosophical questions. Then follows the claim of the appeal to history. The difficulty it presents comes from allowing the demonstrative power of the historical fact and yet subjecting the inquirer to the obligation of avoiding discussion in regard to the historical evidence for certain facts. As proof that the problem may be solved, the Baron points to the latitude allowed already in the case of physical and biological science. He suggests, therefore, that the final acceptance of Heliocentrism by the church authorities may influence their attitude toward historic research. A third ground for repulsion

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from Institutional Religion he finds in the methods used by the Church to enforce religious unity. Though so long its authoritative policy, this drastic repression has co-existed with a recognition of toleration that represents a larger, gentler and deeper Christian current, and here he refers to the pronouncement of Pius IX that the invincibly ignorant "who zealously observe the Natural Law written by God in the hearts of all men, can, with the aid of divine light and grace, attain to Eternal Life."

Without attending to the exact phraseology, the principle here proclaimed is altogether liberal and may be taken along with the attitude of the Ancient Church toward the Old Testament Canon, itself a virtual admission that a measure of truth and light can be had apart from authoritative teaching. It does not require a large extension of this admission to do away with the rigorism that disallows the possibility of good in schismatic movements. Von Hügel is careful to notice that the disciplinary power of the Church is not part of its infallible *magisterium*. That this claim of his is not theoretical is shown by the wide difference in theological teaching and practice visible throughout the life of the Latin Church. All that is needed in addition is to incorporate this actual unsystematized liberalism in cases where the external ties of communion have been broken. Mr. Wilfrid Ward's characterization of the post-Tridentine organization as purely defensive and as resembling a state of siege and the application of martial law can be appropriately introduced in this connection to reinforce von Hügel's distinction between what is temporal and what is essential in this great historical Christian communion.

Everyone recognizes that the causes of outbursts of fanaticism, the tendency to judge too harshly the weaknesses of others, cannot be sought for on one side of a purely arbitrary line. As a matter of fact, political interest, the clashing of nationalities, the expressions of racial divergence have in religious cleavages never yet been

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fairly weighed on their own merits. The willingness to believe the best and not to insist upon impossible conditions is a lesson that has to be borne in mind constantly where momentous issues are involved in international relations and in movements of internal political life. It is not unreasonable to believe that the experience so derived may influence the practice of religious organizations. It has also been a mistake that when the terms of Christian union have come to be discussed some unreal degree of perfection in doctrine and discipline has been insisted upon as necessary before any programme can be accepted. This in itself implies that the very evils which separation has introduced can be eliminated under a régime of separation. It is expecting the impossible. The desire to pass out of the stage of isolation and the willingness to realize more adequately Christian fellowship might well be taken as a starting-point, without demanding correctness of terminology or requiring a definite consensus in the interpretation of religious events and doctrines. The attainment of such power can itself be only the result of an education that comes from the larger field of united sympathies and co-operative effort.

Resuming the line of Baron von Hügel's own argument, we note that in the legislative side of church activity he has little trouble in showing that the spirituality and liberty of the Gospel have ever to develop and to show their full force in contact with and through the transformation of matter and law. But this statement is not used to champion the exaggerated juridical development in the Roman Church which showed itself in such institutions as the Inquisition. As a substitute for this method of weeding out the undesirables and the recalcitrant, a juster model is found in the primitive Christian community which avoided making that absolute distinction (favoured, by the way, by Luther) between the invisible and the visible Church and yet nowhere went



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so far as to reach that simple identification which has been approached by many Roman Catholic canonists. The movement towards rigorism has been especially marked in the later periods where under Ultramontane control, opportunity for strong and vigorous local life is far less than during the mediæval period, the very time when the Papacy exercised over the whole Western world an amount of political absolutism which today would not be accepted. Yet even at this point of the discussion Baron von Hügel avoids exaggeration. Representative as it is of a complete autocratic system, Ultramontanism he shows is in itself not the product of an autocratic Papacy. It is a system of theological thought; concretely, it is a type of Institutionalism which has as its originators, not ecclesiastics or curialists, but laymen, many of them products of an atmosphere altogether removed from Roman influence. It is only necessary to mention Goerres, Veuillot, W. G. Ward and De Maistre to see how largely the fathers of the present predominating current in the Roman Church are found outside its official administrative life. What has occurred in the past may be repeated in the future. New and contrary tendencies may arise with equal influence on the Church's administration that will force it into directions of a reconciling activity not yet appreciated or developed under existing Ultramontanism.

The political interests and sympathies of such a great international organization as that constituted by the Roman communion rest on a solid foundation. Politics cannot stand utterly outside of religion, nor can religion isolate itself from the influence of contemporary secular interests. The large emphasis laid upon the social obligations of the Church today by men such as Bishop Ketteler, Cardinal Manning and Le Play are all protests against the point of view which would restrict the field of the Church to some so-called scheme of salvation in which the individual as a component part is the deciding factor.



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It is a question of aims and methods rather than a matter of principle which divides in practice the Roman Church and those who criticize it. Many who condemn its ambition to secure political recognition and influence among the governments of the world—in other words, many who have no sympathy with the attempts to restore in some shape or another the direct temporal and political power so long enjoyed by the Roman See—would be found most sympathetic toward the Christian social movements promoted by Roman Catholics in France and Germany during the present generation. Whatever be the evils of Institutionalism the broad avenue it offers to social progress must never be closed up. The infinite possibilities of development open to the individual through association with corporate life can be secured in no other way.

An appreciation of Ultramontaniam that reveals its popular origin and support is a wholesome corrective to the common polemical point of view which always takes for granted that Ultramontanes stand for nothing more than an irresponsible oligarchy. It must be conceded that the apex of a religious community that embraces millions of adherents can show signs of weakness, while the great mass beneath is sound. It seems to be a matter of subordinate importance what specific aims are being pursued by those in whose hands the direction of the organism lies. The sub-conscious stratum of corporate life, imperfect as it is, fulfils so valuable a function as the seed-plot of individual life that when this productivity is weighed against the misdirected movements and abortive aims for which the official class in a religious organization are responsible, the latter hardly need be counted in the balance. Numerous illustrations of the validity of this distinction will be manifest whenever one thinks of the achievements of Christian love in the mission field, in spite of frequent crudities and fanaticism on the part of official teachers. The only generous atti-

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tude to take is that Institutionalism, even at its so-called worst, is better than the apathy and aloofness of Individualism at its so-called best.

Many names might be added to the representative figures of modern sainthood in the Roman communion selected by Baron von Hügel—Father Damien, the Curé of Ars, Eugénie Smet—and they might well be supplemented from Père Bremond's sympathetic study of Anglican religious character, *Les Ames Religieuses*. Nor can Father John of Cronstadt be omitted. The conclusion is almost axiomatic that

"souls, who live an heroic spiritual life within great religious traditions and institutions, attain to a rare volume and vividness of religious insight, conviction, and reality. They can, at their best, train other souls, who are not all unworthy of such training, to a depth and tenderness of full and joyous union with God, the Eternal, which utterly surpasses, not only in quantity but in quality, what we can and do find amongst souls outside all such Institutions, or not directly taught by souls trained within such traditions. And thus we find here, more clearly than in any philosopher as such, that Eternal Life consists in the most real of relations between the most living of realities—the human spirit and the Eternal Spirit, God; and in the keen sense of His Perfection, Simultaneity and Prevenience, as against our imperfection, successiveness and dependence. And we find that this sense is awakened in, and with, the various levels of our nature; in society as well as in solitude; by things as well as by persons. In such souls, then, we catch the clearest glimpses of what, for man even here below, can be and is Eternal Life."

Some such result as that reached by M. Bergson, who has emphasized the failure of the intellect in world analysis, must necessarily be adopted when one takes account of the complex intellectual categories constructed to embrace the supremely rich and ever varied field of man's religious consciousness. As Baron von Hügel says, after analysing and cataloguing with characteristically minute and conscientious care:

"Like all living realities, living religion possesses a sovereign spontaneity and rich simplicity which seem to render all attempts at analysis an insult." The chief principle to be held in any investigation of religious phenomena is to find in it a real product of human nature co-extensive with and related to all the points of contact, material, mental and spiritual, that distinguish man's personality. The satisfaction of man's

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material needs has never been the chief incentive in human life. It is only the advocate of naturalism who ventures to expound theories that make man in his primitive condition a victim of his natural environment, and who assumes that religion is only a by-product of man's conflict with natural law.

Since religion manifests itself as a social force, a religious teacher who has no following can hardly be called a religious teacher at all. His experiences may be interesting or unique, and yet, unless his influence has manifested itself in an extensive and visible way, one may dismiss him as a negligible quantity in the history of religion. It is necessary to separate the massive currents of religious experience from the teachings of those who were exponents of philosophic systems which found admirers and disciples within the limited groups to whom philosophic thought had become of vital interest. One might doubt whether the religious teachings of Spinoza are as important to the student of religion as the books of the founder of the Christian Science Church. It may be more important, historically, to observe the workings of Calvinism in a community where Calvin's church system has taken root than to study the minutiae of the reformer's own thought. Those familiar with Troeltsch's essay on the Reformation in *Kultur der Gegenwart* must have been impressed by the new field of thought opened up by him in this picture of the social influences of religious doctrines. It is not so much a question as to how far these influences are the consistent outcome of the original doctrines, but rather as to their actual existence in a community which found its centre of co-ordination in a working discipleship to some great founder. These points of contact between speculation and institutional life have been well brought out by Baron von Hügel. In one passage he declares that religious institutions are the normal requirements, expressions, and instruments of the religious sense:

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'that Religion and its Institutions cannot, if they would be strong in themselves and influential outside of their own special territory, stand aloof from the other ranges and levels of human life, with their corresponding organizations. . . . Where we cannot trace this Institutional Element in a soul's life, we always find either that this soul's religion has constantly been weak; or that the soul is suffering under a reaction from some religious excess, and is losing its religion; or that it is in process of gaining some institutionalism: or, finally, that its religion, though non-institutional, is indeed delicate and deep, but that this religion was first awakened in this soul by some fervent institutional religionist."

The case against a naked and barren individualism, so dear to those who would refine down to intellectualist formulas the content of the religious consciousness, could not be more sweepingly and convincingly affirmed.

The community aspect of religion is the enduring factor to which dogmatic statement or introspective analysis must ever be subordinate if the social history of religion be accepted as a guide, though the relation need not be posited in so antagonistic a fashion as by Father Tyrrell in his latest work. In the whole area of religion, as one notices in its historical manifestations, there is room for, and also need for, that manifold experience of which the intellect is but a part and sometimes, as is plain from history, not the directive part. On such a point it is better not to rely on risky hypotheses as to how the various elements are to be distributed and accommodated, one with another. Past religious movements themselves should be made the object of study. The line inaugurated in William James' *Varieties of Religious Experiences* should be extended beyond individualistic limitations, for it is artificial to distinguish between the experiences of the individual soul as they are interpreted through introspection and the impact of that same soul's experiences on the realm of fellow souls. In the case of a leader such as John Wesley, one cannot leave out of account the portion of his religious experience that was assimilated by those who came into contact with him and energized them to do deeds inspired by love of Christ. The religious experience of the individual not only goes through



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a series of reactions from the social environment, but actually transforms the social environment itself, initiating energies and potencies whose existence is as interesting scientifically as the individual experiences of the original soul from which the initial impulse came.

The relationship between the mass and its component parts, *i.e.*, the distinction between social and personal religion, may be hard to determine. One point is certain, that the experiences of the mass are as real as those of the parts. One may not say that one is a natural product while the other is epi-phenomenal. Baron von Hügel himself has given powerful help in placing the needed emphasis on the mass aspect of religion when he insists that

"religion is essentially Social *horizontally* . . . no soul is expected to be a 'jack-of-all trades,' but only to develop fully its own special gifts and *attributes*, within and through, and for, that larger organism of the human family, in which other souls are as fully to develop their own differing gifts and *attributes*, as so many supplements and compensations to the others."

Yet its own initiative is preserved when one sees exactly where the point of actual dependence is found.

"Religion is essentially Social *vertically*—indeed here is its deepest root. It is unchangeably a faith in God, a love of God, an intercourse with God; and though the soul cannot abidingly abstract itself from its fellows, it can and ought frequently to recollect itself in a simple sense of God's presence. Such moments of direct preoccupation with God alone bring a deep refreshment and simplification to the soul.

"And Religion, in its fullest development, essentially requires, not only this our little span of earthly years, but a life beyond. Neither an Eternal Life that is already fully achieved here below, nor an Eternal Life to be begun and known solely in the beyond, satisfies these requirements. But only an Eternal Life already begun and truly known in part here, though fully to be achieved and completely to be understood hereafter, corresponds to the deepest longings of man's spirit as touched by the prevenient Spirit, God. And hence, again, a peace and simplification. For that doubly Social life I try to lead here (though most real, and though itself already its own exceeding great reward) constitutes, after all, but the preliminary practice, the getting ready, for ampler, more expansive, more utterly blissful energizings in and for man, the essentially durational, quasi-eternal, and God, the utterly Abiding, the pure Eternal Life."



# Some Tendencies in the English Free Churches

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The fact that it is possible to speak of the English Free Churches in these general terms is in itself very significant. Time was when the phrase would have meant little or nothing. But there is now a solidarity among these Churches which, though it is of comparatively recent growth, is full of promise for the future. It applies mainly to the Churches in England. In Scotland conditions are peculiar, and the relations between the Free Churches and the Establishment are quite different from those which obtain further south. In Wales also the situation is *sui generis* mainly owing to the existence of Welsh and English speaking churches side by side. Though there is much similarity between the problems and outlook in all three countries, it will be better, for our present purpose, to treat England by itself, especially as it is with the English Churches that the writer is most intimately acquainted.

As recently as five and twenty years ago these Churches, represented by their different denominations, were divided into water-tight compartments, and carried on their work separately and not without jealousies and even friction. Today the denominational distinctions remain, but no longer form strict lines of cleavage. There is a real sympathy between the various sections represented by them, a common interest, and much active co-operation. They have each their special genius and their own con-

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tribution to make to the religious life of the land. But they recognize a real community of aim, and they work towards it as allies rather than as rivals. Such rivalry as there is generally takes the form of healthy emulation in good works, and the variety among the Churches is not regarded as in any way hindering their common service. Interchange of pulpits is a regular practice, and the denominational leaders are now learning to concert measures together in order to prevent overlapping and illegitimate competition. Though much yet remains to be done in this direction, the new sense of union has already proved an inestimable gain. It has produced a Free Church consciousness and an *esprit de corps* which have to be reckoned with and are proving useful in many ways.

For some time past there has been coming about a gradual mitigation of what used to be known as the Dissidence of Dissent. Both for good and evil the Free Churches in England and Wales have been forced by their circumstances into political action. Ever since the revolution of 1688 they have suffered under disabilities of various kinds and these have only been removed by slow degrees and as the result of hard fighting. The iron of conflict has entered into the blood of the Churches, and they have been driven, in spite of themselves, into an attitude of protest and self-defense. But this pressure has now largely been removed. Only in one or two directions do disabilities remain, and a real measure of freedom has been won. This has no doubt brought with it disadvantages. Peace and prosperity always mean a certain relaxing of moral fibre; and Nonconformity has suffered by its very success. Happily, however, it is becoming conscious of the fact, and is learning to substitute for political aggression, aggression of another and healthier kind. While still thoroughly alive to the need for defending and asserting their principles, whenever necessity and occasion requires, the Free Churches are now recognizing that they have also other work to do.

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They are beginning to use the combination which they have found so effective in maintaining their position in order to further the great spiritual purposes for which they stand in common. They recognize that their real enemies are to be found in the entrenched and embattled evils of modern society, and in the indifference and slackening of moral enthusiasm which material prosperity brings always in its train. In facing their new problem the Churches are being compelled to recognize that their resources are not equal to the task. They are hampered by such divisions as yet remain, and they are least able to show a united front just where it is most needed. They are often distracted from their most obvious duty by the necessity of defending their position, and are forced to occupy time in asserting their principles which might be better spent in evangelization. At the same time they are becoming acutely conscious of the fact that in many places they are not even holding their own. It is, no doubt, very easy to discount statistical estimates of religious work. They can never give a complete picture of the situation, and they are sometimes positively misleading because of their failure to take important factors into account. But when statistics tell uniformly the same tale over considerable periods of time, they may at least have the credit of the straw which shows the way the wind is blowing. And there can be no doubt that the constantly repeated tale of declining numbers has profoundly impressed the imagination of the Churches, and has produced a conviction of comparative failure that is at least the first step towards better things. When the work is not being well done, it is a natural instinct to look to the condition of the worker and of his tools. So the Churches are feeling a deep concern for their spiritual state. At the present moment they are busily engaged, not merely in overhauling their machinery, but in looking to the sources of their power, in asking themselves as to their message, and in seeking to bring their methods up to

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date. We cannot here specify in any detail the various ways in which this is being done: The remarkable thing is the unanimity and spontaneity with which the task has been undertaken. On every side those who are responsible for different departments of the Church's life and work are addressing themselves to it with the conviction that there is something wrong which they must set right before they can carry on their special task. It is as though they were indeed acting under the common impulse of the spirit of God. The Free Church Council is setting on foot a deliberate and thorough enquiry into the present condition of the Churches with the hope of being able to make some well considered recommendations as to a closer and more effective adaptation of their methods and resources to the needs of the present day. This is only one outcome of the new policy, if it may be called such, which has recently marked the work of this Council. Far more important than any schemes it can adopt is the fact that this body, representing as it does all the Evangelical Free Churches of the land, is now chiefly concerned with the purely religious well-being and activity of those Churches. It has been charged in the past with being little more than a political association, and there has perhaps been some ground for the charge. But the change in outlook and emphasis which is gradually coming over the Churches themselves is accurately reflected in this body and is a change fraught with promise of good.

Side by side with this, there is in process a very remarkable movement among the younger ministers and laymen of the Free Churches, including also some few of the broader and more earnest Anglicans. It has for its object the same kind of adaptation to the pressing needs of the hour, and the desire to realize a higher standard of spiritual life and service. These men are moved by a very real "concern" for the state of the city of God. They feel keenly the waste of power and the failure to meet opportunities, which are the result partly of our

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divisions, and partly of the indifference and conventionalism which have crept into all religious circles. They believe in the need for a new outpouring of the Divine Spirit and, as they face the evils of the modern world, they realize that "this kind goeth not out save by prayer and fasting." So by mutual conference, and prayer, by earnest study of the conditions of service and of the operations of the divine will, and by a real reconsecration of their own lives, they are seeking to leaven the Churches with something of the spirit which animates themselves. The hopeful thing about this movement is its entire spontaneity and its independence of the usual forms of organization. It is in no sense a new society, but rather seeks to provide a channel for the incoming of the new life which the Churches so sorely need. Its work is being done gradually and naturally, without parade or advertisement. It will only be known by its fruits, and the time of the fruit is not yet.

Meanwhile, partly through those whom this movement has already touched, and partly from quite other causes, the Churches seem on every hand to be waking up to a new sense of their responsibilities in certain vital matters. They are showing a more intelligent concern for the young and for their training in religion. The miserable controversy about religious teaching in the day-schools has at least had the good effect of showing to the Churches the inadequacy of their machinery for dealing with the children, and the hopeless position in which they would be placed if ever they were left to do the work by themselves. At the same time they have learned from the improvements in secular education that they will need to adopt more up-to-date methods in the Sunday Schools, if they are to retain their hold over the young. Sunday School reform has become a very real thing and already the results of it are beginning to be felt. Much yet remains to be done, and there are many difficulties to be overcome in the way of conquering prejudice



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and providing both plant and personnel, but the great thing is that the Churches as a whole are alive to the situation, and are beginning to set the care for the rising generation in the forefront of their activities.

Among their younger members also there is growing up a new interest in missionary work and in social service. For some time past the revival of missionary activity among students has been a most marked and welcome sign. It has had the effect already of setting apart great numbers of the most cultivated and intelligent men and women for the work of the mission field. This has been the outcome not of any unregulated enthusiasm, but of a careful and systematic study of the missionary problem both at home and abroad. As might be expected this has reacted in a most healthy way on the Churches themselves, and, on the whole, their attitude to the missionary problem is sounder and saner than it has been for many years. The same may be said of the social question. There, too, the way for action is being prepared by systematic study of the question under modern conditions. This can hardly be carried on for long without a real awakening of conscience, and once the conscience of the Churches is thoroughly aroused we may hope for great things. No doubt the Free Churches will find the task thus presented to them especially difficult. They are somewhat too closely wedded to middle class ideals and to the middle class point of view. Though they have a bigger hold among the artisan population than is sometimes supposed, the average working man still tends to view them with suspicion. They seem to belong to a world with which he is not in very close touch, and they do not always show the sympathy with his needs that they might. But they are beginning to learn their lesson, and they are at least taking steps to inform themselves. A few years ago a secular newspaper could write:

“A very large part of the ferment which just now is stirring both the Church of England and the chief Nonconformist Churches is due to a new dawning

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perception that they can only keep alive by such inner reforms as shall enable them to realize the Christian spirit of brotherhood. With pathetic eagerness do speakers at Church Congresses, preachers and writers express their desire to join heart and hand with the modern democracy. Much of their language shows in its very vagueness how difficult the task before them is. The great mass of the workers in this, as in other European countries, have no part and interest whatever in the Churches. The ordinary English workingman is not an enemy of religion, or even of the Churches. He is simply indifferent: they do not touch him. We are glad to notice that there are not a few ministers of religion who recognize the necessity of descending from fine aspirations 'for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes,' to confront at close quarters the sort of action Churches and their members must be prepared to take if they really mean to translate the spirit of Christian fraternity into actual democracy."

These words are still true, but it may be said now with confidence that the Churches are preparing themselves to take the action suggested and that they are no longer contented with the easy platitudes that once passed current as a social gospel.

Another direction in which the new spirit is making itself felt is in the growing desire for a larger unity, and, to this end, for a closer co-operation with the Established Church. This is perhaps the most difficult of all the tasks which Nonconformity has before it at the present time, and it is the more so that there is as yet among many Nonconformists a very imperfect sympathy with it. It is almost impossible for an outsider to understand the hereditary jealousy and suspicion with which many of the most really Christian Free Churchmen regard any suggestions for a better understanding with their Anglican brethren. They are not altogether to be blamed. Behind many of them there lie long and bitter memories of scorn, neglect and even persecution. Religiously they have in the past been forced to live on sufferance and they have been deprived of legitimate opportunities both social and educational. In some parts of the country these disabilities still remain, but they are surely decreasing. Time, too, is softening old animosities, and a great and welcome change is creeping over men on both sides. The recent struggle over the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church in Wales has shown, quite

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unmistakably, that English Nonconformists are by no means so enthusiastic about the business as their fathers were. This does not mean that they do not still believe in religious freedom, or that they have any leanings towards Erastianism. Still less does it imply that they are prepared for any measure of concurrent endowment. Something no doubt must be put down to the growing indifference to all purely ecclesiastical questions, and, so far as their attitude is to be attributed to this cause, it is greatly to be deplored. But this is not the whole truth of the matter. The fact is that the Free Churches are feeling a new reluctance to plunge into strife with their Anglican brethren. They recognize that such a course is a real source of weakness, and they are impressed with the need for unity in face of the common foe. Many of them would be content to leave the question of Disestablishment to the operation of those forces of public opinion which are gradually making for its solution. While they do not perhaps regard it as strictly a domestic question for the Church of England, but one which has wide national implications, they would prefer to leave it to the nation as a whole to deal with it, and do not themselves wish to take the lead in the matter. They recognize that there is a growing body of opinion within the Church of England itself in favour of liberating the Church from State control, and they would content themselves with fostering such opinion, and contributing their share in educating the public up to it. So far as disendowment is concerned, they have no wish whatever to share in the funds in which the Church now has a monopoly, and, as the discussions on the Welsh Bill have revealed, they are quite prepared to see the nation deal very generously with the Church in disposing of those over which the nation may be said to have certain claims of its own. Above all they are anxious to remove causes of friction and to prepare the way for that better understanding and closer co-operation which they believe

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to be now within reach. But they are under no illusions in this matter. They do not look forward to any corporate reunion with the Anglican Church. It is unity rather than union that is their ideal, and they believe a true unity to be quite compatible with large diversities of method and administration. They are not prepared to admit that their mission has in any sense failed, or become unnecessary. Representing as they do the democratic ideal of the Church, they feel that they have public opinion on their side. The principles for which they have fought so long a fight have largely penetrated even the Anglican communion, and they recognize that they will always have their positive and constructive work to do. But they would do it in a spirit of entire friendliness to the other side, and they would gladly co-operate with them in all matters affecting the moral and religious interests of the country and the extension of the Kingdom of God. In this respect they are greatly encouraged by the trend of things in the foreign missionary field. There the problem of Christian unity seems to be in a fair way towards solution. The pressure of external hostility to Christianity is there so much greater that the Churches are driven to make common cause together. This is especially true of India where, as a competent observer has recently written,

“The 5000 missionaries are drawing together to form a united force, determined to waste no power by overlapping, or by trying to do in separation what can be done better by co-operation.”

Much yet remains to be accomplished in this country before anything of the kind is possible. But steps are being taken in this direction. Nor are they confined to the Nonconformist side. The Lambeth Conference of 1908 passed the following resolutions:

“Every opportunity should be welcomed of co-operation between members of different communions, in all matters pertaining to the social and moral welfare of the people.” “The members of the Anglican communion should take pains to study the doctrines and position of those who are separated from it, and to promote a cordial mutual understanding; and, as a means



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towards this end, the Conference suggests that private meetings of ministers and laymen of different Christian bodies for common study discussion and prayer should be frequently held in convenient centres."

The policy suggested in these terms is one with which Nonconformists cordially agree, and they are fully prepared to do all that they can to carry it out. They feel that much of the misunderstanding between themselves and the Church of England is due to culpable ignorance on both sides. Probably the only step towards unity which is at the present moment practical is the cultivation of better relations through social intercourse which will lead to better knowledge and to a wider sympathy. Free Churchmen are now not only ready but anxious to help in any movement which tends in this direction.

It is a matter of common knowledge that during the past ten years Nonconformity has experienced something like a theological crisis, or has been troubled by serious theological unrest. As yet it is too early to estimate the results of this in any final way, but something may be said as to the general trend of thought in the Free Churches and as to the gains and losses which the period of strife has brought. There has been on every side a welcome broadening of the outlook and an increase of interest in those questions which are fundamental to the Christian faith. But as yet the advance is neither uniform nor regular. On the right wing there are many who cling somewhat timidly and pathetically to the time honoured formulas of the older Evangelical faith, and who fear any intellectual change as tending to endanger the Ark of the Covenant. There is also a busy left wing consisting of those who fail to distinguish between liberty and licence, and who welcome every innovation if only it is sufficiently startling. At present these men are much concerned with denying the historicity of the Christian records and of the Person of Jesus Christ. The theories of Kalthoff and Drews, discredited in the



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land of their birth, find at their hands a ready and very uncritical welcome, and are dressed up again for the English public. These two groups, however, are quite insignificant both in numbers and influence beside the great mass of intelligent opinion in the Free Churches. This is much less conservative than it was and is prepared to receive new light from any reasonable quarter, but it is not yet either homogeneous or sure of its own mind. Theological discussion centres round the three leading questions of Authority, the Person of Christ, and Miracles. It is too early as yet to say that any solution has been reached, but there is a decided trend of opinion to certain positive and constructive ends.

On the question of Authority there is no doubt that the old Protestant belief in the infallible Book is being gradually abandoned. The Bible is regarded as containing the word of God, but that word does not consist in its own *ipse dixit*, but has to be discovered and authenticated by the Spirit of God speaking through it to the waiting and receptive soul. It is God Himself who is the final authority and His living word, accepted by the reason and confirmed in the experience of the Christian community, is the norm both for faith and life. As the soul and centre of Christian experience is the redemptive activity of God in Jesus Christ, so it is in the redemptive act that God becomes authenticated to man. Here is that something given from which start both man's knowledge of God and his salvation by God. The point of interest, however, for our present discussion is not so much the familiar speculation as to the nature of religious authority as the fact that Churches of the most individualistic and Protestant type are feeling keenly the need for some authority outside their own subjective experience. With all their love for liberty, they are well aware of the fact that it is in obedience that the Christian life finds its full development. And the less they are able to trust in the human institutions of Church, Book, Law, or Priest,

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the more do they feel themselves to be driven back upon that which is greater than all these things and which alone is high enough and wide enough to give scope and range to the spiritual life. Only God Himself revealed by His grace and discovered in salvation is sufficient for these things.

As regards the Person of Christ there is no doubt that the general body of opinion within the Free Churches, while departing in some measure from the terminology of the ancient confessions, is yet true to the Christian position on the whole. Though it is recognized that the Jesus of history cannot be conceived or described with all the fulness that once seemed possible, and that criticism of the records must be allowed to have its perfect work, there is no disposition whatever to be content with a merely humanitarian Christ. His divinity is asserted, not merely on metaphysical grounds in the first instance, but for moral reasons and in psychological terms. He is regarded as having for men the religious value of God in virtue of the work He has accomplished in history and in and through His followers. His claims are verified because He still produces the same results wherever faith and devotion suffer Him to do so. For men He becomes the way to the Father as certifying to them in in His own Person the grace and saving power which they need. On their experience of this they rest as the sufficient guarantee of His trustworthiness. The Christology which has yet to be built upon such foundations as these may lack something of the exactness and dogmatic rigour of the older forms, but it will be at least more pertinent to the mentality and moral requirements of the modern world, and is at the same time verifiable in experience in a way that was hardly possible with that of the older and more metaphysical type. The modern man is learning to test the claims of Jesus Christ, not by reference to ancient formulas, but by the practical results of faith and obedience. In his own life he can find confirmation of the familiar words:

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"I say the acknowledgment of God in Christ  
Accepted by the reason, solves for thee  
All problems in the earth and out of it:  
And hath so far advanced thee to be wise."

With regard to miracles the process of readjustment is by no means yet complete. Men are profoundly conscious of the change which has been brought about by the sense of the uniformity of nature and the reign of law. They have also exchanged the older quasi-deistic view of God for one which takes account of His immanence as well as His transcendence. And the result is the abandonment of the view of miracle which regards it as an interference with or breach of natural law, and the tendency to subsume everything stated in terms of the miraculous under a wider conception of the universe and of law itself. So far from shutting out the direct action of God, this view of the matter would find for such action both a reason and a sphere. As a recent writer has said:

"In the spiritual realm there is much which leads us to suppose that we have to reckon with two systems—one which is based on the general idea of natural causation, and another which, crossing and interpenetrating it, introduces fresh powers, makes new departures, and works for larger results. The making of man is very credibly conceived as a meeting-place at which the forces of a higher spiritual world were asserted at the heart of an ordered terrestrial process, and a spiritual being was created by God after His own image."

No doubt all accounts of individual miracles must be tested by the usual canons of historical credibility. But this wider conception of the Universe as including the spiritual within and above the material makes it no longer possible to start investigation with the *a priori* judgment that "miracles do not happen."

On all these matters, therefore, it may be claimed for the great bulk of the Free Churches that they stand for theological progress, and for the interpretation of the Christian faith in terms of modern thought. So much at least their traditional love of freedom would require. But they still need to use more fully the freedom which

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they have so hardly won. Their danger is lest they should sink into lethargy and intellectual indolence, now that they have no longer to fight for very existence. It is open to them to carve out a church system and a form of worship which shall suit their genius better than anything which has yet been achieved. And they need also to realize that they have their peculiar contribution to make to modern theology. For this task they have a real opportunity and certain marked qualifications. Their traditional belief in the work of the Spirit of God in and with the Church, and the importance they attach to Christian experience, give them a real vantage ground for the work of theological reconstruction. If they can so accomplish it as to answer the deepest religious instincts of men, as well as their intellectual requirements, they will render a very real and much needed service.

# Methodism in the Catholic Unity

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In these first issues of *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY* it is our privilege to speak in turn as at a Round Table of representatives from all communities of those who profess and call themselves Christians. Something more solid than Disraeli's "solid piece of furniture" keeps us from flying at one another, if we wanted to do so; for we are severed by the whole breadth of the globe from those who might take umbrage at our words. I am tempted to think, however, that there is a more creditable reason for our expectation of a calm and sympathetic hearing as we successively endeavour to expound the principles of the Churches to which we owe allegiance. The old isolation of the Churches is rapidly breaking down, and a new ideal is coming into sight. Whither it will ultimately lead us, it is premature to guess. Enough at present to record with great thankfulness that in England—of which alone I speak—there has been a very marked growth of intercommunion within the experience of men who began adult life some thirty years ago. We were mostly within our own ring fences then, and knowledge of our neighbours was not very much encouraged. It was decidedly easier to form healthily emphatic opinions of them without such knowledge, which might even prove embarrassing. Now, although the ring fences are still there, a great many people within them are venturing to look over and pass the



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time of day with their neighbours. Unsuspected virtues are in process of recognition among people of different camps from our own. Naturally, such latitudinarianism is not universally approved, and there are still those who walk sternly in the old paths. I heard of one such devotee lately, who absolutely refused to address a gathering in which there would be a large number of young men bearing the wrong ecclesiastical label. He was asked how he would get on with such people in heaven; to which he replied with firmness that he would as soon expect to see condemned criminals there. I mention this robust survival just because he is *not* typical, even if we do meet with a good many who hold with him in principle, but with illogical loopholes whereby the invincible ignorance of those who differ from them is piously hoped to afford a possibility of salvation. Generally, however, I find a very striking tendency towards mixing on friendly and even brotherly terms, without sacrifice of conviction on either side. One conspicuous consequence is that men who used to dream of union among the Churches, and mean by it the absorption of others within their own community, are now beginning to see that such union will not come to pass. And without perhaps consciously framing the phrase, they are coming towards a working policy which some of us think to be far better. The omens point unmistakably towards Federation among the Churches, the accomplishment of which may well bring union in its train some day—to a certain extent. To which point we will return.

This seemingly irrelevant preface is intended to indicate my purpose in attempting to sketch what I conceive to be the present position of my own Church in the religious world of England, and the contribution it can offer to the common store. I shall limit my survey to Wesleyan Methodism. Surprise may be felt among outsiders that I should not attempt to widen my subject, and speak for Methodism as a whole. The reason is

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worth explaining, for it is characteristic of a situation that must be taken in by all who would understand the conditions of religious life in this country. We are inheriting a legacy from what may be called a fissiparous period of Church development. The younger members of the Methodist family in England are the products of an age in which to make a new Church was as easy as for a gardener to make two worms out of one, by putting his spade through it. A fair proportion of the real or imaginary denominations which for some years used to adorn a certain page of *Whitaker's Almanack*, presumably dated from this era. I should hardly except the Church of England from the operation of what seems to have been a general law. For although the outward unity of that Church was maintained throughout the period referred to, its internal unity was obviously shattered by the Oxford Movement. A Free Churchman, finding himself differing from other Free Churchmen on points of principle a tithe as important as those which separated Tractarian and Evangelical, would as a matter of course join another communion, or if he could not find one to his mind, endeavour to form a new one with those who felt with him. We have no glamour of antiquity to produce in us any extravagant attachment to a particular Church order. Our theory of the Church, moreover, makes organization a matter of expediency and efficiency, and only of principle in certain very broad aspects which are not much concerned by the differences between one Free Church and another. To this period of easy division has now succeeded a period of fusion; but it is easier to divide than to reunite. In the town of some 20,000 inhabitants in which I happen to be writing this part of my paper, there are three denominations of Methodists represented. It means of course much overlapping and waste of energy; and the waste is far more flagrant in hundreds of little villages where rival Methodist chapels preserve the memory of schisms the very cause of which is wholly un-

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known to the grandchildren of doughty combatants in an earlier day. Meanwhile there the chapels are, and their congregations have grown up in a separate existence, each with an *ethos* of its own that forms a subtle but very real barrier against union. Yet the spirit of unity is growing. The fusion of three small Methodist bodies into the United Methodist Church reduces the multiplicity of British Methodism to three large communions—the Wesleyan Methodist, with over half a million church members, and the Primitive Methodist and United Methodist Churches, which have nearly four-fifths of this total between them, the former with slightly the larger share. All the Methodist Churches unite for an Ecumenical Conference every ten years, alternately east and west of the Atlantic; and we have a Concerted Action Committee on this side to further such united work as may be practicable. But the wider unity of the Free Church Council is a more effective meeting-ground, at any rate for the majority of Churches outside the Establishment. Wesleyan Methodism, the largest of them all numerically, is I must confess too self-contained to be very largely touched by this great movement. It will be seen that Methodist church members amount to about two per cent. of the population of Great Britain: were regular worshippers added, this proportion would naturally have to be multiplied considerably. Without rivalling the numerical prominence which belongs to Methodism in the West, it is clear that the Churches that owe their original impulse to John Wesley have in this country an extremely strong position among Christian communities. It is of course mostly in the middle class and among skilled artisans that Methodism finds its adherents; but a very large number of wealthy and well-to-do people belong to us, and in Parliament, in the professions and at the Universities we are strongly represented.

I shall not further attempt to sketch the external position of Methodism in English life, but turn at once to the

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main purpose of this paper. What does Methodism represent among the religious forces of the day; and what contribution can she offer to the syntheses that may be coming?

In stating at the outset that Methodism is pre-eminently Protestant I should like to disclaim on my own account the purely polemic suggestion that the words might bear. I believe heartily in a natural dichotomy which ranges religious men by force of temperament on one of two sides in a conflict likely to be perennial. That the element of conflict will be progressively reduced is my own earnest hope, as men come to see more clearly that the division is one essentially comparable with that which cuts across all our thinking, in politics and learning as well as in religion. The rival watchwords of caution and progress, conservatism and liberalism, the past and the future, order and freedom, will continue to be shouted by intolerant partisans as if they were mutually exclusive; but the wise will increasingly see that they are necessary complements, and that we can never wish to banish either temperament from our national and ecclesiastical life. It is quite possible to recognize this and yet hold with intense conviction the views of Truth to which our own thinking and experience have led us. Compromise between the great rival ideals is seldom practicable. We may be partisans of gas as against electric lighting, and yet frankly allow that the other illuminant has considerable advantages. Such open-mindedness will hardly induce us to insist on introducing a gaspipe into the electric bulb, to get the advantages of both. When men are so tolerant as to think that one doctrine is just as good as another, tolerance becomes the enemy of conviction, and of all the forces that make for sincerity and earnestness. Better far the conscientious bigot than the man who thus concludes that it matters very little what a man believes. The true tolerance, which matures so slowly just because it is so rare and delicate a fruit of the purest



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Christian spirit, will lead men to seek in the faith of other sincere men those elements which they can accept and believe with all their soul. In finding elements from which they differ, they will try to give them a sympathetic and earnest consideration; and in rejecting them they will not allow them to affect any more than their due proportion of the whole field of belief and practice. But if my difference from a convinced High Anglican only proves to touch one page out of ten in a manual of Christian doctrine which he and I are jointly writing for the instruction of Hindus or Buddhists, we are neither of us to say that therefore our difference is trifling and should be ignored. Loyalty to Truth forbids us to call any such differences trifling. But we must be loyal to Love at the same time, and to the highest interests of the Kingdom of God. Where we cannot co-operate, we must differ and plead with deep conviction for our own belief. Only let us see to it that if the difference affects only ten per cent. of our creed we do not spend ninety per cent. of our energy upon it. And where, as in the mission field, the choice is between someone else's view of Christianity and no Christianity at all, let us be ready to apportion carefully our several spheres and work in them by ourselves. The Master will have a stern rebuke for us if we forbid one who casts out devils in His Name, merely because though he follows Him he does not follow Him in our company.

I am afraid these general remarks on Tolerance will seem to be of the nature of truism—though, indeed, the preaching of truisms, in such a way as to make men realize that after all they are true, seems to me one of the primary needs of our novelty-hunting age. But I dwell on the subject because it fitly introduces what I take to be central in the attitude of my own Church towards other Churches in the Catholic Unity. Within the memory of men still living, Wesleyan Methodism was predominantly Conservative in politics and made a point of repudiating "Dissent." The Prayerbook was used in



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morning worship in a very large number of our chapels; and, speaking generally, our Church stood nearer to the Church of England than it did to other Methodist communities, not to speak of the older Dissenting Churches. The Oxford Movement has changed all that. During the past two generations we have seen the clergy of the Church of England, including its ablest leaders and the mass of the rank and file, pass over the great dividing line of Christendom. From our Protestant Catholic point of view, the presentation of the Faith in a vast number of Anglican churches does not differ materially from the Roman Catholic presentation: the differences, though not unimportant, do not concern anything that appeals to us. The natural result is that we have been drawn nearer to the other Free Churches, whose affinity to us in the doctrine of the Ministry and the Sacraments is obvious and close. But although we have thus been detached from the link of sentiment which was forged by our history, we have in a very real sense preserved our traditional attitude. There has been no weakening of the instinct which forbids our taking any corporate action in regard to Disestablishment, or other subjects involving us in politics. Individually, our views on such subjects will not differ very much from those prevailing in other Free Churches—though the minority of Conservatives among us is decidedly larger than with them—but there is a strong feeling against our ministers' engaging in these controversies, even outside the pulpit, and they are never allowed to find an entrance into our legislative assembly, the Annual Conference.

The general recognition of the fact that by tradition and instinct the largest of all the Free Churches holds a mediating position in English denominational life, might make no small difference to the friendly settlement of questions that still burn among us. Mere bigots of course will continue to include us in the indiscriminate condemnation that they mete out to all who cannot join

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their particular fellowship. Bitterness will continue to provoke bitterness, and individuals on our side may still be found retaliating with language as indefensible as the clerical spleen which sometimes provides copy for the secular press. I think I may confidently claim for Wesleyan Methodism that its official attitude, and the individual attitude of the vast majority of its members, is as loyal as ever to its Founder's motto—"I desire an offensive and defensive alliance with every true soldier of Jesus Christ." We recognize vividly that the hostility of large and influential sections of English thought, and the far more serious apathy of the masses of the people, constitute a peril to Christianity which calls peremptorily for a closing up of our ranks. We do not ask our Anglican allies to sacrifice any principle that is dear to them. If the advanced Ritualist will only look about him, he will find that the opposition to his ritualism, as such, is far stronger within his own Church than outside. We of course could not worship where the service is attended with ceremonial that is to us quite meaningless, or charged with meaning that we wholly repudiate. But if our fellow-Christians find in such ritual a means of grace that brings them near to God, I would not deprive them of it. Cannot they in their turn allow that there must naturally be diversity of operations, though the Spirit is one? They find the Real Presence at the altar, where vestments of mystic significance and the priestly ministry of a celebrant bring to their souls the hallowed associations of the past. I look on, rejoicing that they have found that Presence which transforms all life, and little disposed to quarrel with the means, if proved in experience effective. Does it really involve unfaithfulness to their own doctrine if they admit that I also may have found the Real Presence, in a simple prayer-meeting, or listening to a preacher who can tell of the deep things of God? I have no wish to proselytize them: the effort may wait until we have brought into some

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form of living Christianity the masses of pagans outside. But I plead with them by the evidence that convinced Peter's critics when he returned from his irregular fellowship with Cornelius. The Holy Spirit has manifested Himself in our midst as well as in theirs. Wesleyan missionaries took the Gospel to cannibal Fiji. Presbyterian missionaries evangelized the cannibal New Hebrides. Wherein did the "irregular" ministry of John Hunt and John G. Paton differ in its miraculous results from that of Bishop Patterson or Bishop Hannington? And if among the three thousand church members in our Manchester and Salford Wesleyan Mission there are hundreds who were once drunken savages and are now quiet, loving and devout, what but the Real Presence Itself can have worked the transformation?

I rejoice to see increasing evidence that among the most earnest and spiritual of High Churchmen the recognition of these hard facts of experience is making way, rubbing off the angles of their ecclesiastical theory, but not in any way damaging the elements of it which they hold most dear. There are immensely powerful solvents at work today, which are rapidly destroying anti-Christian bigotry among all who have their eyes fixed on the conquest of the world for Christ. The Student Movement showed the way. It owed its birth, if we may select any single cause beyond others, to Moody and Sankey's memorable mission in Cambridge thirty years ago, when I was a freshman there. We who remember that wonderful week can understand best how it would affect the ecclesiastical views of the straitest sectarian. Men who owed their own souls to the Gospel as preached and sung by those American evangelists, laymen whose very denomination no one knew, were not likely to unchurch any communion where that Gospel was fervently held. And ever since then the note of the Student Movement—the most abundantly hopeful phenomenon in the Christian world today—has been one of ready fellowship be-

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tween students of widely different church views, without any weakening of denominational ties. The great World Conference at Edinburgh three years ago was a worthy climax to the work of the movement which had done so much to make it possible. It was a concentration of the fellowship which had long existed among missionaries, forced into closer unity among themselves by the patent fact that they stood for Christ, a tiny band of believers facing a vast heathen population. A unity so largely achieved in the foreign field has been more slowly and yet very really growing at home. We have studied the Scriptures together, and found wonderfully little to differ upon. Forty-three years ago the Revision Companies met at Westminster, and for fifteen years of unremitting toil scholars of every shade of ecclesiastical colour (except Roman Catholics) pursued harmoniously their effort to clothe in English their interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. The same epoch witnessed the abolition of religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge. We reap today the fruits of intimate associations formed in student life. Both the Universities have long had Theological Societies among the older men, where scholars of all Churches meet for the pursuit of learning. The final opening of degrees in divinity closes a long chapter of history, the first pages of which tell how (for example) my own father, Dr. W. F. Moulton, who was born as late as 1835, was debarred a University education altogether because he could not subscribe to the tests. Meanwhile in the younger Universities we are showing how Theology unites. In Manchester both the Professors who take New Testament subjects happen just now to be Methodists. Yet we have had Anglican students and Anglican clergymen in our classes for years, and I never heard that any one of them came out a worse Churchman than he went in. We should certainly be very much concerned if any such unintended result of our teaching were brought home to us!



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I have been dwelling so long on the favourite theme of the Catholic Unity that I have left little space for dealing with the place of Methodism therein. I have at any rate shown that the fundamental principles of Methodism predispose my own Church to take a willing part in this federating movement. Perhaps I ought to add in all candour that our friends in the Church of England who are eager for Home Reunion must not waste their energy in these days on schemes of outward union. Such appeals will produce absolutely no response on our side. We do not want the Church of England to spoil its own church machinery in order to accommodate some features of ours. And we know by experience that our own machinery works exceedingly well for the tasks which we believe God has committed to us. Why should we scrap it, merely to be brought into external union with a great many men whose honest convictions are at war with the Protestantism we hold dear? We can be much more friendly from outside than if we simply came in to increase the friction already existing between High and Low. My own dream would be that of a great Federation like that of the Free Church Council, but including all forms of British Christianity, meeting together to see how far we can co-operate, and to narrow down to definite and well-understood issues the subjects on which we must disagree. I may not live to see it, but I pray God that my children may.

If in closing I try to delineate the contribution that Methodism can offer to a great united movement of the Churches towards the coming conquest, I must disclaim any suggestion that we hold a monopoly in the same. All truly living Churches must necessarily possess these treasures. It is only a matter of emphasis. And with us the emphasis is still on the doctrine of Conversion: it was fitting that that great subject should occupy the Methodist contribution to the first issue of this review.<sup>1</sup> We

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<sup>1</sup>*The Significance of Conversion in the Thinking of Today*, by Bishop McConnell. pp. 126-152.



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should be forced to drop the name of Wesley if we were unfaithful to that ideal. The spiritual awakening of the degraded and the lost, at home and in heathen lands, has always been our special ambition, and we are striving for it today. The preaching of the Gospel to "them that are without" is the object of our great town Missions—to the oldest and largest of which I was referring lately—and of our work in non-Christian lands, the record of which through a century is filling our thoughts peculiarly this year. The doctrine does not, to my thinking at least, involve a demand that every soul must come to God by the same path. It is only that the need and the promise of salvation through the vision of Christ fills our spiritual horizon and forms the inspiration of our most successful work. Then there comes the doctrine of Experience—that for every man the greatest of all reasons for believing is his own power to say, "Once I was blind, but now I see." With it stands the doctrine of Holiness—the declaration that nothing less than perfect love to God and man can ever satisfy God's claim upon us, and that by His indwelling Spirit men can and must press on towards that perfection here, and not wait for it beyond the grave. These were the three great doctrines that Wesley rediscovered; and it is on the strength of our unwavering hold on them that we remain Wesleyans today. I have spoken of ideals. A loyal Wesleyan will be the first to admit that we fall short of them. Yet they form our supreme ambition, and we know that the Church of Christ as a whole will prosper directly as she realizes and applies them. For they make the whole stability of the Church in its battle with the powers of darkness. The loftiness of her ideal of conduct, the devotion with which she presses home, in act and not in word alone, the love for men which she has learned from her Saviour, will be the one attractive power by which she will win men from darkness into light. The strength of her own conviction that spiritual things are more real than any things

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visible, that whatever changes the growth of knowledge may bring are of no moment to him who realizes God by his own soul's communion, will save the Church from falling or faltering when the forces of denial are all around her. On this Rock Christ built His Church, and the powers of death shall never prevail against her.

# Catholic Privileges

BY WILLIAM HARMAN VAN ALLEN, S.T.D., D.C.L.,  
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One irenic method is, I think, too much neglected in the field of religious disputation: the setting forth of advantages and blessings which are proffered as rightfully a common heritage, to be shared among all bearing the same great Name. To attack others; to exult in our own exclusive possessions; to play condescending host in the Father's House; to proselytize: all those ways are painfully familiar. And though any one of them is better than the careless indifference which sometimes disguises itself under the name of "tolerance," yet we must feel that all are far from the spirit of true brotherhood in Christ.

I purpose, therefore, to set down, in straightforward fashion, what we, Catholic Churchmen of the English Rite, enjoy day by day as Catholic Privileges, believing them to be the lawful inheritance of all the baptized, and bidding our brethren claim their equal share. I write as an adherent of that school of thought which, renewing its youth in the early nineteenth century, has quickened all the activities of the Church of England and her daughter Churches round the world, stimulating their zeal for the spread of God's Kingdom among all sorts and conditions of men. "High Churchmen," we are called, as thinking highly of the Church and lowly of ourselves; "Sacramentalists," as holding to the Incarnation and to the grace which flows from Him Who is the Word-Made-Flesh henceforth and forever; "Ritualists," as striving for the beauty of holiness according to the

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pattern shown on the Mount. But we prefer to be styled Catholics (English, American, Scottish, Canadian), bearing in mind the word of a saint of old, "Christian is my name, Catholic is my surname."

First of all, we know that Christianity is a historic religion, centering in a historical Character; and we rejoice in the consciousness of our historic continuity with the Church of the Upper Room at Jerusalem:

"What is excellent,  
As God lives, is permanent."

And we exult that we take our rightful place in that august and ancient fellowship of those who have continued steadfastly in the Apostles' Doctrine and Fellowship, in the Breaking of Bread, and in the Prayers, from Pentecost until now.

"Crowns and thrones may perish,  
Kingdoms rise and wane;  
But the Church of Jesus  
Constant will remain.  
Gates of hell can never  
'Gainst that Church prevail;  
We have Christ's own promise,  
And that can not fail."

So we sing; and as our imagination sees the long procession of our fellow-citizens in that visible, historic Church, our hearts thrill and are enlarged. All the glories of the Christian past are ours by inheritance. We read of the great persecutions: those who suffered all tortures rather than deny their Lord and God were our spiritual forebears, and call to us, across the ages, to witness the same good confession, albeit in another arena. We study the records of the great Councils, and find the truths they attested, the symbols they set forth, on our lips day by day, as we proclaim Jesus to be true God, perfect Man, indivisibly one Person, unconfusedly two Natures. For us it is no dry history of unprofitable controversy over metaphysics, that roll adorned with the bright names of Athanasius and Cyril and the other Champions of the

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Faith: we see there consecrated Intellect safeguarding revealed Truth, and expounding its necessary implications. And in the most solemn hour of our worship, we rehearse the Creed of Nicæa, knowing Whom we have believed, and holding fast to the form of sound words which the Spirit-filled Body transmits from generation to generation.

The great missionaries of early ages move us to emulation. Grateful for every voice that has preached Jesus and the Resurrection to the peoples walking in darkness, we recall Gregory the Illuminator, Patrick, Aidan, Augustine of Canterbury, Columba, Boniface, Willibrord, Methodius and scores of apostolic men who carried enlightenment to our ancestors according to the flesh. Christian missions did not begin a bare century ago; and in our glad recollection of those heralds of the Kingdom, we are helped to overcome the narrow prejudices of race and tongue and local tradition, and to know our place in a world-wide Society where neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman, has any pre-eminence, but Christ is All, and in all. This consciousness of Catholicity enables us, despite the unhappy divisions which wound the Body of Christ, to realize more of the deep inner Unity, by reason of which not a bone of Him is broken; and we feel ourselves at home in our Father's House, by our Mother's knee, whether on the banks of the Neva or of the Tiber, on Montmartre or on Mount Athos.

This unity is expressed in Doctrine, Worship, and Sacraments, the threefold cord of the Apostolic Ministry, continuing unbroken through the centuries, preserving the identity of all. Of Doctrine first.

We strive towards the ideal set forth in the admirable maxim so often quoted: "Oneness in essentials, freedom in non-essentials, love in all things." And if there is still controversy as to what is or is not essential, if sometimes that controversy seems to chill the ardour of love, yet we do hold as one man to the Faith once for all deliv-



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ered, and as unquestionably are at liberty to maintain what opinions commend themselves to us beyond that, men of the most divergent views as to non-essentials living and working harmoniously side by side. The Catholic Churchman recognizes the great truths of the Christian Creed as unchangeable, since they rest upon historic fact. He distinguishes sharply between those unchanging truths, and theological systems which pass, alter, are supplanted, or translated, as men learn to express themselves in other words. It is a great blessing, in an age when to some thinkers all seems in perpetual flux, to have a profession of Faith which we may hold fast without wavering, knowing how faithful He is Who promised to be with His Church to the end of the world, and to guide it into all truth. But it is much to feel that Faith a living power, centering in a living Lord, not as a stereotyped group of formulas, imposed by external authority. And we praise God because we find joy and peace in believing.

Worship next. And here, though our Christian brethren of many names are more and more influenced by our example, we are still reproached as "formalists," or accused of neglecting vital religion for externals,—of being in a word, "mere ritualists." Well, we confess that we fall short of perfection; and we recognize a very real danger of putting the shadow for the substance. But, for human beings on earth, forms are absolutely essential; and the question is, which forms are better, those transmitted from primitive ages, enriched with sacred associations, significant, and modelled after the divinely given pattern which Moses received, and which St. John beheld in his Apocalypse-vision; or those newly devised by men inexperienced, if not actually invented at the moment. *Dead formalism* is hateful, whether it show itself in raiment of needlework or clad in sombre black; but the forms which thrill with loving reverence for God, His Sanctuary, and His Service, are not dead.

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So, indeed, one of our own scholar-saints has sung:

"When to Thy beloved on Patmos  
Through the open door of Heaven,  
Visions of the perfect worship,  
Saviour, by Thy love were given;  
Surely there were truth and spirit,  
Surely there a pattern shown  
How Thy Church should do her service,  
When she came before the throne.

O the censer-bearing Elders,  
Crowned with gold and robed in white!  
O the living creatures' anthem  
Never resting day or night!  
And the thousand choirs of Angels,  
With their voices like the sea,  
Singing praise to God the Father,  
And, O Victim Lamb, to Thee!

Lord, bring home the glorious lesson  
To their hearts who strangely deem  
That an unmajestic worship  
Doth Thy majesty beseech;  
Show them more of Thy dear Presence;  
Let them, let them learn to know  
That our King is throned among us,  
And His Church is Heaven below.

Then shall Faith read off the meaning  
Of each stately-ordered rite;  
Dull surprise and hard resistance  
Turn to awe and full delight.  
They shall learn how sacred splendour  
Shadows forth the pomps above;  
How the glory of Thy altars  
Is the homage of our love.

'Tis for Thee we bid the frontal  
Its embroidered wealth unfold;  
'Tis for Thee we deck the reredos  
With the colours and the gold;  
Thine the floral glow and fragrance,  
Thine the vesture's fair array,  
Thine the starry lights that glitter  
Where Thou dost Thy Light display.

'Tis to Thee the chant is lifted,  
'Tis to Thee the heads are bowed;  
Far less deep was Israel's rapture  
When the glory filled the cloud.

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O`our`own true`God`Incarnate,  
What should Christian Ritual be  
But a voice to utter somewhat  
Of our joy and pride in Thee?

What but this? Yet, since corruption  
Mars too oft our holiest things,  
In the form preserve the spirit,  
Give the worship angel-wings;  
Till we gain Thine own high Temple,  
Where no tainting breath may come,  
And whate'er is good and beauteous  
Finds with Thee a perfect home."

—(CANON W. BRIGHT, D.D.)

To whatever age we assign the liturgical orderings of the Pentateuch, certain salient features are observed. The worship of the Old Covenant made use of Incense, Lights, Vestments, Music and Symbolical Gestures, all gathered round a Sacrificial Act; and all those appear in the Revelation of St. John. When the Christian Church came out of the shadows of persecution and the *disciplina arcani*, she adorned and beautified her services in like manner, knowing that all these accessories were Scriptural and pertaining to the New Testament as to the Old. And the exquisite upsoaring cadences of her Liturgy worthily set forth in words what the glory and beauty of the sanctuary express visibly. I cannot forbear quoting a passage from a great American critic, Edmund Clarence Stedman, in his *Nature of Poetry*, pp. 281-3:

"Upon its literary and constructive side, I regard the venerable Liturgy of the historic Christian Church as one of the few world-poems, the poems universal. I care not which of its rituals you follow, the Oriental, the Alexandrian, the Latin or the Anglican. The latter, that of the Episcopal Prayer-Book, is a version familiar to you of what seems to me the most wonderful symphonic idealization of human faith,—certainly the most inclusive, blending in harmonic succession all the cries and longings of the universal human heart invoking a paternal Creator. . . . I have in mind its human quality; the mystic tide of human hope, imagination, prayer, sorrows, and passionate expression, upon which it bears the worshipper along, and wherewith it has sustained men's souls with conceptions of Deity and immortality through hundreds, yes, thousands of undoubting years. . . . It has been a growth, an exhalation, an apocalyptic cloud arisen, with the prayer of the saints, from the climes of the Hebrew, the Greek, the Roman, the Goth, to spread

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in time over half the world. It is the voice of human brotherhood, the blended voice of rich and poor, old and young, the wise and the simple, the statesman and the clown; the brotherhood of an age which, knowing little, comprehending little, could have no refuge save trust in the oracles through which a just and merciful Protector, a pervading Spirit, a living Mediator and Consoler, had been revealed. . . . Its prayers are not only for all sorts and conditions of men, but for every stress of life in which mankind must feel in common,—in the household, or isolated, or in tribal and national effort, and in calamity and repentance and thanksgiving. Its wisdom is forever old and perpetually new; its calendar celebrates all seasons of the rolling year; its narrative is of the simplest, the most pathetic, the most rapturous and the most ennobling life the world has known. There is no malefactor so wretched, no just man so perfect, as not to find his hope, his consolation, his lesson, in this poem of poems. I have called it lyrical; it is dramatic in structure and effect; it is an epic of the age of faith; but in fact, as a piece of inclusive literature, it has no counterpart and can have no successor.”

This matchless drama of worship, in which we have our daily part, is more than an inspired poem; it is the setting of that solemn Act which Our Lord ordained when, in the night in which He was betrayed, He took Bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave, saying, “This is My Body Which is given for you; do this in remembrance of Me.” The unity of the Church is a Sacramental Unity: “We who are many are one Bread, one Body; for we all partake of the one Bread.” And even as our Churches are chiefly shelters for the Altar, so the splendour of the sanctuary is not for man, but for the Lord God, dwelling among us in the Christian Shekinah, the Holy Eucharist. We seek the House of God, knowing that in this place God gives peace by the presence of the Prince of Peace. Daily is the Bread from Heaven broken; daily the One All-Sufficient Sacrifice of Calvary is re-presented, as we do show the Lord’s death till He come. And at least for a little while we are hidden in God’s Tabernacle from the strife of tongues, when we come to appear before the Presence of God our Saviour in the Blessed Sacrament of His Love. Disputations about Eucharistic doctrine avail little, as compared with the invitation, “O taste and see how gracious the Lord is!” and the response, “I will receive the Cup of Salvation and call upon the name of the Lord!”

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But the very wonder of God's love in the Blessed Sacrament, wherein Christ gives us His Flesh to eat and His Blood to drink, so that, eating Him, we live by Him, makes us more grateful for the other channels of grace He has established. Receiving the Washing of Regeneration in Holy Baptism, and the gift of the Holy Ghost by the putting on of Apostolic hands in Confirmation, we are thenceforward more keenly conscious of the sinfulness of our sins. The burden of them is intolerable. But our Lord's goodness has made provision for our need, in the gracious Ministry of Absolution, so that, when we confess our sins, He is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

It is a strangely typical working of the Adversary, that whereby he has stirred up so many good Christian folk to hostility against this ministration, which he dreads so much. We who go to confession voluntarily, regularly, and frequently, know that the practice is of the greatest aid in uprooting habitual sin, in fortifying the soul against temptation, and in strengthening character. No one is really competent to form an opinion about sacramental confession who has never profited by it. That it can be abused is undeniable: morbid introspection on one side, morbid curiosity on the other, can pervert it; used as of compulsion, it may become perfunctory. But what holy ordinance can not be polluted or misused by human folly and wickedness?

Our Lord Jesus Christ left power in His Church to forgive sin, that is certain; that power was specifically committed to those who are ministers of reconciliation: "Receive ye the Holy Spirit. Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained,"—that wonderful authorization was not spoken idly or rhetorically by the Risen Lord. Confession of sins as a condition necessarily precedent to pardon is universally recognized as part of the Christian order, though men differ as to how that confession shall



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be made. "Confess your sins one to another" is a positive precept, showing that secret acknowledgment of one's wickedness before God (Who knows it already) is not enough; and the history of Church discipline gives us the development of voluntary auricular confession to the ambassador of Christ, out of the old public confession and penance before the congregation. In any case, it is absolution that is desired; and surely, since mere men may say, "I baptize thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," they may also say (if they have been so empowered), "I absolve thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

Against rooted prejudice, all argument fails, even that from experience. But we have proved the incalculable value of sacramental confession, in preparing children before their Confirmation, to face the world's onslaughts; in lancing old sores encysted and almost forgotten; in washing out festering wounds; in banishing despair; and in stimulating the enfranchised will. A poor Iroquois woman said once to a mission priest I knew, "O Father, if only I had been brought to confession in my childhood like my little daughter, what a different life I should have led! But I had no one to tell me." Secret sins of every sort, sins like drug-addictions and intemperance, where body and spirit alike are injured, and long established faults of temperament and character, yield to confession and consequent penance, counsel and absolution, even when the case seemed hopeless. We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen; and there is not a preacher of the Gospel today who does not often feel the need of some such remedy, even though he has no absolution in God's name to pronounce.

It is sometimes alleged that the use of confession weakens character. This may be true of direction, an altogether different matter. But he would be a bold man who should reproach us all that seek the assurance of pardon, with infirmity of spirit or purpose. As well say the sick

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man is imbecile because, following the Bible's command, he gives place to the physician! Sin is a disease; and every true minister of Christ is a physician of souls, trained to advise, and armed with an unfailing remedy. I heard an American Bishop say once, that in his rural diocese one-seventh of the people were Roman Catholics, one-sixth belonged to all other Christian bodies, and the rest had no religious connection. Asked for the reason, he answered, "Multitudes of them are tainted with drink and impurity, and with the diseases consequent upon these vices, and they have too much respect for religion to profess it so long as they carry that load of guilt. What they need is the preaching of confession by an absolving Church; but prejudice is so violent that I do not know who will dare proclaim that message." We shall never outgrow that need on earth! Would that all the leaders of our Israel might say, with Joshua, to every sinner, "My son, give, I pray thee, glory to Jehovah the God of Israel, and make confession unto Him, and tell me now what thou hast done, hide it not from me."

All these privileges are ours, to profit by when we will. They are not burdensome requirements laid upon us, a price exacted if we would be safe. We are freeborn into that blessed liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and they are part of our birthright. And the Apostolical Succession is no magic of transmission, no guaranty of the most ancient or the best form of Church Government, but the divinely appointed assurance that these blessings come to us, not because of the personal worth of those who minister them, but from the great High Priest, the true Priest, Who sends His Bishops and Priests and Deacons even as His Father sent Him. There is a false sacerdotalism, wherein a man arrogates to himself spiritual functions because of what he is, or has, or thinks he has: but the true sacerdotalism humbles the individual altogether when it clothes him with the character of his office.

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It is in the Kingdom that we enjoy our liberty; not in the isolation of individualism, nor in self-constituted groups of the like-minded, but in a City set on a hill, the City which hath for foundations the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Cornerstone. It is therefore liberty under law. And because it is the Kingdom, we acknowledge that its authority and honour and power are from above, not from below. But we find, further, that on its human side the Church has thrilled responsive to the spirit of Democracy chiefly as her children have been taught thus to think of her. Before the Catholic Revival began, with Keble's great assize sermon eighty years ago, English Churchmen had been too much content to rely upon the prestige of "the Establishment," even as in America a respectable Toryism too often characterized the users of the Prayer-book. "In the mysterious Providence of God the Protestant Episcopal Church has been appointed to preach the Gospel to the rich," a priest declared years ago, nor realized what condemnation his dreadful boast involved. Pew-doors shut out the poor; dreary services in unlovely sanctuaries, closed most of the week, were the rule; and the Church's duty to the ignorant, the degraded, the outcast, was largely left undone, under the curse of a fatal respectability. Then, on both sides the Atlantic, came the larger realization of that duty. Churches rose as if by enchantment in the dreariest slums, open day and night, adorned with all the treasures of reverent and believing Art, centres of benediction and beauty. Brotherhoods and sisterhoods were founded, dedicated to service under the threefold Vow, who sought the lost sheep unwearyingly, and set a pattern of self-denial worthy the primitive ages. Coming into direct contact with pauperism and widespread degradation, the social aspects of Christianity were studied in the light of the knowledge that salvation is a corporate reality; and men found that the Ancient Fathers of the Church had set forth Social

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Righteousness in terms startlingly appropriate to modern conditions, and that the Householder had in His Treasury things new and old, for all social needs. So, as of old, the poor had the Gospel preached unto them in all its fulness. Free and open churches, daily services, wholesome fraternity, they are the rule; and we say, "What hath God wrought!" as we see consecrated rich men who know that the silver is God's and the gold is God's, and that they are only His stewards; consecrated poor men who embrace poverty as their Bride, that they may be nearer like their afflicted brethren, renouncing all hope of earthly treasures that they may have treasure laid up in Heaven; consecrated scholars, who devote their best thought to accomplishing the Will of the Incarnate Wisdom; honourable women, holy and beloved, who never weary in good works of self-sacrifice; Bishops who are worthy successors of the Church's first Chief Pastors, not in order and office only, but in loving humility and tender care for the weak and neglected sheep of their flock; Priests whose voice is as it were the trumpet of God talking with men, whose procession encircles the citadel of greed and oppression unwavering, confident that the walls will totter and tumble in God's good time; Deacons who purchase to themselves a good degree in that they minister to the nobles of the City of God, the poorest of the poor; Virgins and Widows who clothe themselves with charity in its fullest sense, that so the mind of Christ may be supreme in them.

Not that all this is the work of one school, or the exclusive glory of one Communion; but within the compass of the Prayer-book Church it was the Catholic Churchmen who showed the way; and they have not lapsed into cold indifference or dead routine. We worship Jesus as the Head of the Race, the second Adam, not merely the second Abraham, the Head of the Church; and we can never be content with a narrow ecclesiasticism that shuts out the larger part of mankind and of human inter-



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ests as "secular." The Incarnation has hallowed all common things; and matter is joined to spirit henceforth and forever. But we know that the problems of Society can be solved only as Jesus' Kingship is acknowledged; and we see our work to be the upbuilding here of the Divine Order, the preparation of the Way for the Coming of the Lord.

A sense of historic continuity, and therefore of oneness with the Catholic and Apostolic Church of all the ages and of all lands; orthodoxy in doctrine, coupled with freedom in opinion; splendour and seemliness of worship according to Scriptural standards; the Altar as the throne of Christ's Sacramental Presence, the Christian Mercy-Seat; the right use of confession; and the democratic spirit of universal brotherhood in Christ Jesus; those are characteristics of Catholic Churchmanship. Wherever they appear, in venerable cathedrals or in tiny chapels on the prairie, in academic halls or in missions among savages, there Catholic Privileges are to be found, freely offered by the stewards of a common inheritance.

Neale and Liddon and Benson, Lowder and Mackonochie and Dolling, King and Winnington-Ingram and Gore, Scott Holland and Headlam and Adderley, and ten thousand others of every station, illustrate it. The leper colonies in the Bahamas and in South Africa, the University missions in Zanzibar and India, the native Church of Corea, the Church Settlements in East and North London, are living instances. (If I take English names only, it is not that American examples are wanting.)

And it is because we are conscious of our stewardship that we yearn so passionately for the Reunion of Christendom. We will give up all that is our own to give, if we may but share with our brethren what is entrusted to us for the common use. We know our own piteous shortcomings; but we know too, our ideals, and would make them known. Mr. Harold Begbie (who has



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spoken well of "the Christlessness of bitterness and animosity") writes of us:

"While they should have been seeking and saving the lost, they have been altering the fashions in Church millinery, and composing a new etiquette for the altar. While they should have been turning the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, they have been searching the musty service-books of mediævalism for a new cringe. It is not the Light of the World they make to shine before men, but a forbidden candle on a forsaken altar."

And we, smiling a little at the caricature, sighing a little at the slander, remember Him, Who, when He was reviled, reviled not again, and resolve once more to earn the benediction of those who are reproached for Christ's sake. The faults are in us, not in the Catholic Church: come over and help us realize the vision we see. If we are narrow and intolerant, aid us to grow more sympathetic. But the Way is straight and plain. And it is because we love Jesus Christ, God Incarnate, with a passionate, personal loyalty, that we love so much His Body, His Bride, the Church, which is the Pillar and Ground of the Truth, to which now, as of old, the Lord adds such as should be saved.

# A Forgotten Hero of the Reformation

BY RUFUS M. JONES, A.M., LITT.D.,

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Reformation history has been far too closely confined to a few main highways of thought, and few persons therefore realize how rich in ideas and how complex in typical religious conceptions this spiritual upheaval really was. The types that prevailed and won their way to wide favour have naturally compelled attention and are adequately known. There were, however, very serious and impressive attempts made to give the Reformation a totally different course from the one it finally took in history, and these attempts, defeated by the sweep of the main current, became submerged and their dedicated and heroic leaders became forgotten. Many of these spiritual ventures, which for the moment failed and were submerged, are in striking parallelism with currents of thought today, and our generation can perhaps appreciate at their real worth these solitary souls who were destined to see their cause defeated, to hear their names defamed and to live in jeopardy among the very people whom they most longed to help.

Sebastian Castellio is one of these submerged venturers. While he lived he was so absolutely absorbed in the battle for truth that he took no pains at all to acquaint posterity with the details of his life or to make his name quick and powerful in the ears of men. When he died and laid down the weapons of his spiritual warfare, his pious opponents thanked God for the relief and did what they could to

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consign him to oblivion. But after the long and silent flow of years the world has come up to his position and can appreciate a spirit who was too far in advance of the main line of march to be comprehended in his lifetime. He was born in the little French village of St. Martin du Fresne—not many miles west of Lake Geneva—in the year 1515. The home was pinched with poverty, but somebody in the home or in the village discovered that little Bastian was endowed with unusual gifts and must be given the chance to realize the life which his youth forecast; and that ancient family sacrifice, which has glorified so many homes of poverty, was made here in St. Martin and the boy, possessed with his eager passion for knowledge, was started on his course in the Collège de la Trinité in Lyons. He soon found himself bursting into a new world, the world of classic antiquity which the Humanists were restoring to the youth of that period, and he experienced that emancipating leap of soul and thrill of joy which such a world of beauty can produce upon a lofty spirit that sees and appreciates it. Sometime during the Lyons period he came also under a still greater and more emancipating influence, the divine and simple Christ of the Gospels whom the most serious of the Humanists had rediscovered and to whom Castellio now dedicated the central loyalty of his soul.

At twenty-five years of age, now a splendid classical scholar, radiant with faith and hope and the vision of a new age for humanity which the recovered Gospel was to bring in, Castellio went to Strassburg to share the task of the Reformers and to put his life into the new movement. Calvin, then living in Strassburg, received the brilliant recruit with joy and took him into his own home. When the great Reformer returned to Geneva in 1541 to take up the mighty task of his life, he summoned Castellio to help him and made him Principal of the College of Geneva, which the great Reformer planned to make one of the foremost seats of Greek learning and

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one of the most illuminating centres for the study of the Scriptures. The young man's career seemed assured. He had the friendship of Calvin, he was head of an important institution of learning, the opportunity for creative literary work was opening before him, and he was aspiring soon to fulfil the clearest call of his life—to become a minister of the new Gospel. Just as he was producing his first literary contribution—his *Sacred Dialogues*, a series of vivid scenes out of the Old Testament, told in dialogue fashion, both in Latin and French<sup>1</sup>—an opportunity offered for testing the mettle of his courage. One of those ever-recurrent plagues, that harassed former ages before microbes were discovered, fell upon Geneva. The minister, who had volunteered to give spiritual comfort to those who were suffering with the plague in the hospital, was stricken with the dread disease, and a new volunteer was asked for. The records of the city show that Castellio, though not yet ordained and under no obligation to take such risk, offered himself for the hazardous service. The ordination through human hands, was, however, never to come to him and a harder test of courage than the plague was before him. In the course of his studies he found himself compelled to take the position that the *Song of Solomon* was an ancient love poem and that the traditional interpretation of it as a revelation of the true relation between Christ and the Church was a strained and unnatural interpretation. This seemed to Calvin a dangerous challenge to a long-standing and comfortable tradition of the Church and he opposed the ordination of Castellio, who on his side could not do otherwise than stand by the truth as he saw it. He was the first person of prominence to come into intellectual collision with Calvin and he was soon made to realize that if he was to continue his work in Geneva he must surrender his right of independent

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<sup>1</sup>*Dialogi Sacri, latino-gallici, ad linguas moresque puerorum formandos. Liber primus. Genève 1543.*

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judgment, he must cease to follow the line of emancipated scholarship, he must adjust his conscience to fit the ideas that were coming to be counted orthodox in the circle of the Reformed faith. *That* surrender he could no more make than Luther could surrender to the demands of his opponents at Worms. He quietly closed up his work in Geneva and went into voluntary exile to seek a sphere of life where he might think and speak as he saw the truth and where he could keep his conscience a pure virgin.

He settled in Basle, where Erasmus had found a refuge and where, two years before, the exiled and hunted Sebastian Franck, the spiritual forerunner of Castellio, had died in peace. For ten years (1545-1555) he lived with his large family in pitiable poverty. He read proof for the Humanist printer Oporin, he fished with a boat-hook for drift-wood along the shores of the Rhine—"rude labor no doubt," he says, "but honest and I do not blush for having done it"—and he did whatever honest work he could find that would keep body and soul together. Through all these years, every moment of the day that could be saved from bread-winning toil, and much of his night time, went into the herculean task to which he had dedicated himself, the complete translation of the Bible into Latin and French<sup>2</sup>. Being himself one of the common people, he always had the interests and the needs of the common people in view. It was his aim to put the Bible into current sixteenth century speech and he makes Patriarchs, Prophets and the characters of the New Testament live again in his vivid word pictures as the great contemporary painters were making them live on their canvases. But that which gave his translation its great human merit and popular interest was a serious defect in the eyes of the theologians. It was vivid, full of the native oriental colour, true in the main to the original and strong in its appeal to religious imagi-

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<sup>2</sup>His Latin Bible appeared in 1551 and the French Bible in 1555.



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nation, but painfully weak in its support of the dogmas and doctrines around which the theological battles of the Reformation were centering. Still less were the theologians pleased with his Preface, dedicated to the boy-king of England, Edward VI. Here he boldly insisted that the Reformation, wherever it spreads, shall champion the principle of *free conscience* and shall wage its battles with spiritual weapons alone. The only enemies of our faith, he says, are vices, and vices can be conquered only by virtues. The Christ, who said if they strike you on one cheek turn the other, has called us to the spiritual task of instructing men in the truth and that work can never be put into the hands of an executioner!

"I address you, O King," he concludes, "not as a prophet sent from God, but as a man of the people who abhors quarrels and hatred and who wishes to see religion spread by love rather than by fierce controversy, by purity of heart rather than by external methods. . . . Read these sacred writings with a pious and religious heart, and prepare yourself to reign as a mortal man who must give an account to immortal God. I desire that you may have the meekness of Moses, the piety of David and the wisdom of Solomon."

Two years after this appeal to the new Protestantism to make the great venture of spreading its truth by love and persuasion, there came from Geneva the decisive answer in the burning of Servetus, followed by the famous *Defense* before the world of the course that had been taken. One month later a brief Latin work appeared from the press with the title *De haereticis, an sint persequendi*, etc. (Magdeburgi, 1554), followed in very short time by a French edition (Rouen, 1554). The body of the work contained impressive passages in favour of toleration from Church Fathers, from Luther, Erasmus, Sebastian Franck and others, concluding with a passage from "Basil Montfort," who was apparently Bastian Castellio himself. The Preface, which was addressed to the Duke of Württemberg, bore the name of "Martinus Bellius," and was beyond doubt written by Castellio who inspired and directed the entire work, in which he was assisted by a very small group of men in Basle of similar ideas on this subject to his own.

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This Preface is one of the mother documents on freedom of conscience, from which in time came a large offspring and it is, furthermore, an interesting interpretation of a type of Christianity then somewhat new in the world. Note its simplicity, its human appeal, its direct religious strain, and withal its sincerity and depth of earnestness:

"If thou, illustrious Prince, had informed thy subjects that thou wert coming to visit them at an unnamed time and had requested them to be prepared in white garments to meet thee on thy coming; what wouldst thou do, if, on arrival, thou shouldst find that instead of robing themselves in white they had occupied themselves in violent debate about thy person—some insisting that thou wert in France, others that thou wert in Spain; some declaring that thou would come on horseback, others that thou would come by chariot; some holding that thou would come with great pomp, others that thou would come without train or following! And what especially would thou say if they debated not only with words but with blows of fist and strokes of sword, and if some succeeded in killing and destroying others who differed from them: 'He will come on horseback.' 'No, he won't, he will come by chariot.' 'You lie.' 'No, I do not. *You* are the liar.' 'Take *that*'—a blow with the fist. 'You take *that*'—a sword thrust through the body. O Prince, what would you think of such citizens! Christ asked *us* to put on the white robes of a pure and holy life, but what occupies our thought? We dispute not only of the way to Christ but of His relation to God the Father, of the Trinity, of predestination, of free will, of the nature of God, of angels, of the condition of the soul after death—of a multitude of matters that are not essential for salvation, and *matters, in fact, which never can be known until our hearts are pure, for they are things which must be spiritually perceived.*"

With a striking boldness, but with beautiful simplicity of spirit, he describes "an honest follower of Christ"—and it is himself whom he is describing—

"who believes in God the Father and in His Son Jesus Christ and who wants to do His will, but cannot see that will just as others about him see it, in matters of intellectual formulation and in matters of external practice. . . . I cannot do violence to my conscience for fear of disobeying Christ. I must be saved or lost by my own personal faith, not by that of another. I ask you, whether Christ, who forgave those who went astray and commanded His followers to forgive until seventy times seven, Christ who is the final Judge of all, if He were here, would command a person like that to be killed! . . . O Christ, creator and king of the world," he cries out, "dost thou see and approve these things? Hast thou become a totally different person from what thou wert? When thou wert on earth, nothing could be more gentle and kind, more ready to suffer injuries. Thou wert like a sheep dumb before the shearers. Beaten, spit upon, mocked, crowned with thorns, crucified between thieves, thou didst pray for those who injured thee. Hast thou changed to this? Art thou now so cruel and contrary to thyself? Dost thou command that those who do not understand thy ordinances and commandments as those over us require, should be drowned, or drawn and quartered and burned at the stake!"

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The Christian world holds his view now. It is a part of the air we breathe. But at this crisis in modern history it was unforgivably *new*. One man's soul had the vision, one man's entire moral fibre throbbed with passion for it and his rich intellectual nature pleaded for it as the only course of reason: "To burn a man is not to defend a doctrine, it is to burn a man!" But it was a voice crying in a wilderness and from henceforth Castellio was a marked and dangerous man in the eyes of all who were opposed to "Bellianism"—as the principle of toleration was nicknamed in honor of Martinus Bellius—and that included almost all the world. But to the end of his life, and in almost every one of his multitudinous tracts he continued to announce the principle of religious liberty and to work for a type of Christianity which depended for its conquering power solely on its inherent truth and on its moral dynamic.

"There are persons who forbid us to see with our own eyes," he wrote in his *De arte dubitandi*, "and who want us to believe even though our reason is not convinced. But that is the worst of all errors and it is my mission to attack it. I may not exterminate the monster, but at least I hope to give it such a blow that it will know that it has been hit!" Love, he constantly insists, is the supreme badge of any true Christianity and the traits of the beatitudes in a person's life are surer evidences that he belongs in Christ's family than that he holds current opinions on obscure questions of belief. He writes in his *Defensio* to those who wish to hunt him off the face of the earth,

"Before God and from the bottom of my heart, I call you to the spirit of love. . . . By the bowels of Christ, I ask and implore you to leave me in peace, to stop persecuting me. Let me have the liberty of my faith as you have of yours. At the heart of religion I am one with you. It is in reality the same religion; only on certain points of interpretation I see differently from you. But however we differ in opinion, why cannot we love one another?"

He was, however, never to have the peace for which he pleaded and he was never to experience the love and

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brotherly kindness for which he longed. Whole sheaves of fiery arrows were shot at him and in tract after tract he had to see himself called "monster," "wretch," "dog," "pest," "fog-bank," and finally to see himself proclaimed to the world as a petty "thief" who was supporting himself by stealing wood from his neighbours! With beautiful dignity Castellio tells the story of how he fished for public driftwood on the shores of the Rhine and how he kept his family alive by honest toil, when he was living in pitiable poverty, "to which," he says to Calvin, "everybody knows that thy attacks had brought me." "I cannot conceive how thou of all persons, thou who knows me, can have believed a tale of theft about me and in any case can have told it to others."

Compelled, as he was, to see the Reformation take what seemed to him the false course—the course of defending itself by persecution, of buttressing itself on election, of elevating, through a new scholasticism, doctrine above life—he turned more and more, as time went on, toward interior religion, the cultivation of an inner sanctuary, the deepening of the mystical roots of his life and the perfection of a religion of inner and spiritual life. "I have never taken holy things lightly," he once wrote, and in the later years of what proved to be his brief as well as stormy life he drew nearer and nearer to Christ as the Life of his life and laboured with deepening passion to practise and present a religion of veracity, of reality and of transforming power. In his *Contra Libellum Calvini* he says,

"It is certain that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God and there is furthermore no doubt about the worth of love—love to God and love to man. There is no doubt, again, of the worth of forgiveness, of patience, of pity, of kindness, and of obedience to duty. Why leave these sure things and quarrel over inscrutable mysteries?"

Without entering in detail into the bottomless controversy of those times, let us endeavour to get an adequate view of Castellio's type of Christianity and then we shall be able to form an estimate of the man who in the strong



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power of his faith stood almost alone as the great battle of words raged around him.<sup>3</sup> Those on the other side of the controversy began always from the opposite end of the spiritual universe to his point of departure. *They* were fascinated with the mysteries of the Eternal Will and used all the keys of their logic to unlock the mysteries of Foreknowledge, Predestination, and Grace which has wrought the *miracle* of salvation for the elect. Castellio on the other hand, in true modern fashion, starts always with the concrete, the near and the known, to work upward to the nature of the unknown. We must, he says, try to discover the Divine Attributes and the Divine Character by first finding out what our own deepest nature implies. If God is to speak to us it must be in terms of our nature. Before undertaking to fathom with the plummet of logic the unsoundable mystery of foreknowledge, let us see what we can know through a return to the real nature of man as he is, and especially to the real nature of the new Adam who is Christ the Son of God. Man, as both Scripture and his own inner self testify, is made *in the image of God*, is dowered with freedom to determine his own destiny, may go upward into light or downward into darkness. Man thus made, when put to trial, *failed*, followed lower instincts instead of higher, and experienced the awful penalty of sin, namely its cumulative power, the tendency of sin to beget sin and to make higher choices ever more difficult. Christ, however, the new Adam, has *succeeded*. He has completely revealed the way of obedience, the way in which spirit conquers flesh. He is the new kind of Person who lives from above and who exhibits the cumulative power of goodness, and His victory, which was won by His own free choice, inspires all men, who see it, with faith and hope in man's spiritual possibilities. Castellio

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<sup>3</sup>The main lines of Castellio's Christianity can be found in his *Dialogi quatuor*: (1) *De praedestinatione*, (2) *de electione*, (3) *de libero arbitrio*, (4) *de fide*. (Gouda 1613).



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declines to discuss Christ's metaphysical nature, except in so far as His life has revealed it to us. He sees in Him the Heart and Character of God, the certainty of Divine love and forgiveness and the way of life for all who desire to be spiritually saved, which means, for him, the formation of a new inward self, a purified nature, a morally transformed man, a will which no longer loves or wills sin. "Christ alone," he says, "can heal the malady of the soul, but He can heal it." "There is," he says again, "no other way of salvation for any man than the way of self-denial. He must put off his old man and put on Christ—however much blood and sweat the struggle may cost." Man, he insists, is always wrong when he represents God as angry. The teaching of Christ showed that God needed no appeasing, but rather that man needed to be brought back to God by the drawing of Love and be reconciled to Him.

Faith—which for every prophet of human redemption is the key that unlocks all doors for the soul—is for Castellio the supreme moral force by which man turns God's revelations of Himself into spiritual victories and into personal conquests of character. It is never something forensic, something magical. Neither is it mere belief of historical facts and events. It is, on the contrary, a moral power that moves mountains of difficulty, works miracles of transformation and enables the person who has it to participate in the life of God. It is a *persistent will*, which multiplies one's strength a hundredfold, makes Pentecost possible again, and enables us to achieve the goal which the vision of our heart sees. The only obstacle to this all-conquering faith is selfishness, the only mortal enemy is self-will.

There have been, Castellio holds, progressive stages in the Divine education of the race and in man's apprehension of God. The mark of advance is always found in the progress from law and letter to spirit and from outward practices and ceremonies to inward experience.

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Divine revelations can always be taken at different *levels*. They can be seen in a literal, pictorial, temporal way, or they can be read deeper—by those who are purified by faith and love and made partakers of the self-giving Life of God—as eternal and spiritual realities. The written word of God is the garment of the Divine Thought which is the real Word of God. It takes more than eyes of flesh to see through the temporal garment to the inner Life and Spirit beneath. Only the person who has in himself the illumination of the same Spirit that gave the original revelation can see through the garment of the letter to the eternal message, the ever-living Word hidden within.<sup>4</sup> In the Christianity of the full-grown spiritual man sacraments and everything external must be used only as pictorial helps and symbolic suggestions for the furtherance of spiritual life. Within us, as direct offspring of God, as image of God, there is a Divine Reason, which existed before books, before rites, before the foundation of the world and will exist after books and rites have vanished, and the world has gone to wreck. It can no more be abolished than God Himself can be. It was by this that Jesus Christ, the Son of God—called, in fact, Logos of God—lived and taught us how to live. It was in the Light of this that He transcended books and rites and declared, without quoting text, “God is Spirit and thou shalt worship God in spirit and in truth.” This Reason is in all ages the right investigator and interpreter of Truth, even though time changes outward things and written texts grow corrupt.

Just as the storm of persecution that had been gathering around him for years, was about to burst pitilessly upon him in 1563, he quietly died, worn out in body, and “passed to where beyond these voices there is peace.” His students in the University of Basle, where he had been Professor of Greek for ten years, bore his coffin in honour

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<sup>4</sup>This idea comes out in his Preface to the Bible, in his *Moses latinus* and in his manuscript work *De arte dubitandi*.

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on their shoulders to his grave and his little band of disciples devoted themselves to spreading, in Holland and wherever they could find soil for it, the precious seed of his truth.

He was not a theologian of the Reformation type. He did not think the thoughts nor speak the dialect of his contemporaries. They need not be blamed for thanking God at his death nor for seeing in him an arch-enemy of their work. They were honestly working for one goal and he was as honestly living by the light of a far different ideal. The spiritual discipline of the modern world was to come through their laborious systems, but he, anticipating the results of the travail and the slow spiral progress, and seeing in clear vision the triumph of man's liberated spirit, with exuberant optimism believed that the religion of the Spirit could be had for the taking—and he stretched out his hand for it!

"I am," he cried out beneath the bludgeons, "a poor little man, more than simple, humble and peaceable, with no desire for glory, only affirming what in my heart I believe, why cannot I live and say my honest word and have your love?" The time was not ready for him, but he did his day's work with loyalty, sincerity and bravery and, seen in perspective, is worthy to be honoured as a hero and a saint.



# THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY

A JOURNAL OF THE FAITH, WORK  
AND THOUGHT OF CHRISTENDOM

SEPTEMBER, 1913

## Admitting All Impossibilities, Nevertheless Unity Is Possible

BY HIS GRACE, THE MOST REVEREND PLATON,  
*Archbishop of North America and the Aleutian Islands.*

Mindful of my promise to write an article on some special subject for the next number of THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY, I opened the March number this morning, the first number, wrought with so much labour, and so impatiently expected. I opened it in order to become acquainted with the review as fully and thoroughly as possible, so that I might be able to choose for myself a theme in harmony with the spirit and character of the magazine, analogous to the themes already elaborated in it.

I must state that I have so much work of my own, to which it is my duty to attend, that I have no time for subjects even of kindred character, yet in spite of this, I spent an entire day reading THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY.



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I also read the printed notices of the review. I must say that these notices gladdened me; this could not fail to be the result of such notices, for example, as Mr. Roosevelt's. Yet, in my opinion, a work so great in conception and so good in realization needs, speaking strictly, no notices of this kind, as it stands without question above unproven praises, which say but little to a serious-minded, well-informed reader, and, to a commonplace reader, say what he does not need to know.

Viewing the great cause of Unity, as it should be viewed, in its completeness and full grandeur, I declare my firm conviction that this cause and its adequate realization are matters of such magnitude that they cannot fail to arouse discussion among all those who set a high value on the truth, in life, in religion, in Christianity; and that this cause will lead them to speak the language not of conventional politeness, but of conviction and admonition, calling Christians to listen to the appeal of *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY* for Christian union and Christian fellowship, compelling Christians to recognize that they must exchange ideas and views, in order to understand each other, and so to form one heart and one mouth for the confession of the Faith of Christ.

The truth of life is more precious than life itself, and the purpose of *THE CONSTRUCTIVE*, which is that very truth of life, imperatively demands that the scheme of the great work planned and undertaken should be discussed first by the readers of this review, and, through them, by many others. But, as "one swallow does not make spring," it is impossible to foretell from the first number to what extent and in what manner *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY* will succeed in what it has undertaken. However, Mr. Roosevelt was moved to say that, as an American, he was glad that a review like this had been started in America. This stands to reason. Being a statesman, Mr. Roosevelt is bound to consider each

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occurrence from the point of view of its practical value, and we cannot expect him to hold a different attitude toward the very important subject which we are discussing. Quite rightly seizing the supreme importance of the purpose of this review, Mr. Roosevelt declares with conviction that an adequate realization of that purpose will bring honour to the whole of America. This is well, even very well, said: a quite true idea expressed in a characteristic and acute way. Work, worthy work toward the solution of this great problem cannot fail to bring honour to individuals and whole nations as well, who have all been equally called to this work by the Founder of our Faith, saying: "That we all may be one."

We need say nothing of the greatness of the problem which **THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY** is trying to solve. We of the Orthodox Church, as well as the Christians of America, offer up special prayers for the union of all believers in Christ. Yet, to mention ourselves as an example, out of the great mass of worshippers, there are but very few who believe in the actual possibility of this union. This is extremely sad, but nevertheless quite true.

But why is it so? It is so, because these people of ours, who, we must say, believe profoundly in Christ, accept real life as they see it, and derive their opinion as to the union of the Churches from what they see. I am extremely reluctant to say what I am about to say, but the importance of the subject forces me to speak. Our people say: How can there be any talk of the union of Churches or of Christians in our days, when, for example, Roman Catholics are so anxious that Scutari should not remain in the hands of an Orthodox nation, preferring that this city should belong to Mahometan Albanians. It stands to reason that, in expressing wishes and inclinations like these, they are obedient to the purposes of Catholic propaganda; but think of the feelings which they arouse in our hearts, which,

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though not Roman Catholic, are nevertheless Christian hearts. This shows, then, the intensity reached by religious separatism, and the strong force of its rigidity, which makes it possible that, in the Roman Confession, the love of Christians who do not belong to the Roman Church should be so trampled under foot.

There are matters which must not be treated in this way. It is profoundly sad, and, at the same time, quite incomprehensible, that a Church, which sanctions the transfer of members of our Orthodox clergy to equal grades in the Catholic clergy, can at the same time express such wishes. Very much against our wills there arises in us a feeling which, permeating our souls, does not lead us to give our adherence to the idea of the union of the Churches, but on the contrary, while not inducing us to work against it, yet forces us to doubt the possibility of this union.

It is, of course, true that we too are compelled to think of those who do not confess Christ as does our Holy Church as heretics. I know this; and, in obedience to my Mother Church, I think of Roman Catholics as heretics. But, at the same time, I know that they are Christians, that they believe in Christ, in my Christ. I know that a time will come when they will believe in Christ as my Church believes in Him. I know that our present relations are but for a time, that they must be only for a time; as a certain mood, created in us by circumstances beyond our control, is only for a time. I know that, among the Roman Catholics, there are also those who wish with their whole hearts that the rigid separatism between the various Christians should cease to exist; and even that the papal throne has had occupants who shared this view. It is known that Leo XIII would have taken actual steps toward the practical solution of the union of the Churches, had he not been prevented by those around him. We are, therefore, justified in thinking that the unrelenting attitude of the

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Roman Church toward all other Christians is not supported either by the spirit of Christian faith or by any purely historical data, and is certain to be influenced by the gradual growth of brotherliness and Christian solidarity in other civilized Christian communities; and that, even if it does not altogether disappear, it will at least, be softened, and the ears of the Roman Church will be sufficiently opened for it to discern sincere notes in the fervent appeal reaching it from the camp which it now feels to be so inimical and alien that it feels justified in turning to it a deaf ear. It is especially pleasing to note, in this case, that the above is no "exaggerated opinion of an enthusiast of the idea of union," being also the expressed opinion of learned Roman Catholics, like the well-known Augustinian monk who says, with much assurance, that the situation is quite obviously improving in this regard. Can it be, then, that the relation of modern Christians of different Confessions can still be described in words which St. Augustine addressed to his contemporaries: "A man more willingly passes his time with his dog than with a stranger." Even in his day, these words could hardly have caressed the ear, though they certainly did not hurt it; for, at that time, there was still too much life in the principle that *man was the measure of all things*, in the sense of egotistical enjoyment of them, all men being as wolves among themselves. But it would seem that what was true then could not be thinkable in our day, after nineteen centuries of Christian ideas ruling the souls and minds of men.

And so it is. There is reason for great rejoicing in the fact that, at present, in the midst of many Christian denominations, there arise clear voices speaking for the union of the Churches, and that the question is discussed openly, though only sporadically and without any plan. But at the same time that which, only recently, was unthinkable, has now become a reality.

The Editor of THE CONSTRUCTIVE spoke to me en-



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thusiastically of the way in which he was received by the superior hierarchs of the Russian Church, and of their Christian attitude toward the union of the Churches. The Editor tells the same story in his book. But here is something which made him greatly wonder: the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod and his assistant, both laymen, showed less sympathy for the idea of the union of the Churches, and less faith in it. According to the Editor, the Chief Procurator said to him: "It is necessary to be Orthodox; we are Orthodox, and there is nothing for others to do but to become Orthodox also."<sup>1</sup> This view is shared by the overwhelming majority of us who belong to the Orthodox Church; to our thinking, the union of the Churches must and can take place only under the banner of Orthodoxy.

What, then, is the difference between us and the Roman Catholics, who so loudly proclaim the hegemony of the Roman Church throughout the Christian world? The difference is, that the Roman Catholics demand that union should mean submission on the part of all Christians, without conditions; but with us of the Orthodox Church, it is possible to discuss, it is possible to try to convince, and even to succeed in convincing, us of many, very many things. While giving up nothing that is our own, we are always ready to accept that which is good in other Confessions, that which is historically correct, and justified by historical data. Mr. McBee speaks of the wonderful kindness and amiability of our supreme hierarchs, and of their readiness to meet those of other Confessions. This is absolutely true. The Orthodox have nothing to hide, and need not conceal themselves. Our supreme hierarchs are quite aware of this, and openly receive all those who come to them, with perfect love. This policy, thank God, has hitherto brought only good results. All who wish may come in, look, and become

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<sup>1</sup>*An Ecumenic Itinerary*, Silas McBee, 1911, p. 27.



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acquainted; we have no secrets; everything here is visible and open,—such has hitherto been the method of our Russian Orthodox Church. Not only the Editor of *THE CONSTRUCTIVE*, but all foreigners who have come to Russia in order to become acquainted with its religious life, have said that this life was a true revelation to them; what they heard and saw, filled their souls with delight, and made them long to learn more of the ancient Eastern Christianity, our holy Russian Orthodoxy. Read the pages about the Russian Church, in Bishop Grafton's *Personal Reminiscences*, and they will immediately demonstrate to you the importance of personal intercourse with our Church and with religious Russians.

Until now, it may be said that we, Christians of different Confessions, have had but little acquaintance with each other. All, believing that they alone held the truth in their hands, remained wholly indifferent to Christians of other Confessions, taking no interest whatever in them. But once the study of the nature of another Confession was undertaken, it led to the expression of such views and opinions as we find in the Rev. F. G. Cole's *Mother of All Churches*, or the Rev. T. A. Lacey's *Beginning at Jerusalem*, or, recently, in the Rt. Rev. C. P. Anderson's *Manifestation of Unity*, according to whose very American phrase, "the Church of God is so overshadowed by Churches, that even a postmaster could not find it," (p. 20), and so on. We need more intercourse with each other; we need practical intimacy and scientific study; it is time for us to abandon our seclusion and overcome our inertia.

It is true that the seclusion which the Roman Church preserves so strictly may be taken by some for fortitude, and they are so impressed by it that many a possessor of great theological learning among them has joined the Roman Catholic Church, fancying that behind that wall of granite, Christianity was preserved in perfect purity and integrity. We may add that some of these new

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Roman Catholics had previously had long talks with us, and very flattering intercourse. But, while their voices were with us, their eyes were with Rome, and thither they went. No importance should be attributed to this, however. These are only isolated cases, which, being the exception, only prove my general thesis concerning the effect which the supposed fortitude of Rome produces. But even were I mistaken in this, the above cited examples do not at all prove that the union of the Churches ought to be solved by all Christians joining the Roman Church. However, the Roman Church has never hitherto discussed the question with us, denying us the right to an opinion of our own.

But for us members of other Confessions, it is, comparatively speaking, a good while since we began to talk to each other and to discuss different questions; and, although we have not yet succeeded in even tracing the way to future reunion, by mere branches along the track, yet we have made a few steps toward each other, and have uncovered our faces enough to justify our conversing with each other in a friendly way, when we meet. Our intercourse is very helpful to us. Without it, and outside it, no learned treatises and investigations however persuasive, can have much propulsive power on the road to the union of the Churches. Here is an example:

Not long ago, I received a serious article, *Concerning the Validity of the Anglican Hierarchy*, recently written by one of the eminent Russian professors who have applied themselves to this question. The erudition of the critical analysis, the scientific objectivity and well based caution of the conclusions are characteristic of the article from beginning to end. On reading it, one cannot fail to see that the subject is being discussed by a man who has studied it thoroughly from many sides. But the author's final conclusions were such that, when I sat down to write him my thanks for sending me the article, I was also compelled to inform the learned profes-

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sor that it was very difficult to accept his opinion concerning *concession* toward the Anglicans.

It is more than doubtful whether concession is in place, in the establishment of mutual relations between religious Confessions. It is impossible to suppose that Professor I. P. Sokoloff, the author of this article, suggested concession as a practical measure or means, and that, at this point, his kindness got the better of his learning; for great pressure was brought to bear upon his good nature by the "Society of Workers for the Rapprochement between the Anglican and Russian Churches," before whom he read his essay. In such a case, the conclusion concerning concession would be wholly out of keeping with the earnest and strictly scientific character of the essay. In reality, it cannot be doubted that Professor Sokoloff expressed his idea in entire good faith, springing from the depth of his erudite consciousness of the breadth, the truth and the loftiness of our holy Orthodoxy, and the weakness of the Anglican Church in the matter of holy orders. But it is also possible that he did not think of readers in England and America (the essay will be translated in the organ of my diocese), nor of his hearers and readers in Russia, but only of truth, of truth acquired along strictly scientific lines. As a man of learning, he must have been chiefly interested in this result, expecting that the rest would of itself be added unto it. The majesty and purity of Orthodoxy are beyond all doubt, for Professor Sokoloff, nor is it to be doubted that, if the question of the validity of Anglican holy orders cannot with justice be answered in the negative, yet that an affirmative answer would not be wholly correct either. He finds data on the basis of which he practically, as it seems to him, suggests the acceptance of a concession. To him, such concession is not opportunism, coming, as it does, from the fact that one side, Orthodoxy, is able to give, while the other side, Anglicanism, is in need of

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receiving. This is my understanding of the meaning of Professor Sokoloff's suggested concession. But when it comes to putting it in practice, I repeat that it can hardly be accepted or realized. In this country, I have twice expressed in print the idea that our Orthodox Church so abounds in love that it may find it possible to accept the Anglican hierarchy, and, in speaking, I put forward the idea that, after this acknowledgment, there would be a *chirotonia* (laying on of hands), after which, the validity of Anglican holy orders would be beyond doubt.

I can say nothing categorical concerning the Church of England, but from my experience in this country I can definitely affirm that no concession from us is sought, nor is any need of such concession felt. The Episcopalians wish us to accept their holy orders, not as a concession, however, but on the basis of undoubted historical data, critically verified and firmly established. Acceptance as a concession would be of no earthly use to them; it might weaken their position, by depriving them of complete confessional equality. *Now, as before, they wish one thing only: that their hierarchy should be accepted unconditionally and without any reservations.*

This is a great question. Having become acquainted with this question, and with the opinions of Professor Sokoloff of Moscow, Professor Kerensky of Kazan, and Professor Bulgakoff of Kieff (whose lectures I followed) on it, I would have been quite willing to side with those who accepted the validity of the Anglican hierarchy, had not Professor Bulgakoff categorically announced that the only real obstacle in the way of a satisfactory solution of the question is to be found in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. An insurmountable obstacle, indeed, as the Thirty-nine Articles deny that holy orders are a sacrament. Yet Dr. F. W. Puller publicly announced that an undue importance was given to the Thirty-nine Articles, and

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that they were not dogmatically binding; he did this first in a public lecture in St. Petersburg, when speaking on behalf of the Church of England, and then in a book which he published in 1912 under the title of *The Continuity of The Church of England*. In his book, Dr. Puller discusses this question (on pages 46, 47, 49 *et seq.*) in an extremely interesting way, placing it on a new foundation, and shedding a new light on it. I was so interested by it that, when Dr. Manning, of Trinity Church, called on me, I could not refrain from questioning him on the validity of Dr. Puller's assurance; from Dr. Manning, I received a categorical statement that he, as well as many others, completely shared Dr. Puller's view. If this be so, it becomes much easier for our Church to solve the question, and to acknowledge Anglican holy orders, not as a concession, but from a profound conviction that, by doing so, our Church would think and act rightly, though the action was of the greatest importance, and the Roman Church hesitates to decide on it.

When this will come about, we do not know. Such knowledge is for God alone; but our hope of its possibility is almost a certainty, and this alone is enough to assure us that our labours for the solution of the union of the Churches are not in vain, though, so far, they can be directed only toward clearing away the weeds which prevent the various Christian Churches from understanding each other.

The importance of living intercourse between the members of various Confessions is great. It might seem that no Church is closer to the Orthodox than is the Roman Catholic. Chief among their resemblances, the two have the same number of Sacraments; yet the distance between them is so great as to terrify us; it is almost immeasurable. But in the case of the Episcopal Church the Sacraments have not an equal importance, and the validity of the holy orders is ques-



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tioned; yet the nearness to the Orthodox Church is undoubted, for it is real. The cause of this lies in the vitality of living intercourse, such as does not exist between Roman Catholics and Orthodox.

It follows that the merit of THE CONSTRUCTIVE is exceedingly great, since it has succeeded in gathering together before the same speaking tube, as it were, Roman Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants, and has also succeeded in persuading them to speak through this tube. The Rev. Dr. Mathews would especially appeal to me, if, by his words, "I am particularly glad for the articles from the Roman Catholics," he meant that he was glad to see their names in the pages of THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY, as Roman Catholics, apart from any praise of these articles for their individual worth. This is, indeed, matter for rejoicing. Hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, Roman theologians walking with their colleagues of other Confessions; with them clearing the paths towards that place where, as we believe, we shall some day meet all the children of Christ who believe in Him, to confess Him with one heart and one mouth, ceasing to be strangers and becoming true brothers in spirit and in faith.

This is why I particularly dwell on the merit of THE CONSTRUCTIVE in having united those of different religions in the wish to work for the same object. We have had in the past, perhaps, workers among our own and the Roman Catholic theologians, who attempted to work toward that aim in their own way, but I know that a similar undertaking of such organic strength has never existed. There was a time when Europe undertook something of the same kind in the case of the Old Catholics, but this attempt did not last. There have been other similar magazines which have had a fairly wide distribution, such as the *Revue Internationale de Theologie*, *The Orthodox Catholic Review*, and others. But it seems that the real work is only now beginning. First, it is

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guaranteed by the character of those who have now put their hands to the work, and, secondly, by the enthusiasm, delight and joy experienced by all who have come into touch with even the beginning of this undertaking.

If any of my remarks seem captious or harsh, I hope that I shall not be too severely judged. These words were dictated by my great admiration of the idea of **THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY**, and of the Editor who planned and initiated this great work. This is why I also trust that he will accept in the spirit of love my opinion concerning his review, a further exposition of which I shall now endeavour to set forth.

I fear that, should **THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY** remain such as it has showed itself in its first number, it will fall short of the influence and importance which it should have. It is quite true that it contains articles by authors of different Confessions. I have already said that this by itself does great credit to the Editor. But where is the "constructiveness" of the magazine? It seems to me that, were it to remain as it is, the importance of this magazine, and its influence on society, will be expressed in just such notices as have already appeared about the first number. Separate articles will be praised, as will their authors, some more, some less,—perhaps these praises will be a demonstration of confessional sympathy and closeness,—the Editor will also be praised and thanked, and this will be all. What would be "constructed" in this way? I do not see what would be "constructed," and yet I do not say that nothing would, for I may be shortsighted in this case, seeing nothing "constructive" in the future of the magazine, while others may see farther. How exceedingly glad I should be to learn that I was mistaken. With all sincerity and force, I affirm that my wish is to see this magazine fulfilling its constructive destiny; but I cannot find that, in its present shape, it does so. Ivan Kriloff, the Russian fabulist, aptly illustrates what the situation

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might be by his story of "The Swan, the Crayfish and the Pike:"

A crayfish, pike and swan agreed one day  
To pull a carload all together,  
So, harnessed each to his own tether,  
They pull with might and main!  
Alas! 'Tis all in vain!  
The load seemed light enough; but in the sky  
The swan soared high;  
The crayfish always backward ran,  
And in the pond, the pike to pull began.  
Which was to blame? Which, right? We cannot say.  
But still the carload stays there, to this day.

As the outcome of all this, I insistently urge the necessity of devoting at least a part of each number to the discussion of this or that particular point of our faith by representatives of various Confessions. Let one-half of each issue be devoted to this, abandoning the rest of the number to a miscellany of many themes. I am certain that my plan will meet with approval from all those who value the constructive character of the magazine, and that they will devote their chief attention to the first half of the number, not failing also to be zealous readers of the second, for there is always the likelihood, the actual presence, even, of masterpieces among the articles there published. THE CONSTRUCTIVE has a special aim and special problems. Therefore it must not lose sight of that which "alone is for our good." It must speak of this, as must all its contributors of different Confessions.

The *Glossalalia* ("speaking with tongues") on the day when the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles, describes the mode of the construction of Christianity: the Apostles acquired the power to speak on the one theme in many tongues, and in this way they constructed and spread our faith. It seems to me that this would be the best plan, the only plan, for THE CONSTRUCTIVE to adopt, rather than having writers of different Confessions speak of different things. Let the writers of differ-

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ent Confessions play in THE CONSTRUCTIVE the part of the "many tongues," and let the one theme on which the Apostles preached continue to be the theme for the contributors. The one theme of the first department of THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY which I have suggested is, first of all, the theoretical side, our faith; and then the practical side, our Church.

First of all, our faith must be made clear in its essence, then in its outward manifestation. This work ought to be done according to some system and with a certain plan. In my opinion, this is the *conditio sine qua non* of THE CONSTRUCTIVE's permanent existence. This will be its really constructive work, which will enable us at once to grasp the view of many Confessions regarding any given subject, and thus to draw our conclusions. Let me explain this in a more detailed way:

If I remember rightly, Saint Augustine says: "*Domus Dei sperando erigitur et diligendo perficitur, sed credendo fundatur.*" Faith is the foundation of our life. For above all "he that cometh to God must believe that He is," (Hebrews 11: 6), "for the just shall live by faith," (Hebrews 10: 38). Therefore faith is not the lifeless consent of the mind to the truth which was made manifest to us in Christ, for that consent the devils also give (James 2:19); but it is the innermost communion of heart and soul with the life of Christ; it is the living conviction of the power of the grace of God, which has been granted to us through Christ; it is our actual consciousness, founded on experience, that we live with Christ, and through Him are united with God the Father. This is exactly expressed in the words of Saint John: "he that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself." What witness? "This is the witness, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life." (I John 5:10-12.) These words are saturated with the great mystery of life, which can be

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grasped only by those who have a living faith in the Son of God. To believe in the Son of God is to be conscious of life eternal. Living faith is the consciousness of life eternal. What an inexhaustibly profound truth is contained in this definition for all who believe in Christ.

If the importance of faith in Christ is so great, it is not to be wondered that it is so exceedingly difficult to form any exact or definite idea of it, or to gauge all its depth with words. Accordingly, Holy Scripture gives different ideas of our faith, considered from different points of view. Sometimes, it is theoretical (I John 2:24); or more practical (Galatians 5:6); or as the faith that trusts (Matthew 9:2, 22); or as the faith that justifies (Romans); or as the miracle-working power of God in man (I Corinthians 13:2); or as the unshaken conviction of the conscience (Romans 14:23); or as faithfulness in keeping promises (Romans 3:3), and so on.

Is it not evident that, under all the images by which the word of God represents our faith, there is represented the divine Christian life itself which is communicated to our hearts through our faith and according to our faith? Is it not equally evident that our first duty as Christians is to agree as to our faith, that we may not differ so widely in our understanding of it, that for some of us "the just shall live by faith," and for others "faith without works is dead"?

What a task would lie before the contributors to THE CONSTRUCTIVE and at the same time what a service, worthy of eternal gratitude THE CONSTRUCTIVE would have rendered, if in its pages might be established the idea of faith, of its indispensable and salutary nature, common to all Christians. And when I think of the modern assaults against our faith, the modern tendency to drag heaven down to earth, I feel inclined not merely to advise the Editor to amplify his plan and the character of THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY, but even to implore him, as forcibly as I can, to do so.



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The powers of this world are now arising against our faith, and we Christians are divided into fragments, isolating ourselves in the consciousness that we believe in Christ in a more correct way than other believers. And this, at a time when the trivial novel of Frensen becomes a new Gospel in Germany, ridding humanity of the oppression of the Church, dogmas and traditions, when a new Christianity adapted to modern demands appears. Of course it is true that in Germany one manifestation inimical to Christianity always follows another in the region of religious thought: Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity* was superseded by the *New Faith* of Strauss who, denying the existence of Jesus, proved to be a lunatic, before Nietzsche, who actually became a maniac. But this struggle goes on without interference from us who are Christians; from which results no triumph or glory to our faith, but instead a *New Faith* of Frensen. How many people perish, therefore, in the belief that the faith of Christ is not necessary; that, on the contrary, it is necessary to get rid of it as of the mud "which sticks to a man's feet making his progress on the path of life more difficult." To be sure, this latest fashion in the realm of religious thought will also disappear, but I feel sure that its disappearance will not be caused by blows of ours.

And what do we see at present in France? If, in Germany, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism are compared to decrepit regimental *vivandières*, who trundle along in their broken-down carts at the tail of the army, instead of marching ahead of it, leading it on the higher way to the supreme liberation; in France, religion is treated as so much harmful rubbish, which has long outlived its purpose as an influence on personal and social life. It would seem that the Anti-Clericals have definitely taken possession of France, Freedom of conscience has become freedom from conscience; and the Anti-Clericals are guilty of acts which one cannot hear

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of, without the deepest grief and indignation. In England, Switzerland and Saxony, there already exist Buddhist communities, and one is about to be founded in Russia. So that in our days the preaching of Christian missionaries to the heathen has been reversed.

I am sorry to say that, in my own dear country, just as here and in other parts of the world, anti-Christian literature spreads in a striking way, and school and college youngsters absorb it as a sponge absorbs water. This theoretical danger, so to speak, for Christianity from scientific arguments and quasi-scientific deductions and the practical danger coming from the spread of unbelief and the tendency to move away from Christianity, this general attack against our faith, ought to unite us into one family. Besides the common consciousness that we, who believe in Christ, should be members of one family, of one Church that should be bound together by mutual brotherly love, because of our love for Him, who called us to this love, having offered Himself on the cross for the sake of us all, the two above-mentioned dangers should bring Christians together, to settle all accounts with each other, in order to arise in full armour to do battle with the enemy, not of Roman Catholicism, nor of Orthodoxy, nor of Protestantism, alone, but of the whole of Christendom, the prince of this world, who will not spare us, because there is no love in him.

We must become one. All sincere believers in Christ recognize this nowadays, but religious separatism has penetrated so deeply into the very roots of Christian life and teaching that it stands like a stone wall or a "great chasm" between the different Christian Confessions.

Yet at present not walls only but whole mountains can be blown up with dynamite, and bridges are thrown across chasms. This is especially well done in America; witness the enormously costly monster-bridges between

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New York and Brooklyn. But can we ascribe to **THE CONSTRUCTIVE**, such as it now is, the power of dynamite, able to blow up the walls which keep the Confessions apart? Can **THE CONSTRUCTIVE**, such as it now is, play the part of a bridge on which Christians of all denominations could meet, talk matters over, mutually understand each other, and come into a union? If we judge with calm deliberation, we shall be compelled to say that, even were these articles capable of chipping off a piece of this wall, or even a whole block, no separate article, nor all of them in their totality, could ever hope to make a breach through it. I am not a military man, and have no connection with the art of war, but I can say that the "military metaphor" of the Editor (if we should not rather say "analogy") is in this case truly a metaphor. Exaggeration is the characteristic of metaphor, and I think that speaking of the constructiveness of **THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY** in its present form is to speak in metaphor. For, were we to compare its articles to bombs, we should immediately note their aimless waste. They will fall below or beyond the mark, or they will explode in the air, they will even fly in the wrong direction, and will thus fail of their object; and even if any of them do reach the mark, it will be at haphazard. Why? Because there is no adjusting screw in the gun, though its aim is well established.

Such is my opinion of **THE CONSTRUCTIVE** in its present form. In a private letter to the esteemed Editor, I shall make certain suggestions to render the magazine more truly constructive and fitted to carry out a great constructive labour with the object of uniting all believers in Christ. If, in the course of time, **THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY** changes its form, not in any external way, but in the selection of questions and their elaboration, I shall understand that my opinion has been appreciated, and that my ardent wish has been found applicable

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to the further development of this review. The Editor of THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY possesses the rare gift of grasping all the sides of a subject that interests him at once. I may, therefore, be confident that he will not misunderstand me, that he will take in the right way my opinion of the magazine, my relation with which, as he knows, has gone further than mere expressions of sympathy. What I have written, is not criticism for the sake of criticising; it is a photographic image of my impression of the first number, to which I looked forward so eagerly. It is also the result of the present need of an undertaking of this kind, which I clearly realize, and of my own idea of the adequacy of THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY to supply that need.

The future of THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY, its importance, and its influence in the great cause of helping all believers in Christ to become one and to remain one, is of the utmost moment to its Editor. I therefore trust that he will accept this opinion of mine as I would have him accept it: as a fervent offering, resulting from my eager wish to give him what assistance I can in his work.

# An Appeal for Unity from Italy

BY THE BISHOP OF CREMONA.

To feel the necessity, and to seek the ways, of gathering together the scattered members of Christ—that is, all the souls who believe in Him, love Him, and thirst for religious truth—is a surpassingly noble and beautiful aim, and worthy to be studied and translated into action with all zeal; and it is very consoling to see how our Protestant brothers are striving for this end with evident sincerity and thorough goodwill. Yes, we must all reunite under one banner: in union is the only means of obviating religious pulverization, and preventing the crumbling of faith under the constant gnawing of individual reason and criticism that is independent of every consideration of tradition and authority. Therefore I send my salutation and good wishes to the Protestant brothers who, in the World Conference of the United States, have studied the question *con amore*, and made wise proposals of splendid scope for reunion.

I cannot, however, shut my eyes to the very grave difficulty of the enterprise; first of all, the situation of the Roman Church, which cannot recede from its position, or yield upon any essential point of its doctrine, without being renegade to itself. The Roman Church, with its definitions, with the affirmations repeated a thousand times of its divine character, and with all the acts of its government, has cut down and is cutting down every bridge behind it. It can well allow itself to be joined by the dissident Churches with unconditional submission; but it cannot turn back, review its own decisions, modify its dogmas, change its hierarchy, lessen



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its authority. The good Roman prelate, to whom you refer, has told you the exact truth. And in this, I believe, consists the greatest obstacle to that unity, the need of which is so deeply felt.

By all means, for those who love the truth and sincerely aspire to unity, there must still be some point of contact, some territory where it is possible to meet one another and clasp hands; and if the truth must be only one, there is nevertheless a need that we should reach at some time or other the perfect union of minds and hearts. We are still far from this; but the mere consciousness of the need, and wishing for it, is in itself a great step. For the present, the best plan is to unite ourselves in charity. This most exalted thing is what was implied by Christ in the sublime prayer, the Pater Noster, which is *par excellence* the universal prayer, which prescinds from all dogmatic divergence and from every form of authority, and which asks no other faith but the faith in the common Father who is in heaven. Charity, the teacher of patience, of tolerance, of prudence, of kindness, permits the fusing together of the most discordant elements, and knows how to find the hidden ways of concord. We can love each other, then, and pray together: pray to God that He may smooth out the difficulties which appear to us insuperable; pray to Him that a way out may there be found where our powers are insufficient; that He may conquer the resistances of our pride and our other passions; that He may pour into us that spirit of generosity which tolerates, overlooks, sympathizes and pardons; that He may place in our hearts the sweet ointment of grace which persuades and overcomes without violence. No other than the Father who is in heaven can work this miracle and fulfil in us the prayer of Christ that we all may be one as He and the Father.

Still, we too must work with our powers; we must study the occasions which have produced the lamentable division in the Church; we must reduce doctrines within their

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just limits, and place them in their true light; we must separate what is essential and irreducible from what can be modified; we must endeavour to cut down distances as much as possible; but after this we must again make the common, fervent prayer to our Father and await from Him that spirit the consummation of which is perfect unity. May it please God that this be not long in coming!

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Reading over these few lines, in which I had desired to pour out my whole soul into the breasts of my brothers who are outside of our Church, and to draw them to us at the cost of my blood, I feel the need of adding one word more. Previous to the definitions made by the Roman Catholic Church, in the various Ecumenical Councils, union between the three Churches was not difficult, so long as they were of one accord to submit themselves sincerely and unreservedly to the judgment which the Universal Church itself should in future pronounce: if they all united in the supreme dictum of the whole Church, no Church would feel itself offended, and the truth received no injury thereby. But now that the decisions have been *irrevocably pronounced*, what further way can be found to secure the supreme authority of the Roman Catholic Church? How can we, as it were, put in doubt what has been declared undoubted and indubitable? The more I think of it, the more I feel my heart wrung, as I see the impossibility of finding a way out of so terrible a difficulty. We Catholics cannot suffer that to come in question which we have declared to be the *truth*. We should be traitors to our faith. But you, my ever dear brothers, especially you English, you have not the insuperable difficulty which exists for us, because you have not, strictly speaking, adopted any dogmatic definition since your separation. We have the definition behind us, we have the *impassable abyss*, you

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*have it not.* Come over the gulf to us: we will forthwith throw our arms about your neck, we shall all be sons of the same Mother, and of the same Father who is in heaven; and quickly the earth shall be changed, and the great ship of the united Church will sail in safety upon the troubled waters, and gather in the millions of scattered sons throughout all the coasts. What joy! What an event for the Church of Christ! There will be neither winners nor losers; neither humbled nor those who humble; we shall all be brothers. Meanwhile, let us be united, if not in the same faith, in the same charity, and prostrate before our common Saviour, Jesus Christ, let us pray that His will be done—His will that all be saved.

I have no objection to your publishing this letter of mine.

✠ GEREMIA BONOMELLI, *Bishop of Cremona.*

20 June, 1913.

# The "Restoration" Plea of the Disciples of Christ

BY FREDERICK D. KERSHNER,  
*President of Texas Christian University.*

Christianity is fundamentally an ethical religion. Its supreme values are expressed in terms of character and its constant emphasis is placed upon the worth of personality. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" is a forceful way of stating the goal of ideal selfhood. The most significant feature of the Sermon on the Mount is its insistence upon the inner life of character as opposed to the hollow emptiness of ceremonialism. The personality of Jesus as the embodiment of a perfect moral ideal is the one irreducible feature of the religion which bears His name. The ultimate definition of a Christian must always include the idea of a more or less complete embodiment of the Christ ideal in actual experience. The individual whose character is fashioned after the perfect mould of the Man of Galilee is a Christian, whatever name he may wear or whatever creed may claim his intellectual approval. The Apostle Paul states this truism of his faith in the words "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of His," and indicates that the possession of the Spirit is made known through its fruits—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance—the triple trinity of the fifth chapter of Galatians.

This, the unequivocal testimony of the Scriptures, has been freely substantiated in the pages of history.

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Few unprejudiced witnesses will dare assert that any religious denomination has had a monopoly of Christian character. The man who will deny the title of Christian to Francis of Assisi, or Thomas à Kempis, is as rare as his polemical antagonist who will assert that David Livingstone was not a follower in his own way of the Supreme Teacher of men. There is a spontaneous recognition of Christian personality as the essential characteristic of the true religion of the Nazarene. It is surely unnecessary to multiply illustrations of a fact so patent that it may be styled the one outstanding feature of religious history.

The recognition of Christian character as the supreme goal of the religion of Jesus in no wise militates against the proper place of the church organization in the full-orbed scheme of Christianity. The Church becomes not indeed the end of religion, but it remains the indispensable means by which the goal is to be reached. It is noteworthy that the life of Jesus was lived and His teaching fully proclaimed before His Church as an organization was given to the world. This was, of course, the natural and logical order. The goal must be announced before the way to reach it is mentioned, otherwise the latter is meaningless. One can conceive perhaps of an end without the means of securing it, but a means without an end is altogether unintelligible. Without the Christ ideal as its goal, the Church would be deprived of its *raison d'être*. It should never be forgotten, therefore, that the Church was founded in the first place in order that men and women might become disciples of Christ, that they might fashion their lives after the image of His perfect Life, that they should be enabled to enter into communion with God by becoming like unto His Son.

It would be obviously out of place in the present brief study to attempt even a partial résumé of the historical career of the Christian Church. That its fundamental characteristics are embodied in the New Testament, few, if any, communions claiming to be Christian will



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presume to deny. The Protestant Reformation arose from a belief on the part of the Reformers that the Church had drifted in the course of its progress from its pristine moorings. The effort of the first Protestant leaders was to correct the abuses which they believed were present in the church organization of their own age. The Counter Reformation was an attempt to secure the same results from the inside. Both movements undoubtedly attained some measure of success—Protestantism at the cost of deplorable schisms and the destruction of church unity, and the Catholic reformation at best arriving too late to bring back to the fold those who had wandered from it.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, the religious world exhibited certain striking phenomena. The Roman Catholic Church maintained its essential unity within its own borders, but it commanded the assent of only a fraction of those proclaiming their adherence to the banner of Christ. Protestantism was split up into more or less discordant fragments, each claiming to represent the Church properly "reformed." Among these fragments, freedom of conscience was stoutly maintained, but there was no pretence of harmonious action. Catholicism proclaimed unity. Protestantism proclaimed freedom. Neither the one nor the other appeared to be able to secure a synthesis which should include both unity and freedom as elements.

The divided condition of the Protestant world was the scandal of its friends and the constant point of attack of its enemies. How an apparently endless multitude of ever-multiplying denominations could be truthfully said to represent the One Body of Christ was a subject for anxious thought on the part of all reflecting minds. That the current Protestantism of the day embodied the ideal unity of the Intercessory Prayer seemed a self-evident contradiction. The conditions

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expressly condemned in the first chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians<sup>1</sup> could scarcely have received more substantial embodiment. Men could not help substituting the names of the early reformers for those of Paul, of Apollos and of Cephas and drawing their own conclusions. However appealing the plea of each denomination might be, the appalling fact confronted the fair minded observer that a discordant multiplicity could by no stretch of the imagination be styled the ideal unity of the Church.

Out of conditions such as these arose a plea for the union of all Christians upon the basis of the original Church as revealed in the New Testament Scriptures. Reformation of the existent organization was seen to produce endless multiplicity and discordant denominationalism. Only a complete restoration of the Apostolic Church seemed to promise common ground and harmonious unity. It is no part of the writer's programme to assert that this plea received an ideal practical embodiment in the work of the religious movement commonly known as the Disciples of Christ. His only concern at this point is to call attention to the basic character of the plea itself. That plea, it will be observed, aimed at Restoration rather than at Reformation. It could not properly be styled either Catholic or Protestant in the ordinary usage of those words, for its object was to go back of both Protestantism and Catholicism to the common basis or norm of all existent church organization and restore the original Church of the New Testament age. It claimed to be fundamentally an undenominational plea, for the New Testament Church is expressly declared in the Scriptures to be an undenominational organization.<sup>2</sup> If those

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<sup>1</sup>"Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized into the name of Paul?" I Cor. 1:12, 13.

<sup>2</sup>See I Cor. 1:12, 13, as already quoted.

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who have advocated this plea have at times been placed in the attitude of a denomination, such attitude constitutes no feature of the original plea itself.

Perhaps the theoretical programme outlined above will meet with the more or less cordial approval of many who find reason for objecting to its practical embodiment. The New Testament Church means many things to many minds. Doubtless every conscientious Christian believes that his religion is an expression of New Testament Christianity. It remains, therefore, to state, in brief compass, the salient features of the practical programme adopted by the new movement. It is needless to say that this statement is made in frankness and in charity and yet withal from an avowedly sympathetic point of view.

The conception of the Church of Christ may be said to involve a triple outline. The three features comprehended are those of creed, ordinance and polity. Under creed are included the doctrines necessary to be believed, in order that one may be a Christian; under ordinance may be grouped the active steps requisite to constitute one a member of the Church, and under polity the whole sphere of church administration and government. Obviously there are other considerations involved in any detailed analysis of church organization, but the above outline, may be styled reasonably comprehensive as regards the essential characteristics demanding consideration.

In approaching the subject of creed, the Restoration advocates were solely at pains to discover the original confession demanded of those who became Christians in the Apostolic days. After the most careful scrutiny, they were able to find no more elaborate statement than a simple avowal of faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of the Living God. This avowal assumed its most explicit form in the Confession of Peter as recorded in the sixteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter of Saint

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Matthew's gospel.<sup>3</sup> It seemed peculiarly significant that upon the rock of this confession, or perhaps more properly upon Peter as embodying this confession, the Supreme Teacher declared that He would build His Church and that the gates of Hades should not prevail against it. Following this preliminary announcement, it was discovered that in all the records of New Testament conversions as related in the Acts of the Apostles, the confession demanded of those who were admitted to the Church was stated in practically identical language. The confession of the Eunuch, for example, while probably not a part of the original text of the Acts, may fairly be considered as embodying the original statement required of those who were admitted to baptism and consequent church membership. So far as the writer is aware, church historians are practically a unit in conceding that the New Testament Confession of Faith was a simple avowal of belief in Jesus as the Son of God. The Apostles' Creed, the oldest of the post-Apostolic confessions, is concededly of a later date. Without in any way criticising the contents of the historic creeds, the Restorationists, in order to be true to their plea, were obliged to accept as a test of fellowship the New Testament Confession and the New Testament Confession alone. Accordingly, their only rule of faith became an open avowal of belief in Jesus as the Divine Lord and Saviour of man. This public confession, and no other, has always been demanded of the penitent before baptism and consequent admission to the Church.

It is noteworthy that this simple creed, the only confession known to the New Testament, in practical experience has proven wonderfully unifying. In a single congregation, Arminians and Calvinists, mystics and sacramentarians, men of the most diverse shades of theological opinion dwell together in perfect harmony

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<sup>3</sup>"And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God."

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and with absolute freedom as regards their theological convictions. They all believe in Jesus as their Lord and Christ and they are left free to solve other theological problems as their individual consciences may dictate. The Restorationists, in the Confession of Peter, saw Christianity, from a creedal point of view, at its lowest terms. The Apostles accepted the man or woman who made this confession as a Christian—more than this they did not ask, less than this they could not require. The advantages of this creedal statement from the standpoint of unification are at once obvious. Brief, simple, permitting the widest range for individual freedom of thought, and yet demanding firm adherence to the one vital feature of Christianity, it would seem that the earliest creed of the united Church of the past may well, at some time, become the ultimate creed of the united Church of the future. Less than this creed no man can accept and claim to be a Christian, more than this creed if demanded will always exclude some who believe in Jesus as their Divine Lord and Saviour.

A striking illustration of the unifying power of this Apostolic confession is found in the constitution of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The only approach to a creedal pronouncement contained in the platform of the Federal Council provides that Churches which accept Jesus as their Divine Lord and Saviour may become constituent bodies of the organization.<sup>4</sup> On this platform nearly the whole of Protestant America has cheerfully and harmoniously come together. Churches which do not accept Jesus as their Divine Lord

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<sup>4</sup>See "Original Plan of Federation and Constitution"—"PREAMBLE. Whereas, In the providence of God, the time has come when it seems fitting more fully to manifest the essential oneness of the Christian Churches of America, in Jesus Christ as their Divine Lord and Saviour, and to promote the spirit of fellowship, service and co-operation among them, the delegates to the Inter-Church Conference on Federation, assembled in New York City, do hereby recommend the following Plan of Federation to the Christian bodies represented in this Conference for their approval:"



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and Saviour are by common consent excluded from the assembly; Churches which do accept the Divine Lordship of Jesus are by the same common consent accepted as Christian, both by the Council as a whole and by all of its constituent bodies. Now what the Federal Council declares to be the test of fellowship for Churches the Restorationists have always proclaimed to be the only test of fellowship needed for the individuals who make up the Churches. It is difficult to see why a creed which will entitle a Church to the appellation of Christian should not entitle an individual who accepts it to the same distinction.

In searching for the New Testament norm in regard to ordinance the founders of the Disciple movement were able to discover two specific rites which characterized the Apostolic organization. The first was baptism, the initiatory ordinance demanded of those who came into the Church, and the second was the Lord's Supper, the perpetual ordinance observed regularly by all Christians. In their efforts to reproduce the New Testament ordinance of baptism they were led to believe that a faithful rendering of its form demands the physical action of immersion. The limitations of this paper forbid any elaborate statement of the specific grounds for this position, but one or two of the chief reasons may be indicated.<sup>5</sup> The first reason is the linguistic one, the ordinary significance of the word itself in Greek. A second reason is the symbolic significance which the action of immersion involves. The central facts in the Christian religion as stated by the Apostle Paul are the death, the burial and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. In the action of immersion these facts find full symbolic

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<sup>5</sup>A more complete statement of the position of the Disciples upon the first Christian ordinance may be found in the writer's brochure upon Christian Baptism, read before a joint session of representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Christian Unity Foundation and the Commission on Christian Union of the Disciples of Christ, April, 1912. The volume has been published by the Disciples' Commission.

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expression. A third consideration is the exegesis of particular passages of Scripture which seem normally to require immersion. A fourth argument is derived from the testimony of historical authorities which though by no means unanimous, seems to preponderate strongly in favour of immersion.

In view of the considerations mentioned above, the Disciples faced a peculiar situation in approaching the subject of the first Christian ordinance. Their plea demanded a restoration of New Testament Christianity. The preponderance of evidence guaranteed practical certainty in regard to immersion. The claims of affusion were not so indubitable. In seeking for common ground, there appeared to be no option save to select the form which practically all Christians could accept as valid. Some form of baptism was demanded. Immersion was the nearest approach to a universally acceptable no less than entirely Scriptural form. Conscientious affusionists will accept immersion, but conscientious immersionists, will not accept affusion. The only universal and common ground was therefore immersion. It is worthy of note that the original leaders of the Restoration movement were all affusionists to begin with. Thomas and Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone were devout Presbyterians and gave up affusion only after a severe struggle, because they believed it inconsistent with their plea.<sup>6</sup>

The position of the Disciple movement in regard to baptism has been much misunderstood. Holding as they do to the fundamentally ethical character of Christianity, they have always been willing to accept as Christians all who manifest by their lives and actions the pres-

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<sup>6</sup>"Thomas Campbell before going into the water, delivered a lengthy address in which he set forth in detail the steps by which he had reached a position in favour of the immersion of believers as alone the act of Christian baptism. Alexander delivered an elaborate address on the same subject. The services continued through seven hours."—Tyler's *History of the Disciples of Christ*, p. 62. See also the history of B. W. Stone's experience, in the same volume, pp. 31-33.

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ence of the Spirit of Christ. They have never excluded from the Lord's Table any who in good conscience wish to share the sacred emblems with them. If they have firmly but in all charity refused to accept any form of baptism save that which they regard as indisputable, it is only because their plea for the Restoration of the New Testament Church demands an acceptance of the New Testament ordinance. Less than this would destroy the ideality of their position, as they have been led to see it.

The second ordinance—that of the Lord's Supper or the Eucharist, in the Apostolic records appears as the central rite around which clustered the characteristic worship of the pristine Church. The early disciples "met together on the first day of the week to break bread" and after assembling for this purpose we are told a visiting minister "preached unto them."<sup>7</sup> The loaf and cup, by their simple symbolism, serve not only to memorialize the great sacrifice of Calvary, but perhaps still more significantly to remind the Christian of his own cross which as a follower of Jesus he must take up and bear from day to day. The Communion for this reason becomes the central feature of the weekly service of the Disciples. Here again, however, they permit perfect freedom. If for any reason one prefers not to commune each Lord's Day, it is in his power to refrain, but if he desires to do so the opportunity is afforded him. With regard to the theology of the Supper, there is of course no inhibition upon the individual conscience. "Let a man so examine himself" has always been the governing consideration. Men will attach different meanings to the ordinance, but there is no one of these various interpretations which appears sufficiently significant to be made a test of fellowship.

In the matter of church polity the Disciples are frankly

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<sup>7</sup>"And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them."—Acts 20:7.

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congregational. Their study of the New Testament discloses no other polity as present in the Apostolic age. They believe in the co-operation and united action of free churches, but they recognize no ultimate authority beyond the local congregation. The Pauline epistles, as well as the Acts, as they read them, recognize churches<sup>8</sup> but no centralized church organization. In attempting to reproduce and restore the New Testament polity they were thus forced into the congregational position. The problem of government has been their most difficult question in practical experience as it was probably the most difficult question of the original Church. To secure perfect co-operation and yet to retain perfect freedom they regard as the ideal of church polity. That they have realized this ideal is unfortunately in a large measure untrue. Human limitations, lack of intelligent foresight, and countless other considerations have always interfered, but still the goal remains. Some day they believe there will be a Church unified and harmonious in all its activities and exhibiting at the same time perfect freedom for the individual congregation as well as the individual Christian. Liberty and union they regard as the two essential characteristics of ideal government in the Church no less than in the State. It is worthy of note that in a practical way the polity of the Disciples, in the main, has worked well. The great cataclysm of the War between the States, for example, left them undivided. There is no Disciple Church of the North or of the South, although there is a large membership in both sections. They have an ultra-radical wing and an ultra-conservative wing, it is true, but these phenomena are exhibited in all movements, whether political or religious.

Such is a brief and the writer feels a very inadequate presentation of the plea of the Disciples for Christian

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<sup>8</sup>Local congregations. There is of course always a full recognition of the fact that there is but one Church Universal—the Body of Christ.

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Union. In its essence, be it again remembered, it possesses both a theoretical and a practical aspect. The theoretical position, the idea of the ultimate union of all the followers of Christ upon the original norm of the Church as founded by its Master is decidedly the most significant thing in the movement. The only really Catholic and Universal Church must be in a very vital sense the original Apostolic Church. How universality can be reached short of this conception it seems difficult to understand. The Disciples have always clung to this ideal, however imperfectly they may have, in specific instances, embodied it. They have never desired to found a denomination with a separate organization and ecclesiastical machinery. They have preferred to regard themselves as simply a "movement" in the great Church Universal, pleading for what they believe to be the only possible basis for ultimate union. Whenever that union comes, as a people they will be glad to be swallowed up in the glad triumph of Universal Christianity. They ask no immortality for themselves, no perpetuity for any of their ancestors or traditions—they pray and hope only for the ultimate triumph of the ideal of Christian Union. In all good conscience they dare do no less than plead for the only practical basis of union as they see it—the Restoration of the New Testament Church as briefly outlined above, but the ideal involved in their plea is, after all, the significant consideration. As men all over Christendom come more and more to see the beauty of that ideal the practical problems in the way of union will tend to disappear. It is noteworthy that in almost all communions there are men and women today who have caught this vision of the goal. They do not care so much for their particular churches as they do for the Church Universal. As this loyalty to the ultimate ideal continues to grow, the characteristics of particularity will vanish—Christianity will appear in its irreducible elements and upon the basis of those elements all Christians will be one.



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In all the suggested programmes for Christian Unity—wherever there has been any vital appreciation of a definite goal there has been a recognition of the essential unity of the Church in fact, however divided it may appear in actual manifestation. There is, and must be, after all, but one Church. That Church, it is true, appears often as only an ideal sadly marred by discordant attempts at its approximation in actual experience. The only time when the ideal and actual appear to have perfectly coincided was in the Apostolic days. Can there be any reasonable hope for such a coincidence again short of a reproduction of the original norm of the Church? The Disciples at least fail to see adequate grounds for such hope.

It is only fair to say that a significant objection which may be urged against the Restoration idea is what has been styled the developmental theory of Christianity. According to this theory the Church is an organism which finds its germinal starting point in the Apostolic age, but which by the law of development has grown beyond its infantile origin. To go back to that origin as a norm, therefore, is as illogical as it would be for a man to attempt to place before himself as an ideal the characteristics of childhood. The New Testament Church is to be regarded as the starting point rather than the goal of Christianity. The attempt, therefore, to reproduce it is fallacious, inasmuch as our efforts should be confined solely to an effort to develop in harmony with its general principles.

Those who accept this position with reference to the church organization are perforce obliged to accept it likewise with regard to the Founder of the Church. There arises, therefore, logically the idea of an evolution beyond the Christ Himself. Jesus too becomes the starting point rather than the goal of religion. In certain quarters this position is unhesitatingly affirmed. We are told that the ethics of the Nazarene are antiquated, that

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they were good enough for His own age but that we have grown beyond them, and that the only significant thing about His teaching is its method of approaching the truth. Jesus thus becomes no longer an ideal, and a serious discount is placed upon all of His teaching.

However appealing such a theory may become to a certain type of mind, the Disciples frankly regard it as destructive of a truly vital Christianity. In their eyes Jesus is the Son of God, the one perfect and spotless Being in the history of the world. For Christianity to evolve beyond Him is for it to evolve beyond itself. He is its starting point, its center and its goal. It is no more possible to evolve beyond Jesus than it is to evolve beyond God. To approach Him is the highest goal of every Christian and every approach is, even at its best, no more than an approximation.

By the same process of logic which makes it impossible to develop beyond Christ the Disciples believe it is impossible to develop beyond the norm of His original Church. The highest goal here becomes one of realization, or more correctly speaking, of a relatively greater degree of approximation. The original Church they believe to be the ideal Church. To improve upon the New Testament ideal is to improve backwards. The history of Christianity is, to them, an illustration of the danger involved in departing from the original norm of the Apostolic age. The Church was one when it adhered to that original ideal. They believe that it will become one again when it returns to its first moorings. They believe likewise that until this is done it never will become one.

There is, of course, embodied in the above position a full recognition of the adaptive power of the Church to meet the needs of successive generations. Much freedom with reference to detail is involved in the original constitution of Christianity. It is only the essential framework of the Church which does not change. Change and adaptation as regards non-essentials are of the very

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essence of the Gospel. Christianity is not a stereotyped set of forms any more than it is an evolutionary process which is constantly growing beyond itself.

The Restoration plea all Disciples will frankly admit has often found exceedingly inadequate embodiment in their own efforts. Often it has been characterized by narrowness and bigotry, often by a measure of egotistical assumption which has aroused a thoroughly intelligible antagonism on the part of others; still oftener it has been apprehended by its advocates with such a degree of imperfection that particulars have been presented as universals, and universals have sunk by comparison to the level of particulars. After all shortcomings, however, have been fully and frankly acknowledged, the plea itself remains as a living and moulding force in the universal Christian world. The growth of the Disciple movement has been enormous, even under the most adverse circumstances. In a little over a century it has won a place among the most influential, in point of numbers at least, among American communions.<sup>9</sup> More significant still, the basic principles of the movement are finding a place among other religious bodies. It is no unusual thing to hear these principles proclaimed from pulpits representing creeds of apparently wide divergence. The passion for Christian Unity has taken possession of many communions, this passion being especially manifest on the foreign field. Wherever the concept has secured a firm hold there is a desire to claim universal acceptance only for universal principles. The watchword, "Back to Christ," thus becomes of peculiar significance.

It is almost painfully obvious that Christian Unity can never be reached by compromise. Religion is a matter of conscience, and to compromise in the moral

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<sup>9</sup>See *Study Number One of the Christian Unity Foundation*: "They (the Disciples) appear to be the fastest growing body of Christians in the United States."—p. 24.

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domain is to destroy conscience entirely. Were all religions to come together on a basis of compromise the net result would be no religion, for whatever religion had previously existed among the fragments would be destroyed in the process of unification. The only possible basis for genuine unity, therefore, demands universal recognition of the original and essential elements in Christianity and a willingness to exercise charity in regard to non-essentials. The Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Chicago, in a noteworthy address, expresses this idea in the following language:

"The Christian Unity propaganda is not radical nor destructive. It is constructive conservatism. It conserves the original constitution of the Church. Let us suppose that you are reading the New Testament for the first time, without any presuppositions based upon modern conditions in Christendom. You read 'On this rock I will build my Church,' 'Tell it to the Church,' 'The Church which is His body,' 'He is the head of the Body, the Church,' 'The Church of the Thessalonians,' and so on. Here the Church is one. It is a Body. It is visible. Now take your eyes off the Bible and look around. Does the bewildering multiplicity of churches fit into the Bible conception of the Church? Leave out for the present the form and organization of the Church. The point to be pressed is that the New Testament is strong on the doctrine of the Church, but knows nothing whatever of the modern idea of churches. Polychurchism is as foreign to the New Testament as polytheism. The 'churches' of the New Testament are geographical congregations of the Church. . . . The reunion of Christendom then is not a perilous pursuit. It would heal wounds, build up the Body, and restore that unity which characterized the Church when she first set out to win the world for Christ."<sup>10</sup>

When Bishop Anderson advocates "restoring that unity which characterized the Church when she first set out to win the world for Christ," he is stating in his own way what has always been the primal passion of the Disciple movement. Perhaps his conception of the method of

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<sup>10</sup>*The Manifestation of Unity: A Charge to the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Chicago, May 28, 1912, by the Rt. Rev. C. P. Anderson, D. D., Bishop of Chicago. Published by the Joint Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church appointed to arrange for a World Conference on Faith and Order.*

This address is so admirable from a Disciple point of view that I have found none of my own communion unwilling to accept it, substantially, in its entirety.

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restoration may differ from that usually accepted by the Disciples, but the point of view is precisely the same. The acceptance of this point of view by men in different communions is to the writer the most hopeful evidence of ultimate unity. When people begin to get the same viewpoint, matters of detail will largely adjust themselves. Moreover, the unity which will become manifest as the result of a common point of view will be the real unity of the Church, not the lifeless piecing together of a mechanical compromise. It will be a deeply conscientious unity and not a so-called union based upon the sacrifice of conscientious conviction.

One of the striking characteristics of the Disciple movement has been its unwillingness to wear a denominational name. Its congregations have always preferred to be styled simply Christian, being careful at the same time to disclaim even this title as a denominational one. Individual members have been glad to wear the name of disciples in accordance with the New Testament precedent. The title "Disciples of Christ" for the movement at large is accepted for convenience in ordinary reference, and for statistical and other purposes, but its acceptance is always understood as not affecting the strictly undenominational character of the plea itself. The Disciple viewpoint here has again been summed up admirably by Bishop Anderson:

"God never made Protestant Episcopalians,—nor Presbyterians, nor Congregationalists, nor any of sectarian name. He made Christians, and they chose to call themselves by less lovely names."<sup>11</sup>

It is altogether unnecessary to say that this use of the name Christian is in no sense exclusive nor does it carry with it any uncharitable reference to other Christians who may prefer to wear additional names. Whenever it is made denominational it is quite as unsat-

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<sup>11</sup>*The Manifestation of Unity*, p. 9.



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isfactory from the Disciple point of view as any other religious title.<sup>12</sup>

In bringing this paper to a close the writer wishes to emphasize his earnest desire to present the truth as he sees it in no spirit save that of the utmost courtesy toward all who may differ with him. If anything in the slightest degree uncharitable has been written it has been unintentional, in the fullest sense of the term. Only through frank and courteous presentation of our different points of view may we all hope some day to reach that deeply conscientious and universal harmony of thought and action which shall conquer the world for Christ, and which shall answer His prayer that we all may be one as He is one with the Father and the Father one with Him.

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<sup>12</sup>See for example the recent brief discussion in the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, "the organ of the Christian denomination," of the different points of view taken by the Christians and the Disciples. The former wear their title as a strictly denominational one, the latter disdain all denominational reference.

# Comprehension Not Compromise

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In a supreme hour of our Lord's life on earth, when absorbed in the consciousness that He Himself, going away, was about to commit to His chosen disciples the fate of His Kingdom in the world, for these disciples and their successors He prayed the Father, "That they all may be one." What now, so many centuries removed from its scene and utterance, are we to think of this prayer of Christ for the unity of His Church?

The Church when young was riven by the spirit of schism. Indeed, when the memory of the Master must still have been vivid in the minds of the first disciples, vehement discord arose among them. And today, a day more lustrous in the light of science and learning than any which the world has known, many of the families of Christendom have no fellowship with each other. Is it true, then, that the unity for which Christ prayed is after all only to be thought of as a poetical dream?

There is a better, a diviner, way of measuring this worldwide situation. The deeper prophecy of Christian unity is no dream. Christ planned for no failure when He founded His Kingdom in the earth. Time is a necessary element in the fruition of divine plans for our world. God's calendar is large. The processes of the Kingdom are moral. Their final success must come through educational and transforming agencies. The world to which was first given the resplendent prophecy of the

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Gospel, before which was placed the transcendent ideals of the Kingdom, was a world of essentially low order, of poor inheritances, militant, materialistic and sensual in its habits—a world far more barbarous than civilized. The moral transformation of such a world by any plan which even God Himself could institute must inevitably be a process of slow growth. Such transformation would mean a changed moral character for mankind, changed standards of conduct, new ideals, new faiths, new hopes, new purities, the displacement of long-standing evil heredities.

While a review of nineteen centuries furnishes most cheering and fortifying evidence that Christianity is a divinely inspired and a divinely sustained movement in the world, yet it is painfully evident that Christendom itself is far from being Christian. There are still vast provinces—provinces of mercantile and industrial life, intellectual, educational, social, large spheres involving the vital equities, mutual duties between men, the rightful liberty of the individual, the obligations of society to childhood—in all of which the spirit of Christ is still far from supreme sway. Is the leaven of Christianity progressively and triumphantly working in all these provinces? If so, then, as to when Christ's prayer shall be answered may be largely a question of perspective. It may be that one of our most needed lessons is, the patient adjustment of our faith, our loyalty, our services to God's gradual methods with His Kingdom.

To the writer, the present, more than any other, seems an era of auspicious promise for the spirituality, the unity and the certain ascendancy of the Christian Church. What are some of the signs of promise?

It is more clearly recognized than ever before how much solid ground for common faith and action is held by all the great communions of Christendom. The temper of the past few centuries, certainly far more than at the present time, has prompted to magnify over much and

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to defend things divisive in the great body of believers. A polemical spirit, displaying all the polished weapons of controversy, and often begetting the fruits of bitterness and enmity, has most sadly characterized much of ecclesiastical thought since and before the days of the Reformation. Happily, as the genial atmosphere of springtime succeeding the chill and blight of winter, there is in our very days a large return in Christian thought of an eirenic atmosphere. A growing vision of the world's needs, and a more sympathetic view of Christ's measureless love and sacrifice for humanity, are forcing upon thoughtful minds in all Christian bodies the sovereign importance of emphasizing the facts of Christian agreement rather than irritating differences of view. And the more this temper is indulged, the more clear does it appear that the facts upon which Christians generally are in agreement are facts large and vital, while the questions which have brought disagreement, and too often bitter separations, are minor, and, in most cases, not vital to faith.

The Bible is the common possession of the Christian world. The early and historic creeds of Christendom have entered into the very life-blood of all the Churches. The history of the Church from the very days of its Founder is the free heritage of all Christian students. The great Apostles and Fathers of the Church, the confessors and martyrs of the faith, are alike the heroic and spiritual ancestry of all believers. Today, Christian thought, let it arise from what source it may, in the very measure in which it is life-giving, passes as by electric flight to receive eager welcome from all in all lands who love and worship Christ. In the light of these great, and kindred, truths there is happily a growing feeling in the age that insularity in Christian sympathy and action is something meeting with less and less assertion and approval as time advances.

A fact of potential promise is, that there is a growing

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and pervasive mood of coming-togetherness in present-day Christianity. A mood, a sentiment, an atmosphere, which has in it the leaven of increase, and which seeps itself into the very life blood of popular conviction, is always irresistible. It is a something which precedes and prepares the way for the greatest moral, social and spiritual movements. It is a happy omen for any age when a multitude of the world's best people unite in wanting some great and common good.

It will not be misleading to assert that never before in the history of Protestant Christianity has there been so earnest a quest, in many minds amounting to a passion, to discover a common territory in which Christians can dwell together in the spirit of unity and in the bond of peace. In the very recent decades more has been thought, more written, and more propositions have been advanced, looking toward Christian unity than in as many preceding centuries. This is not to say that all these propositions have been either wise or magnanimous. Many, in their logical purport, have been tantamount to a summons to surrender cherished convictions, to submerge history and finally to consent to annihilation by the process of being swallowed up and assimilated. Of course, no vital unity can ever be effected on such a basis.

It is not clear that the obliteration of denominational lines would best serve the interests of Christianity. It is increasingly clear that denominations as such may be so imbued with the larger mission of the Kingdom, so possessed and inspired with the love of Christ, as to prompt them to work together in a sublime unity for the redemption of the world. It is the spirit of such a unity which more than ever before is moving upon the heart of the modern Church. The demand in many fields for efficient administration of Christian work, economic necessities, such division of effort as promises most effective results with least waste of power, these, and



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many kindred considerations, are all promotive of a co-operative purpose and effort in Christian service. While there may be reasons for maintaining denominational organizations, the spirit of denominational exclusiveness and narrowness as such is decidedly against the better trend and movement of the age.

This is an age of great missionary enterprise. In no direction do the necessity and value of Christian unity more appear than in mission fields. The scattered workers in the wide, dense, and darkened Paganisms of the earth are filled with a heart-hunger for brotherly fellowship. Their very sense of isolation prompts them to strengthen each other in the work and purposes for which they stand in common. A sense of the vast and overwhelming needs of the world, of their own insufficiency in the presence of these needs, forces upon missionary workers both the fitness and necessity of entering into a holy leaguiship with all who are truly seeking to exalt the name of Christ in the midst of Pagan cults. In presence of countless heathen whose supreme need is to know Jesus Christ there comes to these workers a sense of the true perspective of differences which too often and too long in the home land have separated the denominations. For the heathen convert himself one of the difficult lessons to learn is the meaning of, or the necessity for, the many cleavages which separate bodies of believers in Christian lands. Such cleavages are to him a stumbling block and a mystery.

Not in the modern ages has there been witnessed so noble an expression in the interests of Christian unity as that given in the recent World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh. This Conference was made up of representative Christian workers from the ends of the earth. The call for this Conference was wrung from the very heart of missionary needs. The response was world-wide. The significant thing of its history is, that practically for the first time in the modern centuries there

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was brought together a great interdenominational body assembled for the purpose of devising co-operative methods for Christianizing the heathen world. Relatively large numbers of these representatives had given years of expert study to the worldwide problems of Christian missions. Some members of this Conference ranked among the foremost workers in mission fields. It was not a company of theorists. In discussing the ample programme there was no effort to disguise or to minify essential denominational distinctions. The entire proceedings were characterized by a pervasive and decisive spirit of unity. The great emphasis put upon the necessity of co-operative Christian effort for the redemption of the heathen world was such as powerfully to impress all that the present is no time for the wasting of Christian energy in fruitless theological and ecclesiastical controversies. The Conference itself doubtless marks an epoch in the missionary history of the world. Its final influence has not yet been measured. The going forth of its members meant a new proclamation in all lands of more luminous conviction and of quickened progress for a Gospel of worldwide Christian unity.

A new conception of the Kingdom of Christ is now in the foreground of Christian thought. Many may not appreciate this fact, but the fact remains. The Church must not be content to rest in the measurement of past ideals. It is called upon to move into new territory, to take advanced grounds.

Hitherto in all forms of Christianity, Catholic and Protestant alike, the great appeal has been made to the life of the world to come, and in large neglect of the world that now is. The salvation of the individual soul has been the end of the appeal, and the motives urged have been drawn from an unearthly and eternal future. This is not to say that "other-world" motives do not merit large sway over human thought and conduct. If man is to have a future life, if in that life he is to be a citizen

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of eternity, then, sober and sane considerations of the future should have a large place in his personal thought. To the being with a moral and immortal nature no legitimate motive drawn from an eternal future should be permitted to become obscure or relaxed within his breast.

But there has been, nevertheless, much, even in the most sincere and earnest method of Christian persuasion, to stamp an essentially selfish quality upon the quest of personal salvation, and to place in eclipse the importance of Christian relationships to the world that now is. The ideal Christian life cannot be self-centred. It cannot exclusively employ itself in absorbed meditations upon the life to come. It supremely owes all that is best in itself, its example, its services, its inspirations, to the human world in which it now dwells. This is the meaning of the present passion for the Kingdom. It will be time enough for the saints to give themselves over to rhapsodies when they are translated into the heavenly life. In this world Christians are called upon to be Kingdom-builders. By the spirit of their lives, and by the service of their powers, they are so to transform this world itself as to make it the very dwelling-place of God, the fit habitation of His throne. The discovery of this mission has been slow in dawning upon the Christian consciousness, slow in asserting its command over the convictions of the Church. But it is here, and it will assert itself with ever enlarging sway in Christian thought.

SERVICE, written large, is to displace any philosophy of selfishness in the scheme of Christian living. The salvation of the individual soul, earnestly as ever, is still to be sought. But if this soul happens to be a dweller in the city slum, the slum itself must be cleansed, transformed into an abode of decency. The redeemed life and the filthy, infectious environment of the slum cannot keep company. The city must be purified. The rum traffic, white slavery, police graft extorted from under-

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world merchandise, must all be swept away as in the consuming flames of advancing righteousness. Official thievery, bribe-taking, corrupt combinations, a venality of conscience which permits sworn public servants to enrich themselves at the expense of the public welfare—all these, and their kind, must be made morally impossible. A righteous equity must be enthroned in the business world. Capitalism must be emancipated from its present godless superstitions and “immoral assumptions.” The tyrannical and iniquitous injustices which are now legalized and entrenched within powerful and soulless corporations must be hunted down and out under the demands of an awakened public conscience. A sentiment must be developed under which the managers of great corporations will be made to feel that human life is in itself of far greater value than dividends. Men of power must realize that they are simply the stronger brothers of weaker men, and that so far from an oppressive use of their strength they must relate themselves in helpful and uplifting service to their weaker brethren.

The entire business world must be emancipated from anti-Christian policies which now largely control its movements. A Kingdom divided against itself cannot stand. A rich man who bows at the communion rail on Sunday as a brother of his poor neighbour, must not for the other six days in the week support business policies which hopelessly doom his neighbour to the position of a vassal and serf. The thought is fully born, and is waxing strong and large, that institutions as well as individuals need Christianizing. Business, politics, society, the school, all need to come under the control of a high morality. It is the mission of Christianity to redeem human society. It is not more its mission to prepare souls to go safely out of this evil world than it is to transform this evil world itself, making it a fit world for God's people to dwell in.

Christ talked much about His Kingdom. It is only

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just fully dawning upon the Church that the Kingdom which was so on the heart of Christ is one really to be set up in this world. The mission of this Kingdom is now imperative, impending. It should be the supreme effort of Christianity to bring in its reign upon the earth in this very century.

The establishing of Christ's Kingdom will not be the work of mere charity organizations. Such organizations abound in this age. The wrongs which inhere in the business and social world are multiplying the victims of misfortune. To minister to immediate needs mutual and benevolent organizations are rising on every hand. No one can deny that the spirit of Christianity is very largely inspiring these movements. The great Roman Church is conspicuous, and most praise-worthily so, for its institutions in relief of suffering and in aid of human needs.

But, after all, the charity institution for the most part deals only with symptoms. The causes for the world's physical, social and moral ills root themselves in moral ill-adjustments which put human society out of harmony with essential righteousness. Nothing less than the healing of divine power, nothing less than an authority with the voice of God in it, can ever prove sufficient for correcting the deep-seated sources of human woe, and of substituting in their places the conditions of a redeemed human society.

To this great mission the Christian Church has now the clearest summons. No call could be more divine, none more authoritative. It is a call to all Christendom, to the Greek, the Roman and the Protestant Christian world alike. In the presence of world-needs, there is no good excuse for destructive cleavages as between Christians. The Christian world should present a morally solid and aggressive front against the world of evil. Righteous politics, virtuous communities, pure society, a lofty spirit of co-operative brotherhood in control of



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the business world, creation of the most perfect normal physical, intellectual and moral environment around childhood—these are ends toward which all Christianity in the name and in the strength of God must unitedly work. The moral unity needed will not come all at once; but in proportion as the superlative importance of the Kingdom grows upon Christian vision, in that measure will the non-essential things which have divided Christendom fall into the back-ground, and in the same measure will the unity of conquest become pervasive among all that bear Christ's name. When Christ's own conception of His Kingdom shall be fully seen and felt, then there shall have been discovered the secret of that power which shall bind the forces of the Christian world together in an irresistible moral unity.

Science and a sane philosophy will work a large part in bringing about the unity of Christendom. No one familiar with the first centuries of Christian history can have failed to observe how greatly both Christian thought and ecclesiastical forms were influenced by the prevalent philosophies and governmental features of the times. In the very beginnings, it required no less a genius than Saint Paul to deliver the Church from a paralysing bondage to Judaic traditions. Before the last Gospel was written, its author felt the necessity of making such a statement of Christ and His work as would appeal to minds imbued with the spirit of Grecian philosophy. And, not to specify further, who can doubt that both the theology and the ecclesiasticism of Augustine were decisively shaped by Roman imperialism? The marked reactions of Pagan thought and custom upon Christian history are so familiar as to need no restatement here. The fact to be emphasized is, that historic Christianity has carried down into its traditions a vast measure of essentially non-Christian teaching and custom, much of which is not only out of harmony with the findings of enlightened and competent scholar-

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ship, but is also repugnant to rational modern thought. Any form of Christianity that would dogmatically insist upon the retention of outworn and discredited products of Paganism, would by this very attitude hold itself fatally aloof from effective unity with the only Christianity which can finally be possible and triumphant in the world.

The Christianity of the future, in the very nature and in the imperative necessities of the case, must be a Christianity commanding the sanction of the world's highest intelligence. So-called Christian systems weighted with teachings which trained thought must reject as unbelievable and absurd can by no possibility command the future.

The habit of the modern mind is scientific. Freed from any sense of bondage to authority, hesitating not to challenge tradition, however hoary, it boldly traverses all the fields of the intellectual world, of literature, of history, in a sole search for truth. It puts upon every tradition, every hypothesis, the tests of severe analysis. Any philosophy, tradition, or dogma, which will not abide these tests is ruthlessly cast upon the rubbish heap of out-worn and useless thought. Out of all the modern inquisition of scientific search, truth alone comes forth unscathed, alone bearing the stamp of value.

The modern world intellectually stands in well nigh immeasurable contrast to that world in which Christianity passed its first fifteen centuries. In the very recent times all the great sciences have either been born or modernized. Astronomy has literally opened upon our vision a new universe—new immensities. Geology has translated to us countless milleniums of the world's past history, and has utterly annihilated old traditions as to man's first appearance upon the earth. The philosophy of Evolution gives us vast new cosmogonies of creation, and utters anew the prophecy of a time, far off it may be, when the earth itself shall be made

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perfect and beautiful as the habitation of the sons of God.

The splendid knowledge, built on the foundations of modern science, is an increasing glory in the earth. Scientific knowledge will be regulative of the future. Philosophy, enriched and aided by this knowledge, while broad enough to embrace all the practical phases of thought and life, will be rational and sane in its processes and conclusions. Theology, no longer a system of cheerless logical architecture erected on a basis of arbitrary assumptions about God, but feeding itself vitally on the Divine Fatherhood as revealed in Jesus Christ, will come to such co-ordination with the best teachings of life and experience as to make most convincing appeal to enlightened reason. The Bible itself, under the critical illumination of a constructive scientific spirit, can no longer be manipulated or monopolistically interpreted in the interests of any special theology or ecclesiasticism. A reverent scientific criticism will yield to the entire world all that is possible to be known from a literary, historical, or chronological standpoint about the Bible. Biblical literature will be redeemed in popular thought from all traditions which have made of it a mere wonder-literature, a fetish to be worshipped, or which have loaded it with theories of inspiration, inerrancy and infallibility which it was never meant to carry, and which it has never claimed for itself. There is no danger of the Bible ever being displaced as the most vital record of God's revelation appearing in the world's literature. It will more and more receive its rightful place, emphasis and interpretation as the superlative expression of those spiritual processes, processes ever proceeding, by which God reveals Himself to His human children.

The world is moving into an ever-enlarging enlightenment. Before the increasing light, error and superstition, all things akin to astrology, necromancy, sooth-saying, sorcery and relic-worship, will pass to the limbo

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of a credulous and superseded age. It matters not how strongly intrenched in past usages, how seemingly impregnable the organism in which they dwell, systems and beliefs that are radically out of harmony with the world's growing enlightenment must finally disappear. Nothing can be more morally certain than that the time will come when the entire Christian world must come together in a great consensus of intellectual unity.

A guarding word should perhaps be written lest it should be assumed that man's religious nature is destined to be swallowed up in mere scientific thought. Infinitely untrue. Man's religiousness is the greatest fact of his being. To use the expression of Sabatier—"He is incurably religious." Science will never submerge religion. The fact and importance of man's spiritual nature will ever loom more largely upon the world's thought. This is not to say that spiritual phenomena are in antagonism to science or to demands of a rational philosophy. If there is anything to which philosophy is awaking today, it is that religious experience must receive philosophical consideration.

The Christianity of the future, however transcendent its life, will still be rational. God is not a juggler. In ministering to the spiritual nature He will work in absolute harmony with the mental and psychic laws which He Himself has ordained, and which are fundamental to the human soul.

As a final word it may be said, that the unity contemplated in this paper is that unity which must inevitably come from a larger life, a larger knowledge, and a larger sense of obligation for service—a sense which must ever be a growing persuasion in Christendom. Organic unity on the basis of denominational compromise is unthinkable. The whole of Christendom is wiser, and represents more fully the sum of truth, than is possible to any single denomination. All denominations, however small, have some demonstrable right for their existence. No

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one denomination, however historic or powerful, has the right to ask a lesser denomination to surrender or submerge its convictions. The working hypothesis for the unity of Christendom will finally be developed by the compelling power of great truths which must appeal to the universal vision of the Christian world. As has been well said, the final unity will come "not through compromise but from comprehension."



# An American Contribution to Unity

BY THOMAS J. GARLAND, D.D., D.C.L.,  
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In the progress towards the Unity of Christendom much may be hoped for from a journal of the faith, work and thought of Christendom such as THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY, for it is by removing the misunderstandings that exist in the minds of others that real steps are taken towards Christian Unity. Even if one does not agree with the convictions of Christians of other religious bodies, one may respect them.

There is one Shepherd—He knows His sheep and we know Him—and surely the time must come when there will be one fold. The manifestation of the Unity of the Church must be considered as a fundamental Christian duty; and even those who believe that our Lord's prayer had reference to a spiritual unity exclusively must concede that we need such a manifestation. There is not any difficulty in maintaining "vitality in religion" and the "necessary *esprit de corps*" in a congregation of Christian people whose lives are filled with the Spirit of God and consecrated to His service, but differences, dissensions, prejudices are subversive of every good work. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," but such liberty will lead to a manifestation of unity if we follow the guidance of the Spirit and seek to understand how and why our errors, selfishness and prejudices are delaying the spread of the Kingdom of God. Unity is not to be desired if it demands the sacrifice of truth

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but we may feel assured that the leaders of the various Christian Communions will not make such a sacrifice.

One of the glories of the Anglican Communion is its comprehensiveness, but therein lies a great danger to the individual who places more importance on his interpretation than on the definite and authoritative teaching of the Church. If one teaches, privately or publicly, doctrines which the standards of the Church do not justify, he does not fairly represent his Church unless he states in emphatic language that he holds such views as a private individual. We must hold up the corporate ideal and not the private interpretation of an individual or of a party. To present the latter as the conviction of the Church as a whole or as representative of its definite teaching would be subversive of all efforts to bring about Christian Unity. This is just as true of other Communions. If we are to bring nearer the day of Christian Unity and Christian Union we must keep clearly in view what our respective Churches clearly and positively hold as essential.

If we are to be constructive or to construe Christianity as we have received the same, we must treat the subject constructively and not litigiously; we must leave behind the controversies of past years, and in a Christian spirit and in a judicial frame of mind consider facts primarily, not merely theories—the foundation principles of the various Communions, and not simply our prejudiced or prejudged opinion of them.

We do not believe in surrendering principle or changing the articles of faith but we must draw a line of demarcation between faith and opinion, between principle and prejudice, between what is apostolic or primitive and what has been added since primitive times. When we put in their true perspective man-made definitions and interpretations of fundamental truth, there will be more of the manifestation of the *spirit* of Unity, which must come before the *fact* of Unity.

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We believe that America is called to make the greatest contribution towards the solution of the problem of the Unity of Christendom. I do not believe that "language is a gift to conceal thought," and therefore will endeavour in a simple manner to follow the principles suggested, eliminating individual interpretations and explaining as far as necessary the positive convictions and authoritative statements of my own Communion. I will also endeavour to include some principles, in the light of their historical origin, which have a bearing on a practical consideration of the great question before us.

No one Church in America really represents the Christianity of the nation and its people; each is but a fragmentary representative, and without more cohesion the tide of irreligion will not be stemmed. On this Continent there are more sects than in any other portion of Christendom, and yet the greatest opportunity is here. The map of Europe shows the Latin Communion geographically in a compact stronghold; this is also true of the Eastern Orthodox Church (excepting for that portion under Mohammedan rule). It is just as true of the great Protestant strongholds in Europe, and the Church of England still wields a great and ascendant influence in the British Dominion.

In America, under one government, and all citizens of one nation, we have millions of Roman Catholics, a million of Orthodox Christians, millions belonging to the various Reformed Churches including over a million adherents of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In this country we have learned to a greater degree than elsewhere that when modern religious bodies are a few generations old they have invariably assumed the very authority that their founders decried; the causes for which they were originally founded have largely disappeared, and most of them would find it exceedingly difficult to give any *raison d' être* for their separate existence. Though we may feel certain of this yet it is an error to take it for granted that English

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speaking religious bodies should ask to be received into our Communion, and if they do not, it is because they regard some point of difference as outweighing the advantage of union with the historic Church. From their standpoint they have just as much right to expect us to come to them.

The English people have to some degree inherited from the insular training of their forefathers, a disposition to look at questions from their own standpoint, but we members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America remember that we are a very small body, and that there are other points of view. Though in England it may be manifestly different, yet here in America there are more than one million communicants of the Lutheran Church who never separated from the Church of England, and whether they ever separated from the Church Catholic is a question of Orders about which all differ. Again the *Unitas Fratrum*, the Scandinavian, and the Swedish Churches must be considered on a different basis from the Lutheran Church of Germany, for they have an episcopate. Some of the Orders may be confessedly irregular, but the question is whether under the exceptional circumstances they were justified and are valid. Of the Swedish episcopate many scholarly men concede the validity, and the case is even stronger when we consider the members of the various Orthodox Churches, and the Old Catholics.

May we now recall that the Lambeth Quadrilateral had its birth in America, being first adopted at the General Convention of 1886 with a preamble—in part as follows:

“Our earnest desire is that the Saviour’s prayer, ‘That we all may be one,’ may, in its deepest and truest sense, be speedily fulfilled;

“We believe that all who have been duly baptized with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, are members of the Holy Catholic Church.

“This Church does not seek to absorb other Communions, but rather, co-operating with them on the basis of a common Faith and Order, to discountenance schism, to heal the wounds of the Body of Christ, and to pro-

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mote the charity which is the chief of Christian graces and the visible manifestation of Christ to the world."

"As essential to the restoration of unity among divided branches of Christendom, we account the following to wit:

"1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the revealed Word of God.

"2. The Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith

"3. The two Sacraments—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord,—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him.

"4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church."

The Quadrilateral as adopted at Lambeth is substantially the same as the foregoing with the exception that it prefaces to 2, the words "The Apostles Creed as the Baptismal symbol."

I may note in passing that the definition of the word "Catholic" in the preamble is in strict agreement with the definition found in the Canons of the Church of England—"Christ's Holy Catholic Church," "the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world." This is the same conception and practically the same definition as is contained in the Standards of the Presbyterian, Methodist and other Churches—all of which recognize the term Catholic as one of comprehension and inclusion, and not exclusion.

The first three of these articles are practically acceptable to all Communion but the fourth is the crux. Considering the latter I would quote from the last Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion held at Lambeth Palace in 1908, the following statement, having special reference to the Presbyterian Church:

"Wherever they have held closely to their traditions and professed standards of faith and government, as formulated at Westminster, they satisfy the first three of the four conditions of an approach to reunion laid down by the Lambeth Conference of 1888. Even as regards the fourth, though they have not retained 'the historic episcopate,' it belongs to their principles to insist upon definite ordination as necessary for admission into their ministry. Their standards provide that 'the work of ordination' should be 'performed with due care, wisdom, gravity and solemnity,' by 'imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting,' by the presbytery; they regard and treat ordination



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as 'conferred by those who have themselves been ordained and are authorized to ordain others.'

"Another remark may remove misunderstanding and make for peace. Anglican Churchmen must contend for a valid ministry as they understand it and regard themselves as absolutely bound to stipulate for this for themselves and for any Communion of which they are members. But it is no part of their duty, and therefore not their desire; to go further and pronounce negatively upon the value in God's sight of the ministry in other Communions."

### Bishop Stubbs has said:

"There are Presbyterian Churches with a historical succession of great authority and completeness. In affirming our historic episcopate I am throwing no doubt on their constitutional consistency or on their spiritual work."

The late Bishop Doane pointed out a few years ago that the statement in the preface of the ordinal, has reference to ministration *in this Church*.

"It does not deny or intend to deny the lawfulness of the ministry of other Churches according to their rule of conveying Orders. To approach the great Protestant Churches of the world with the statement that their ministries are unlawful is to propose—not reunion but absorption, not consideration but contempt."

In considering the Lambeth platform allow me to point out that in America we have a "local adaptation" of the historic episcopate which should be emphasized; that though in communion with the Church of England, the Protestant Episcopal Church is not an Established Church, and has many important differences of administration. Ours is practically the only historic Church insisting on a continuance of the Orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, which began its national life with a Constitution. The Orders were continued without a break in their continuity, but the opportunity to organize in a national and corporate manner established a new precedent in religious history. This opportunity was taken advantage of to restore more primitive ideas of government and discipline, and there was a rare combination of the basic principles of Puritanism and Anglicanism in the recognition of man's rights and man's

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duties. The Protestant Episcopal Church does not stand for an autocratic or prelatical episcopate; the rights and privileges of all Orders are duly safeguarded, as well as the rights and privileges of the laity. This historic episcopate was locally adapted to our age of democracy and our history has shown that it has been and can be further adapted from time to time to meet the new conditions of our national life. In America we go back further than the primitive times of Ignatius when the Bishops acted "with their Presbyters and Deacons" and in the Councils of the Church we follow the New Testament ideal, when "the Apostles, elders, and brethren" took counsel together and framed their decrees.

The faith contained in the Apostles and Nicene Creeds remained unchanged, but the creed of St. Athanasius was omitted because it was not recognized as having ecumenical standing. The creeds express the simplest "form of sound words" of Faith, and with the Word of God, Sacraments and Orders are of the essence of Church life. The identity and continuity of the Faith, the Word and Sacraments must be preserved and I venture to suggest that any fair reading of history will establish the fact that they have been witnessed to and preserved by an identity and continuity of Orders, though some may differ about the theological importance attaching to such continuity.

I have before referred to the fact that our Church is comprehensive. Our Clergy may be called evangelical, moderate, broad, high, or ritualistic, yet the Church is conservative and we all hold fast to the same faith, however diverse our interpretation of non-essentials. We believe in intellectual liberty, in keeping intact our God-given heritage though adapting the Church to the changing needs of the day. Our Church insists on the acceptance of the essential truths of Christianity but allows a great latitude of opinion in non-essentials.

Looking at other religious bodies in America, we see

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in all leading Communion a tendency towards centralization of power and authority.

In the Methodist Church the former Superintendents have been known as Bishops for generations and have been given increased powers. In the Presbyterian Church there always has been a definite recognized authority; and even in some religious Communion which a few generations ago decried authority and depended entirely upon congregational volition we find a decided trend towards centralization. There also has been, speaking generally, a distinct trend toward a liturgical form of worship. Many of those outside of our Communion who merely accept Dr. Moulton's definition that "organization is only a matter of expediency and efficiency" will doubtless concede the fact that all Churches are tending more and more towards centralization of government and power. We may fairly conclude that the "historic ministry" has much to commend it from the utilitarian as well as the historic point of view, and has been efficacious in perpetuating the continuity of the life of the Church. This also may be looked upon as one of the undesigned coincidences or cumulative evidences of the truth that in whatever age we find the origin of an episcopacy, the order or office has been divinely preserved.

I would state the case as I see it in this way:

It is to-day and has been throughout the ages a decided advantage to have a small body of men possessing an historical position of leadership. When such leadership has failed to reach its highest efficiency and greatest use it has been for lack of constitutional authority to safeguard the rights of the clergy and laity. There can be no such danger with the modern historic episcopate as a central authority but without exclusive power to rule. The episcopate being a perpetual office or order, elected by the clergy and laity, makes it a bond of union representative and authoritative in character.

It is sometimes claimed that the papal schism in the

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fifteenth century was healed by the episcopate assembled at the Council of Constance, but at that Council the clergy and laity were represented and there was also a recognition of National Churches. If all Christians were in communion with their own National Churches, and all Orders of the historic ministry and the laity were represented in a Council none of us can doubt that schism would be quickly healed. For myself I much prefer the term *historic ministry* to the *historic episcopate*, though I stand firmly on the teaching of our Ordinal that it is through the episcopate that our continuity has been preserved.

With the recent additions to our knowledge of the early history of the Church, learned men in all Communion acknowledge that there were differences in organization in Asia Minor, Alexandria and Italy in the first and second centuries, and yet every candid reader of history will doubtless agree that from the second century we may be absolutely certain that the *normal* channel of conveying Orders was through the episcopate. No one can prove that this was by divine Order—yet it certainly takes us back to apostolic times for its origin. We can all agree with the Roman Abbé, Prince Maximilian:

“There is a great difference between authority which exists in fact, and the doctrine that this authority was established by God Himself, and forms a necessary foundation of the faith.”

Many students of the New Testament believe that in Apostolic days the words Bishop and Presbyter were interchangeable, but this need not lead us to ignore the unbroken Order for over fifteen centuries. If we believe in the guidance of the Spirit of God we must concede that this early organization of the Church had, at least, apostolic approbation.

We can safely go further and say that even if it be conceded that the organization and government of the Church was a matter of growth and natural development during the first century, yet under the guidance of apostles

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directly commissioned by our Lord, and whom the Spirit was to lead into all truth, such natural growth and development would not make it less divine. The modern philosophic conception of truth as consisting largely of relations is an additional reason for the acceptance of an historic fact which stands in a unifying relation to the authority of faith and order. We need not discuss differences of interpretation as we should first come to a mutual understanding about facts: but in passing we venture to point out that there is a great similarity in the Roman and Presbyterian claims regarding Orders, as the highest Order of the ministry in both Communion is the Presbyter, the Bishop holding an *office* in the Church of Rome.

When the day comes that with a fuller unity of the Spirit an effort shall be made towards the corporate union of Christendom, it is manifest that we shall have to start at the point from which Unity was broken—before the schism between the East and the West. Some will doubtless demand to go farther back, nearer to the primitive age of the Church of the first few centuries. Before that day dawns doubtless there will be—and I venture to think should be—an attempt made to bring the various Communion in this country into corporate communion in one National Church. The polity and government of our Church is an adaptation of the ancient Catholic conception of the National Church idea, and in this country all Christians can agree with Lord Selborne that

“the essential Unity of the Church of Christ throughout the world is consistent with the separate organization of national Churches.”

With the few fixed and fundamental truths held in common in national Churches, differences could exist in all non-essential matters and adaptations be made to suit the geographical location, racial temperament or national peculiarities of the members.



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In looking forward to such a consummation of the hopes of Christians, all would necessarily have to forego the theory of the absorption of other Communion, and what that theory involves, and think more of the contribution which each Church could make to a united Christendom, and the true absorption and assimilation of differences which are not fundamental. What can each Communion contribute and what should each Communion be ready to agree upon as essential and fundamental?

As already stated there is practical agreement in the first, second and third articles of the Quadrilateral. I have made a few observations on the fourth. May I in addition suggest that:

1. The fourth article is concerned with the question of Orders. In the historic episcopate is included the whole question of Orders derived through such a channel. I need not here discuss the divergent conceptions of the ministry, but I think all will agree with the statement that in the historic Churches which have continued episcopacy such continuity can be traced back to at least the second century, and that it is a link between the Church today and in primitive times.

2. If the fourth article is considered from the aspect of the *historic ministry* (a better expression), I feel that if the Churches of Christendom met together to agree on essentials and to put differences in their true sphere there would be a unanimous desire to retain such continuity with the past as is contained in the transmission of a commission of authority which is historic and can be traced in orderly succession to the apostolic age. Without insisting on any exclusive interpretation, all will doubtless agree with Bishop Lightfoot that "episcopacy is the historical backbone of the Church," and with Father Tyrrell that "if the claim of apostolic succession as commonly understood be questionable that of general ecclesiastical continuity remains unassailable."

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3. In the United States, as seen in our local administration of the episcopate and the government of the Church, we have maintained the rights of the laity in the congregation perhaps as thoroughly in all essential matters as any modern Communion which is based on a congregational form of government. I say *essential matters* for as a general proposition we may conclude that there is today a consensus of belief that individualism has been a disintegrating influence as compared with corporate and constitutional authority.

4. We have also maintained the rights of the Presbyters as well as the Deacons of the Church.

5. Our Bishops are not clothed with autocratic power. Their office and position in the Church approaches (perhaps as closely as possible) to the New Testament and primitive ideal. The local adaptation of administration can be further developed as new conditions arise. I think Christians of every name will freely concede that the desire of the leaders in our Communion has been to conserve the truest spiritual and apostolic ideals of the episcopate as "not lording it over God's heritage but being ensamples of the flock."

6. The ministerial "grace of Orders" is fully authenticated in the transmission of an historic ministry which can be definitely traced back to apostolic times. Through this constitutional and historic continuity of Orders we have not only a definitely established transmission of authority but also an historic witness to the faith that can hardly be overestimated. It may not be too much to say that such an historic continuity of Orders is indispensable as a living witness to the fundamental truths of Christianity.

If a clearer or more definite statement of the fixed and fundamental truths of Christianity than the Quadri-lateral can be framed by any historic and representative body of Christians, it would be a service to the entire Church of Christ to have it authoritatively stated.

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I have purposely refrained from mentioning many distinctive things for which our Church has always stood and in which we firmly believe, for the Quadrilateral states only what we regard as the foundation truths essential as a basis for Unity. Everything is omitted that is modern, mediaeval and even ancient which does not come definitely under such a category.

In asking that others shall do likewise it must mean for them, as for us, the acknowledgment that many distinctive characteristics and interpretations are not essential. Therefore, without discussing the question whether such doctrines are true, or are clearly taught in the Word of God, or were held in the primitive Church, this would mean, if the Quadrilateral were accepted, that the Roman Catholic Church in the interest of Church Unity would not impose as fundamental truths universally essential to unity, the creed of Pius IV, the supplement of Pius IX, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and the decree of Papal Supremacy.

The position of the Old Catholics is very similar to our own: they have retained the three orders of the ministry and for the sake of conscience refused to accept the decree of papal infallibility. They accept all the articles of the Lambeth Quadrilateral and perhaps would consider them as a sufficient statement of fundamental truths as a basis of Unity.

The Eastern Orthodox Church would not impose the decrees of the Second Council of Nicea.

Accepting the fact of the historic ministry and desiring its perpetuation, the Lutheran Church would have to substitute for its Reformation Confession, the simpler statement contained in the Creeds.

The Presbyterian Church would probably find as little difficulty in omitting the Westminster Confession as we should find in omitting the Articles of Religion. Believing in the historic continuity of the Church through a constituted Order of the Ministry, it would doubtless

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find little difficulty in coming to a common agreement as to the historic fact of such succession being more *normal* through the episcopate. The rights of the Presbyters are as fully protected in our Communion as in theirs and in ordination to the Priesthood the Presbyters join with the Bishop in the Laying-on-of-Hands.

The Methodist Church is traditionally very close to the Episcopal in its acceptance of the Creeds, in its forms of administration of Baptism and the Holy Communion, and in its government.

The independent Churches have been steadily approaching a more centralized authority and government and should be willing to agree in such a statement of fundamentals, inasmuch as the rights of the congregation would undoubtedly be fully protected.

The Baptists might at first be inclined to think that none of these statements apply to them. We stand firmly with them, however, on the affirmation of the necessity of Baptism, and our rubrics provide for immersion or pouring, and though such stipulation is not inserted in the Quadrilateral, which only contains the simplest and fundamental truths, there is little doubt that provision would be gladly made by all Christian people for a continuance of such liberty.

It may be objected that in the fourth article there is no provision made respecting such rights of the congregation and the Presbyters and that we are drawing these illustrations from the polity of the Episcopal Church. Such is undoubtedly the case, but as the fourth article contains only the primary truth and as the leading Reformed Churches in the United States believe with us in safeguarding the rights of the laity and Presbyters there would not be the remotest idea on the part of any of them of abandoning the salient features of such a polity.

Finally, if we could first agree on these fundamental truths and then resolve that on such a basis we were

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ready to come together in a national Church which would embrace all Christian people, all things would be possible and we could restore a condition like that in the apostolic age when the believers "continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of bread, and in prayers." This would bring Unity of Faith, Unity of Government, Unity of Communion, Unity of Worship; and if such Unity should become worldwide each national Church would be just as free as in the apostolic and primitive days, to minister to its own people with its local regulations and adaptations providing that nothing was added as *de fide* to the fundamental truths held in common by a united Christendom. Our aim should be not a rigid mechanical uniformity but a comprehensive, inclusive and abiding unity.

There is apparently little hope at the present time for union with Rome, and though we may agree with the frequently expressed conviction that any effort towards Church Unity must take into consideration a union which can include Rome and the Orthodox Churches, it does not follow that nothing should be done until they are ready and willing for such corporate Unity. Our first duty is manifestly to come to an agreement as to the fixed and fundamental truths; and if our premises are right there is at the present time more hope for the union of the Episcopal Church, the Old Catholics and the various Protestant bodies in America in one national Communion. I do not believe that such union would retard in the slightest degree a larger unity in the future—in fact, I believe it would do more than anything else to hasten it.

Another serious obstacle to a Unity in the United States that would include the Orthodox and Roman Churches, is the fact that they are under foreign supervision, authority and government, and could not, as at present organized, divest themselves of the inherited accretions of autocratic authority or claims of temporal power. In many respects the Roman Church is further



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away from our ideal of the historic episcopate than some of the Reformed Churches. There is not any alliance of Church and State in our country to interfere with an effort to bring together the Episcopal, the Old Catholic and the Reformed Churches, on the basis of primitive and fundamental truths. But if there is to be any approach towards the Unity of Christendom through such a national Church it is manifest that the historic ministry must be preserved, so that nothing may be lacking that may be justly claimed as essential or fundamental. It would be a matter of deep concern to all Christian people that we should preserve in every possible manner the historic continuity of the apostolic ministry which to many of them is a living witness to the Faith, the Word and the Sacraments.

We may not minimize our differences but surely we can conclude that none of us would today be warranted in breaking the Unity of the Church by creating a schism to propagate them, and therefore to quote the Bishops at the All American Conference:

“these differences do not constitute sufficient reasons for creating or continuing a rupture of that visible Unity of the Church for which our Lord Jesus Christ prayed.”

We have endeavoured to show that:

“In America we are called upon to make the greatest contribution towards the solution of the problem of the Unity of Christendom.”

In America we must interpret the “historic episcopate locally adapted in the methods of its administration,” according to the government and polity of the American Episcopal Church and with the understanding that further adaptation can be made to suit “the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.”

The American Episcopal Church does not “seek to

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absorb other Communion's" but only to co-operate with them in the restoration of Unity.

It should be possible at the present time for the members of all orderly Reformed Churches to accept as a sufficient statement of fundamental truths the four articles contained in the Quadrilateral.

# Congregationalism and the Principle of Liberty

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## I

In the eyes of some Congregationalism stands for the consecration of individual independence, not to say recalcitrance, and its baptism with the Christian name at the cost of the Christian genius. It seems the sea where the self-willed plunge and play, and where they only unite to defend their atomism. Its formal creedlessness appears to some but as a premium on licence which dissolves the Gospel; its democracy seems too instinctive and intractable; and it is too incoherent altogether for any common action on the world beyond that of the sandblast—which is hardly the action of the Church.

As to the creedlessness, however, it may be noted that there is nothing in the genius of Congregationalism which forbids a collective statement of that Gospel for which the creeds and the Churches exist, if it were thought expedient; and such a statement has been often made since the Savoy Declaration. But, whatever its use for declaratory purposes, the value for unification of a creedal document like, say, the Thirty-nine Articles is not satisfactory; especially when we recall the observation that no divisions among the sects are so deep as those between the parties in Anglicanism. And as to the friability and the consequent ineffectiveness it may be observed that Congregationalism would certainly

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be unequal to the Church's task in the world if it had the arrogance to claim to be the only true Church, and not a complementary brigade of the Church Catholic and manifold—a light cavalry brigade in the Lord's Host. Congregationalism has also been charged with selling the pass to nineteenth century Modernism, and giving away the absolute Kingship of Christ, under the name, claim and colour of being a wing of His true Church. Extremists always arrest attention for the hour; and Congregationalism certainly gives facilities for extremists. Unitarianism has always been congregational in polity. And like most other Churches, Congregationalism is not without its Modernists, whose use of its name, especially in the press, affects its fame as a Society where the Gospel is truly preached in Word or Sacrament. A section, for instance, adopts the Modernist position that the ideal content of doctrine is everything, and the historic origin of it nothing. Even a historic Jesus, these extremists say, is indifferent, if only we trust ourselves to the ideal principles of which He was the symbol rather than the source, the Church's classic more than its Creator.

It may be useful in a free country to dwell on this claim of the Church's liberty to commit suicide. So let us first remark on a liberty which can lawfully belong to no Church, Congregational or other, but which is supposed to be claimed by the more loosely organized ecclesiastical forms. We may then look at the kind of liberty which creates a true Church however loosely organized. We may examine the liberty which Congregationalism by its history repudiates, and then that upon which it founds. Its freedom does not found simply upon spiritual life in abundance and autonomy,<sup>1</sup> but on the life of grace and its new creation through faith in Jesus Christ.

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<sup>1</sup>This is the error made by Dr. Henry W. Clark in his recent and otherwise admirable *History of Nonconformity*.

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### II

“The person of Christ,” it has been said, “is otiose for our acceptance with God”; and the statement was charged upon a Congregationalist speaker—I do not know with what truth. This reduces Christ from the Eternal Mediator to the historic Medium, from the living sacrament of grace to a mere symbol of man’s spirituality. It cuts the nerve of Christ faith. It puts those who hold such a view outside the Christianity of faith (though not necessarily of character). And Christianity is a religion of character only because it is the religion of faith.

Even a man like Drews who denies the historic personality of Jesus yet says that the Church was founded on a belief in Him. “From the very first,” he says, “it placed in the centre the God Jesus or rather the Godman, the redeemer God become flesh, suffering with man and offering Himself for man.” Krieg, a disciple of Drews, says, “We must admit that the Church is the true Christendom in the historic sense.” And Wrede owns that in the earliest Gospel, Mark, Jesus is God in the full sense. While Harnack says that the very first disciples preached Christ’s atoning death. The general tendency of scholarship is to own, with growing accord, that the whole New Testament recognizes the Godhead of Christ as atoning Redeemer; so that challenge, where challenge continues, turns on the finality and authority of this New Testament view of Him.

To keep within due limits of space I will here pass by certain attractive vistas of proof (some little trodden) that Christ always took Himself for granted both in word and deed, that He spoke and acted from a personality generically unique, and that He made Himself indispensable to His words and works as no teacher ever did. I will leave to another occasion such points from the documents in detail in order to dwell from another point of view on the words I quoted to the effect that the person of Christ is otiose for the soul’s acceptance with God. Of



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course if it is meant that a systematic theology of Christ's person is thus otiose for individuals, that is now no more than a truism. It is not the constitution of Christ we have to grasp for salvation, but His benefits. But if it is meant that Christ's relation to these benefits was only historic, that He was but the passing, though ever memorable, messenger or Messiah of God's grace, who, when He had done His impressive errand, then retired superfluous, and left the soul with God for all the rest of their intercourse—left the soul alone with the Alone—that is sound Unitarianism, and might even be very lofty. But it is a position quite fatal to Christianity in the long run; because it robs Christ both of His eternal place in God and of the final place in His own religion, reduces it to a religion so far *prima inter pares*, and teaches it to look forward to its own supersession. It breaks with the whole Church; for there is not a Church in Christendom that does not believe and preach that the Christian cherishes, as his final hope, the consummation of that union with Christ of which all his faith here was but the dawn and prelude. In a living Christ our souls live unto God—in such a Christ, and not merely by His historic means. And in that Christ our dead abide. He keeps those whom we could not keep. "We in Christ" is a more intimate and thorough Christianity than "Christ in us." It is the Christianity both of the Church as a whole and of the New Testament. What is the authority on which it is to be corrected out of Christianity, and Christianity corrected to death? It certainly breaks with New Testament Christianity going back to the very feet of Christ. For the Gospel of the New Testament is not simply the Gospel of the Grace of God as paternal benignity and favour, but the Gospel of His saving Grace to guilt and perdition in Jesus Christ. Not *through* Jesus Christ at a time, but *in* Him for ever—not *per* but *propter Christum*. It will probably not be denied that such is the New

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Testament view; what is now challenged is that the New Testament view on that central matter must bind the later stages in the development of the Christian principle. The conflict is not between the Church and the world. It is within the Church. The issue is between a theology of final facts and a theology of progressive consciousness. It is a battle for the existence of that apostolic Christianity which created the Church and on which alone the Church can live. And if a loose organization means laxity here it is more than loose, it is friable and runs to sand.

The relation between Christ and the Christian principle I have discussed elsewhere;<sup>2</sup> here I would only make more explicit this. The person of Christ in Christian *religion*, if we can distinguish it from its theology, means the experienced action of that person. Only a person can save a person, as only a society can save society. An idea cannot. If the person of Christ mean more for us than the Christian principle or idea of sonship, if He have a permanent and essential place in our daily personal faith, that is the same as to say that man's relation to God is finally determined by our daily and reciprocal relation to Christ; that Christ is final because He alone, His act and deed and not a mere tradition or impression of Him, turns life at every hour into that communion with God which is man's supreme end; that Revelation is not merely something once powerfully shown but something therein eternally done; that Revelation is Redemption; that the destiny of the race and of every soul turns upon the thing done for ever in Christ and Him crucified; that the action of His present person is a standing factor, nay, is the vital *milieu*, of all our intercourse with the Father, which is really an act within His act; and that we have access to the Father only in the Son—not simply in the subjective spirit of sonship,

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<sup>2</sup>See *London University Theological Studies*, 1911.

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but far more deeply and surely—in the Son's cross and the Spirit whereby He rose and reigns. It means that, for dealings with God, the living, mediating, interceding Christ is experimentally as necessary for us today as He was to the first disciples and the Great Apostle; that our fellowship with the Father is equally a fellowship with His Son Jesus Christ. It means that the abandonment of this is the abandonment of Christianity, if not consciously in the individual case yet in principle and at last. As the cases multiply and their minds grow clear, it means in due course the abandonment of Christianity in general effect. If a whole Church held such views it would be a Church abandoned by the Spirit; it would be a Church no more. The Christ of the New Testament, and of the Church's salvation, is of such a nature that the idea of His supersession cannot be entertained except as an infidelity to Him. Any Christianity where Christ's person is otiose ceases to be Christianity, and its exponents are outside the Gospel word and community. Christianity is nothing if it be not a mediatorial religion—so long as the Mediator is no third party between God and man. But if He be not such a third party, then the historic work of Christ is a mediation within the Godhead itself, a mediated immediacy. It is the true Absolute made historical. Hence a religion where Christ is but relative has a different idea of God from Christianity; which means that it works out to another religion. A Christianity where Christ is otiose can never be a Christianity where Christ is worshipped; and the worship of Christ is either idolatry, or it is the consummation of Theism in a Trinity whose worship is the first function of the Church, as Its action is the foundation of the Church's freedom, and therefore of the New Humanity.

### III

Of course we are met here, as at so many avenues,

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by the pertinacious difficulty—can we find absolute certainty within a historical act? How can a historic figure be more to us than the consciousness of our present age? How can any point of the past be more intimate and commanding to us than our own soul or any soul alongside of us? This is really a challenge which begs the question. It calls Christ at the outset (in defiance of the Christian experience, which is the relevant experience) no more than a point in the past, instead of the soul's ubiquitous reality and ever present life. A mere point in the past is not what an experienced faith has all along found Him to be, but only something to which reflection has reduced Him. But leaving that answer on one side, there is a way of putting the matter which is more scientific. The plea is that Christ must submit to the historic method, which knows of nothing but relative values as between fact and fact. But followed to the end this annihilates all truth. It may be suggested that if we reduce everything to the limits of the historic or relative method we destroy that method itself, and indeed all standards of historic value, not to say of historic perspective—all forms of historic construction.

The historic method is understood to mean that everything is relative. For the moment it is relativism. Nothing can be treated as absolutely unique; that would insulate it; cause and effect rule all and limit all. The idea of miracle is out of the question. All that occurs can only be set out in a concatenation with what went before it and what follows after. *Nihil in effectu quod non prius in causa*. The chain of causality binds all and exhausts all. No one phenomenon is intrinsically more commanding than another, or has right over it. No phenomenon can be really creative, or reveal a real novelty.

But that is a principle which must of course include the historian or critic himself. It must affect his construction of history if he ever try to construe it, and to rise above the annalist by any kind of selection. He or his

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view of history is just a historic phenomenon like any other. Each may be accounted for by its antecedents, or set out at the head of its sequels; but neither can have any other value, or any but a cause and effect relation. The view of such a historian, therefore, cannot claim to be a truer construction of history than the view which flatly opposes it. Both are equally products of causal lines. The limitation of historic treatement to tracing a causal nexus cannot claim to be more true than a view which ignores that nexus, or one that transcends it. If all is relative, Yes and No have the same right. Truth and error have equal claim. Both are alike products of a certain causation, and you can say no more about them scientifically. You can only examine them aesthetically. You cannot relate them to reality. Both are equally necessary, and one is not better than another. No historic method has a better right than a mere knowledge of the past without method. The historian is no higher than the chronicler. And he may be more arbitrary, viewy, and flighty.

For the sake of the historic method itself, therefore, for the sake of relativism, there must be some standard in past history, without which it cannot claim scientific truth. There must be a point exempt from the method so as to measure it. It must except from itself some point in the past or present as its stand-point. Otherwise every interpretation of history becomes itself but an object of the relative method. It becomes a mere object of curiosity, neither false nor true at last. And the course of thought is no more than a welter—the aimless emergence of one theory on the top of another, like rolling mists. The very science of history thus demands a fixed point exempt from mere scientific domination. There must be a pole by which to steer. For the sake of all the higher history there must be a historic point, a point in the experience of the race, which contains the principle and standard for the construction of all the rest.



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For religion as history that point must be both historic and religious; and through the Church it is given us as creative and fertile fact in Jesus Christ, Who is in history but not of it, unique but not insulated, Who transcends scientific method in a freedom which makes it possible, Who is not merely transcendent but absolute, and Who is not a mere point of transition but is a fixed point for every other, and to them all equally relevant, that is, equally present, real, and powerful.

That is also to say in other terms, Law is not intelligible without a freedom which always transcends it and is exempt from it. The category of causation can only be used by a freedom which escapes it even while it uses it. The fixed order of Nature can only be understood by the miracle of a free intelligence, by the intelligence of a will free in respect of law. And all the intercourse and interaction of personalities in history, if it is to any ordered purpose at all, rests on a historic personality absolutely free and making free, free enough to be (like God) creative of freedom and of the free personality everywhere. What science requires, no less than religion, is a principle which shall be Lord of the world. But nothing in our Ego, whether rational or non-rational, can be Lord of the world, or the Key of history. The goal of all is inherent in the soul of none of us, immanent as it may be in all. We are not able to say that our rationality reflects the final destiny of the world, or protects us from final disillusion. The fundamental and final command of the world is only put into our hands by a history in which we are more than conquerors, in which we are redeemed. Such a world of moral sin and mental error is overcome only by redemption. The Lord of the world appears and comes home only as redeeming us into the communion of His divine conquest. The last certainty can only be religious. The historic Christ is above all things King and Lord. Our theology of His person rests upon that experience of His

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power. The command of the world, and *a fortiori* its interpretation, is given us in Christ—but in Christ not certainly as Brother, nor even as Refuge, but as King and Lord—and as King by His redemption of us, and not simply by His heavenly rank displayed. We own Him as Son of God, not aesthetically but morally, because He overcomes the world, and the whole world, on the scale of the race. That is the prerogative of God, the only true Superman. We do not begin either with a truth of the reason or an absolute idea. Nor do we set out even from a doctrine of Christ's Sonship as the content of revelation. We begin with history and our experience of it. The Church (which is the expert here) begins with the experience of Christ's salvation in the historic act of His person. It is theology alone that has the secret of the interpretation of history. And the foundation of theology, the revelation it expounds, stands at an empirical point in history which is within its causation but not of it, which is not a mighty link in the evolutionary chain but a new departure of a redemptive kind so fundamental and final that it is creative. In and over the chain of historic causation is the creative spontaneity and freedom of the Holy Ghost.

What do we really mean by the worship of Christ? Surely more than the following of Christ, much more than His imitation. Surely more than reverence; more also than specific acts of worship, at least for all who believe that the saving act of Christ which it answers embodied and consummated His whole eternal person. He gave Himself for us—His whole Self. And the only true and full worship of such a Saviour is the worship in which we give *ourselves*, and not simply our devotions, absolutely to Him. To say that you pray to Christ is certainly to come near the sympathies of all Christian people. But we are not Christian in the full sense, not in the sense required from a teaching and preaching Church created by the Gospel, just because we do that. We might do it in

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no other sense than that in which a Roman Catholic invokes his saint. To worship Christ is more than to direct to Him either petitions or acts of adoration. It is to give, to trust, to lose, one's self, one's soul, to Him for ever and ever, and so to find in Him both our life's moral principle and our eternal destiny. For a Church it means that (without prescribing the type for every single case or stage). It means (if we are to be thorough and radical) more than devoting ourselves to Him in the way of spending ourselves loyally in His service and His cause. The saints give themselves to Him in a deeper, more inward, and more final sense than that. It is easier to work for God and praise God than to commit to Him the soul, and all the soul means, for ever. When He gave Himself for us He did not devote Himself with all His heart to some cause that men held supremely dear; He gave Himself for men themselves as dear. *We*, as God's Kingdom, were the cause He served. He aimed at possession of us. And those that let family, country, or Humanity come between their soul and Him He held not worthy of Him and His devotion. So also our devotion, our worship, is, in the fullest sense, giving ourselves to Him, making Him our owner and ourselves His property bought by His death, finding Him not only our most moving memory, but our dearest presence and our true life; putting our guilty soul for ever into His redeeming hand, and committing ourselves to His eternal lordship and care. We do not simply obey, we give ourselves away, part with ourselves. We are very much more than loyal, we belong to Him. Loyalty to Christ is quite an inadequate idea for our relation to One to whom we absolutely belong, and against whom we have neither property nor right in ourselves. We may be heartily loyal to a king who yet must not enter a certain central spot of us, where conscience reigns and gives us rights against Him. But in relation to Christ there is no such part within us, no part where Christ may not

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enter as One Whose right it is to reign, Whose our very conscience is, and Whose disposal of us is absolute; Who may slay or maim us (as He also raises us from the dead) with no reason given, and with our trust the more kindled. Between these two relations—loyalty qualified and faith absolute, reserved obedience and total self-committal, self-respect and self-oblivion, between reverence and worship, there is a world of difference, an *essentially* different view of Christ, a different religion, and a different view and tone of life—if we will go to the very bottom of things. The spiritual power issuing from the one Christ is in the end quite different from that issuing from the other; and only one of them could produce or continue historic Christianity, or a Church great and free. It alters the whole complexion and goal of life if, in every grievous duty, or every great disappointment, in every loss or every boon, we keep ourselves in hand, and are sobered without being hardened, by the heart-felt faith, “I am Christ’s servant, to be placed, used, disappointed, or prospered absolutely as He will, and reasons neither given nor required.”

It is thus that He is practically our Absolute, and thus only, that in all fulness we worship Him—with our life and not merely our way of living, with our bodies and spirits which He has made His. That is the supreme confession of His deity—its life confession, our surrender of our life and soul to Him in the same act, and sense, and compass, as to God. All our theology only goes to justify or explain that. The Athanasian Creed means that, and it really arose to give an expression of it—of such a Redeemer. Devotion of that kind, and a demand of that kind, is not possible between man and man. No king, no hero, no lover has the right to claim such lordship over our very conscience as that. Either then, if that be the meaning of Christian faith, Christ is God. Or else we are wrong and extravagant in calling that creed Christian faith; which must then be something

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in a lower key, something consistent with our retention of an indomitable remnant of self-respect, at whose door Christ's absolute lordship ceases, and He is only King by our leave. But He is King by right, whether He have our leave or not. Do we not all know the difference between the two classes of Christian men—the one, whose mark is an incurable, and even aggressive self-respect, built perhaps on a Nicomachean ethic or a gay young optimism, unbroken to the yoke; and the other, whose unmistakable note, dominant however reserved, is the Pauline, the New Testament ethic, "God be merciful to me a sinner. I am only an apostle because I am the bondsman, broken and recreated, of Jesus Christ." So long as we cherish that self-respect our inmost self is our interior castle. Our King may not, dare not, enter as King, and by right, but only by our invitation. So that if we should not invite Him to come and rule there, there is yet no condemnation. He has no call to judge us for refusing. He is not impaired in any right of His.

But that is not Christian faith, either in the New Testament or in the Church. It is another religion. For the chief cause of condemnation is the refusal to have this man to rule over us. The sin of sins is such unfaith, the repudiation of Christ's absolute mercy and mastery. So much is Christianity bound up with a relation to Christ which is only thinkable if Christ be God. It is thus that theology affects in return the religion that produced it, and determines its whole type. And however it may be with individuals this relation to Christ is the note and message of the true Church, be its organization as loose as it may. And its liberty is the liberty with which this Christ sets us free.

### IV

What then are the ecclesiastical consequences which flow from such an absolute conception both of history and of freedom? It puts a vital gulf between the Church and



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the world, between the believer in Christ and the believer in human nature. The Church is historical or nothing. But only so that, like its Lord, it is in history yet not of it, that it has to impose its principle on the course of history and not to accept it from it, that its essence is a creative spiritual autonomy, that it is not explicable by any laws framed by a historic induction but only by an ubiquitous power and a creation issuing in a perennial person at a fontal point of time, and that it is no more at the mercy of an unbroken causal chain duly linked than of a complete episcopal series duly ordained. It is of course open to any one to call the experience of the Church an illusion, though to do so would be the greatest of all the dogmatisms. But, illusion or none, it is an experience of the redemption of the conscience in Christ, of the redemption of that moral man which is the true core of Humanity. Christ from His cross is the omnipresent Authority for any Church's freedom, which is His incessant creation. And such a Church has the right not only to be free of other society but to rule it in the only way in which rule can be Christianly understood—by a moral faith which acts by influence and not by empire. But such sway the true Church has. It has the royal note as having the secret of God's Kingdom. It has absolute truth—the Word Eternal, which the Church alone understands. It has the secret of absolute power—a world overcome. It has the note of universality—for it has the mystery of the New Humanity.

In any religion of redemption the ruling note of the community must be freedom. It is thus that its obedience differs from mere submission or resignation. It worships its Authority as Redeemer in the freedom He so creates. And it is a singular thing that the ecumenical Creeds, on which we are often invited to unite, do not contain the central and distinctive article either of Redemption or of Regeneration; and that among the great notes of the Church as One, Holy, Catholic, and

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Apostolic there is not found the note of Free. This may be due to several causes. These notes were stamped on the Church while it was yet struggling for its true freedom, and not clearly conscious of it; before freedom was in the air; whilst a Chalcedonian Incarnation had obscured Redemption, and before Evangelical Redemption had yet lighted up Incarnation. Moreover they have been treated too much as outward notes and too little as inward powers, too much as features and too little as functions—too much as features of a Church in repose, but dimly awake to its creative power in Christ, and inexpert of Christ's one comprehensive act as Redemption. This note of urgency and liberty, which corrects the repose, was contributed by the Sects of Christ the prophet to the Church of Christ the priest.

The feature of Christian freedom, therefore, which marks it off as peculiar to the Church and is absent from the liberties of the world is that it is a freedom conferred on us and not acquired by us, not innate to us, and not deserved. It has nothing to do with the rights of man. It belongs to the region of moral freedom, not natural nor national. It is freedom as a power and not merely as an appanage; it is the power and liberty of the Spirit and not merely of the individual; it is a bestowed power. It is given. It is a *regium donum*. It is a matter of God's grace and not of our own "caption." It belongs to us as the twice-born, not by generation but by regeneration. That is, it is a freedom entirely due to Authority, to a Saviour's authority, and in all its exercise it is proportioned to our practical recognition of that Authority. It is freedom under a King saving, and therefore absolute, and not merely under a blessing King. It is the freedom of faith as wholly and solely the answer to saving Grace. It is evangelical freedom. It is not political freedom, nor social, nor freedom of thought. It is not the freedom of individualism. These are but Liberalisms. They have their place but none of them is of prime

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value for the Church. On none of them is the Church built, though it involves vast consequences in these kinds. The Church stands on the redeemed freedom of the moral soul. And that is not possible on individualist lines. The soul, and especially the bond and guilty soul, is free only in a society of the saved. It is free only through an act which by its very nature creates a society. The Church was not an after-thought of a group of believers to whom it occurred to form themselves into a society. But the same act which redeems the individual to freedom creates a Church. Saving faith is social faith by its nature. The Church is the body of Christ *quâ* Redeemer. It holds its freedom only under an Authority and such an Authority as leaves us with nothing but His universal gift. It is a moral freedom, under a moral Authority, centring in the supreme moral act of all history, at once creative and regulative for the ethic of the new race, the eternal act of the Holy which recreates the guilty in Christ. Its spirituality is the mysticism of the conscience, of the holy—as its Redemption is in the first place neither from wrong nor misfortune, neither from oppression nor poverty, but from guilt. Man can free himself from calamity or wrong, but from guilt he cannot. That release is what makes the Church—our escape not from the finite, not from the small, the narrow, the fickle, or the frail, but from condemnation, from the spiritual judgment and moral helplessness of the race; not from total corruption but from religious impotence, impotence to regain confidence and communion with God. It is a freedom so central, so solidary, and so final that its consequences are immense in all directions, political, social, and rational. Our idea of grace, and of its place, is bound to have vast effects in our public life as well as our mental. And certainly on our ecclesiastical form. We are not born Christians, though we are born for Christ. And the Church is the company of those who have become Christ's and confessed Him.

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The Church everywhere, except in one or two great crises, has but poorly realized its freedom either in its nature or its extent. Even in the Reformation it was grasped only by the great leaders and not by the mass of their adherents, so lately come from Egypt. The mass always boggles at the freedom inside the strait gate. And this is not a side defect but a central. It means a lack of power in the Church to realize the true genius of its Gospel. This, however, is still said under the deep conviction that it is to the Church at bottom that the world owes its best liberty of action, speech, or thought. Yet the debt is to its Gospel more than to its deliberate programme or procedure. And for the sake of the Gospel's distinctive and prolific liberty many and many a protest has had to be made against its programme (rising even to extremes and extravagances, as is the way of protest) and made at great and precious cost. Above all, protest had, and has, to be made that the freedom of the Church be autonomous; that is to say, that it be the kind of freedom produced by the authority of its own Gospel alone and managed by those who own it; that freedom is not the absence of organization but the presence of such organization only as is compelled in given circumstances by the creative principle which called the Church into being; that an organization of either polity or creed thrust on the Church from the world is alien to the liberty flowing from a creative Gospel rich in self-organizing power; that either kind of organization must be an aspect of the self-presentation of Christ in a particular situation; that Christ must control the position for the Church and not the position Christ.

### V

Congregationalism represents one of the most thorough going of these historic vindications of the Church's autonomy and the intrinsic liberty of the Gospel.<sup>3</sup> It

<sup>3</sup>May I here refer to fuller treatment in my book *Faith, Freedom and the Future*. (Hodder & Stoughton), 1912.

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is the extreme left expression of that spiritual autonomy in the Gospel, of which Romanism is the extreme right, and Erastianism the complete negation. It perishes in the sand when cut off from evangelical liberty. And it represents the only kind of vindication which is of much use to the Church—vindication from within. Like the whole of the Reformation whose soul is in it (Luther at first all but adopted it), it is an expression of the self-corrective, self-recuperative power of the Church, of the Spirit's power to protect and clarify in history the liberty in which Christ set us free. The Reformation was the action of the Church's instinct of self-preservation in the Spirit. Other Churches represent other features of the action of the Gospel; Congregationalism was and is the inevitable, even if one-sided, assertion of its distinctive liberty, which is not an achieved liberty of thought or opinion, of action or speech, but a liberty donated—that liberty of soul and conscience with God created by His Gospel. The true Kingdom of God is always His gift before it is our conquest. Other Churches have specially represented the objective Authority that alone gives Christian freedom; Congregationalism represents specially the subjective freedom which such Authority gives. Other Churches have overdone the note of authority, of objectivity; who shall say that Congregationalism has never overdone the note of freedom? Other Churches have oppressed, Congregationalism has run wild. Other Churches have been objective, even to hardness; Congregationalism's chief peril at the hour is a soft and unchartered subjectivity.

There is no Church polity with absolute divine authority. History is making that more and more clear. It was a common belief in the past that the case was otherwise. And the early Congregationalists believed, as surely as Rome did, that their system was the system of the New Testament, and had therefore divine authority and monopoly. History is convincing us that no such



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Protestant Romanism is possible for any polity whatever. Polity is justified by its works, as religion is by its faith. Organization is utilitarian. No Church today reproduces the conditions and forms of the first century. History cannot be undone. Repristination would be falsification. Even the evolutionary Romanism of Möhler and Newman recognizes that. The Churches are thus members one of another so long as they and their units cohere in the spiritual economy of Christ's common life, and are not simply tied together by an administrative bond. They make an economy and not a system. And the different polities emphasize complementary aspects of the great, creative, and manifold Redemption they serve. As they develop these aspects in that Redemption they approximate. We may not ignore the *peculium* in each case. To be more and more true to our own charge is to enrich the common trust in the Church's hands. To press the note of evangelical liberty, as Congregationalism does, will force us for our safety closer to the authority of its Creator and Guarantor; to press His evangelical authority can only develop more liberty in the Church. If only we do not mistake the kind of liberty. If only we do not come to think a Church exists either on or for rational or political liberty in chief. If only we are sure that the New Humanity is but the new and regenerate man in Jesus Christ writ large. Liberalism (in theology at least) may reduce itself to an absurdity when pursued by the Church as an end in itself. It dies, like scholasticism, of its own dialectic. But that is something other than the liberty for which Christ set the Church free. It is not the release in effecting which He created the Church. Rational liberty is not spiritual; nor is political. Indeed each of these can destroy spiritual liberty. Nay, there is a form of spiritual liberty itself that can destroy our liberty in Christ,—the mystic form which detaches itself from the final authority of history, the centrality of ethic, and the world forgiveness, treats

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Christ as otiose or outrun, and says that "nothing eternally true ever happened in time and space." Such liberty merely canonizes the autonomy of spiritual Humanity. It is as fatal to Congregationalism as a supreme devotion to political Liberalism would be (and it is fatal to a Church to be a "trailer" behind any party machine). The liberty of any polity that professes or wishes to be a Church at all, *i.e.*, to be a permanent historic society of the Kingdom, must have its constant creation, and therefore its constant authority, in the eternal act of the redeeming God; which was neither exhibited nor symbolized only in the cross of Christ but there *done*; which did not simply there emerge but was there effected, at a point of space and time which was the critical node of Eternity itself—unless, of course, we are to sever the two worlds by an impassable gulf, deny their interpenetration and interaction in one vast purpose, and become the victims of the historian and his relativism. It is a tremendous claim; but all God's claims are. It is a perilous freedom; but all divine freedom is perilous. There was never such a danger to man as when God made him free at the first. But then there never was such a God, such a Redeemer.

What has been said does something to explain the failure of Congregationalism to keep pace with the democracy, and warns us of the fatal result of efforts to win or keep the democracy chiefly by service to its natural freedom. Congregationalism is not the Church *of* the democracy but a Church *for* it. It does not represent democracy, but evangelizes it *in its native tongue*. It brings a control before it sets up a freedom. A democracy that puts instinctive freedom first and last must be dissatisfied with any Church which puts first and last an obedience of faith. And a democracy of comfort, egoism, and licence, a liberty, casual, reckless, and recalcitrant, must resent a religion where faith itself is the supreme obedience, the renunciation of self-salvation, the absolute sub-

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mission of the moral soul to its holy Redeemer, and the remaking of the moral man. A democracy at such a stage may require a tighter hand than the loose order that served a positive puritan creed. And all the Congregational Churches are being tied and braced in a closer organization than was once thought possible. As Professor Williston Walker of Yale says,

“Congregationalism at the moment, in order to make itself more efficient without forfeiting the essential autonomy of the local Church, is displaying a centralizing tendency both in England and America.”

But it has done much all the time to promote the play of congregational liberty in the more organized bodies.

### VI

The suggestion has been made that a great step to the reunion of the Churches would be taken if Anglicanism recognized the element of freedom and energy in those Free Churches which accepted the Atonement and the Incarnation (and which as thus Evangelical might be called Catholic), and if the Free Churches recognized the fundamental sacramentalism of the Church. I confess I do not see much hope till we are clearer about our terms. I agree that the Free Churches have not always done justice to the sacramental idea, that they have often lost it in the merely symbolic, not to say the merely memorial; that they have thought it to be exhausted in something shown instead of something done; and also that they have often lost the due sense of the essentially priestly nature of the Church as the active Body of the world's Great High Priest; and further that they have been known to treat the universal priesthood of believers as if it carried with it universal preachment and home-made theology. As a matter of fact, the priesthood of believers is much more their right to pray than to preach. Preaching is the prophetic function. But something more pointed than supersymbolism, something more physical, is involved in the sacramental claim, something which tends

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more to magic with the Elements than to might in the Act, and which severs the priest farther from the people than the interest of mere order requires. It is something which moves the centre of gravity in the word *Holy Church* from the ethical and experimental to the mysterious, the miraculous—from the conscience to the spiritual imagination. And I do not see much hope of a real *rapprochement* till it become clear that the first interest in a Church of Redemption is freedom in the moral sense of forgiveness and its eternal life, of absolution to the guilty conscience by a supreme historic and moral act of God in Christ, eternal for the universe, and mediated to men by the Church's act in confession of it. That is to say it is the preaching interest, whether by word or deed, the interest of an active and worshipful confession. The repeated act in which the Eternal Act of Grace takes effect is the publication of it *more suo*, by the witness of the forgiven Church's moral soul, by its moral act of confession in a kind congenial to the Redemptive Act itself, *i.e.*, by the redeemed conscience of the experient Church reflecting that Act, by faith answering grace as mercy. The action of such preaching is always sacramental in its nature, and even miraculous. The World is not a mere symbol of God but His Sacrament; how much more the Word. He does not simply show Himself, He gives Himself in each. Every change contains something new. We are not locked up in the causal chain. The Sacrament draws its value from the Word which created the Church; and the action of the Gospel Word is regenerative, and therefore miraculous. For no psychology can ever explain how the spoken word or the devoted act produces the regenerative effect of an ever present and active Redeemer on the Soul. It is for ever above, though within, the action of cause and effect. The Word of Grace is always sacramental, whether it be by the eye or the ear, and its distinctive action gives us the prime nature of any Sacrament. The one true central



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and congenial Sacrament of Christ is the Word of the Gospel, whether in the deed we call speech or the deed we call rite. The spoken word and the ritual act are collateral as Sacraments of the Gospel; both are acts in which the eternal ubiquitous act of Christ functions afresh continually in its own morally holy and experiential way. And the elements in the enacted word are as otiose as the letters of the word written or spoken. It is on such a line of conviction that reunion must come, a line which raises the sacramental value both of the pulpit and of the altar by moralizing both. It is by a sacramental evangelicalism, where a moral miracle becomes second nature, it is not by an evangelical sacramentalism where the miracle tends also to become magic and drop to a nature force in heavenly places.

The following line of reflection is offered as promising more effect in the directions desired. Our Christian freedom is not natural (and anarchic) but supernatural. That is to say, it is a pure gift, and under the Authority of the Giver. It is created by the Eternal Act and Word of His Gospel of regenerating Grace; that is again to say, it is created by the same thing as creates both the Church and the Sacraments and gives their value to both. Both, and especially the Sacraments, are congenial functions and self-assertions of the Greatest Moral Act the world can know, the dominant destiny in all historic evolution, an Act at once positive and eternal, ethical and mystic, absolutely different from any nature force however refined, the elements being themselves unaffected but still the vehicles of a real power, and the neutral wires of a tremendous message really conveyed. The Church's act, and not the elements, is the vital thing and the seat of the sanctity; an act not of magic change but of redeeming holiness, the act of a mystic ethic, the indwelling Saviour functioning ever anew in the historic work which is the standing energy of His total holy person.

On some such lines we have the promise of an approxi-



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mation which must remain very hopeless so long as in the Sacraments the centre of gravity is moved from the Church's act within Christ's to some preternatural change in the elemental means whereby it takes effect. The line here suggested rescues the Sacraments from Zwinglianism, makes them a real conveyance instead of a mere commemoration, a real act and not a mere symbol. And we wander no longer in theosophic materialism, in mazes of obscure metaphysic between the spiritual and the physical. Not that way lies the cosmic significance of the miraculous Christ.

# The Anglican Position Constructively Stated

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We may not forget in a study of this kind that modern Anglicanism is *what it has come to be*; but a position which is the growth of many ages cannot be adequately understood unless we reckon with the factors of its growth and take account of the laws by which its development has been controlled.

The Anglican position was not created *de novo* in the sixteenth century, but is the result of many centuries of development—a development in which opposite factors have operated, and have imparted to the Anglican Churches a somewhat unique capacity to afford a home for all types of Christians without forsaking their ancient Faith and Order. Reflecting the influences of every age, including the most ancient and the most modern, the Anglican position cannot be successfully described in its constructive aspects without exhibiting the constructive process and the successive factors which, humanly speaking, have made it what it has come to be in the twentieth century. I shall therefore devote the larger part of this article to such an account of the making of Anglicanism as my space will permit. In doing this I shall be indirectly accomplishing the larger part of my appointed task, and shall be able to make a few pages discharge the duty of many in exhibiting the positive substance and characteristics of the Anglican position of today.

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There is a certain opportunism in the Anglo-Saxon temperament which should be carefully borne in mind in considering the development of Anglicanism. The English race has never pushed new ideas to their extreme logical results; but each successive factor has been retarded and materially qualified in its effects by pre-existing ideas, institutions and habits. Thorough-going consistency has never characterized Anglicans in general, and this has helped to give Anglicanism its complexity—a complexity which is hard for foreign observers to understand, but which has had much to do with its notable freedom from onesidedness, its catholic sympathy today with diverse temperaments and stand-points. Perhaps no other Christian communion so obtrusively reminds one of our Lord's description of His kingdom as a drag-net, which gathers in, and *retains without breaking*, fish of every kind, until the shore of final judgment is reached.

### I

Three chief moments are to be found in the history of Anglicanism, each signalized by the introduction of its own factors—the seventh century, the reformation, and the post-reformation period.

1. The Anglican Church began its properly organized existence under Archbishop Theodore, in the seventh century, as both Catholic and national. Planted by the twofold work of Roman and Celtic missionaries, it was organized by those who were sent from Rome, and thus was brought into line with the Catholic Church of the West, receiving its faith and hierarchical organization from that Church, and copying the general features of its sacramental, liturgical and disciplinary regimen, including in particular the implicit recognition of an undefined headship of the Petrine See. The papal supremacy was not then fully developed, and formal definitions of its scope and implications were as yet

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lacking; but that some kind of supremacy over the whole Church on earth had been divinely given to St. Peter and to his successors in the Roman See was taken for granted by all Western Christendom—not less in England than elsewhere. This initial factor of acceptance of the Catholic Faith and Order in its Western form, with an indeterminate papal supremacy, has had, in spite of the rejection of the papal government in the sixteenth century, a determinative influence in the subsequent development of the Anglican position.

But the result has been modified from the outset by the factor of nationalism. The fortunes and the policy of the English Church, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, have always been closely connected with and affected by the English State, the more so on account of the geographical isolation of England. At the outset it was a united English Church that brought about the union of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms into one English nation. Her prelates were the most intelligent and capable men of their age, and by natural force of circumstances became influential statesmen. Thus an indeterminate alliance between Church and State was created, which in the natural course of events gave to the State an undefined but real coercive jurisdiction in ecclesiastical concerns. The difference between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction was indeed apprehended, and the crown was never acknowledged to have spiritual jurisdiction. But in that simple age this distinction was not accurately defined or applied. The King was viewed as the eldest son of the Church, whose proper function it was to guard her interests, while at the same time protecting the commonwealth from damage. And it should not be forgotten that, at least until the rise of modern dissent, English rulers could, and did, assume that the subjects of the English crown were also members of the Church, and that the King could properly act as representing and protecting lay interests in the Church.

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This nationalism profoundly modified the practical working of papal supremacy in England. As I have been saying, that supremacy was not then fully defined. In practice it was treated by prelates as well as by statesmen in England as limited, and as subject to resistance whenever it was exercised in a manner prejudicial to English welfare. Thus the development of Anglicanism during the middle ages was determined, humanly speaking, by the combined operation of three ruling powers: *viz.*, the provincial hierarchy of the English Church, the English Crown, and the Papal See. Their mutual relations never reached exact adjustment, and the success of each in maintaining effective power varied according to circumstances. The *Ecclesia Anglicana* asserted itself against both Pope and Crown in *Magna Carta*, and the State in the Constitutions of Clarendon and in the statutes of the fourteenth century against papal encroachments. But the policy of the Papal See was the most self-coherent and persistent, and in the fifteenth century gained the advantage. History, however, does not justify describing the result in the definite terms of modern papal claims. The sum of the matter is that, when Henry VIII ascended the throne, the Anglican position was that of the mediaeval Catholic Church in the West, modified to an undefined extent by a nationalism which for the moment seemed moribund, but which only needed the combined circumstances of Henry's personal quarrel with the Papal See and the wider demand for reformation to become again a living and effective factor.

2. The second great moment in the development of Anglicanism was the reformation, which in England may be said to have lasted from about 1530 to 1662. This movement was the inevitable outcome of a general demand for the reformation of the Church in head and members, and Henry's part in initiating it was an accident of the moment. His quarrel with the Pope determined the time and manner of the breach with papal



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government, but the success of the revolt cannot be explained by Henry's power, nor was the nature of the reformation which followed determined by his views. The movement was too large and complex in its causes and ramifications either to be begotten or to be determined in result and ultimate meaning by individual men and groups of men. It was a vital movement of the Church itself and of the nation, in which an immense adjustment and purging occurred and many new impulses were given play, but in which the ancient and two-fold genius of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* continued to assert itself. Catholicism was adjusted to a non-papal régime, as in the East, and nationalism asserted itself in the *political* effort to enforce conformity to the new arrangement upon all Englishmen. The assumption that all subjects of the Crown were in duty bound to be faithful subjects of the national Church controlled the whole movement, and explains many things. The distinction between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction indeed became more definite, and was expressly acknowledged by the Crown, which disavowed meddling with spiritual concerns. But this disavowal was largely theoretical, and Henry and his successors in practice took active part in handling spiritual affairs. Nationalism was a vigorous factor, and the Church was not free to act independently of the State. So close indeed was the alliance between Church and State, that it is difficult to draw the line between the political and the ecclesiastical factors lying behind the changes which took place.

Three chief factors were at work in the Anglican reformation—one of them new and two of them ancient. The new one was the exclusion of papal government—an exclusion which had both political and ecclesiastical motives,—its ecclesiastical motive being reformation of what was deemed unprimitive and corrupt in mediaeval Anglicanism. But this new factor did not have the radical effect upon the Church's Faith and Order which it had

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in the reformation movements of other lands, because Catholicism retained an effective influence. The old Church remained, and continued to emphasize in its formularies and canons an adherence to the Faith of the ancient creeds, councils and Catholic doctors, and also carefully to preserve the sacramental system and threefold ministry of the ancient Catholic Church. In brief, there was no real breach of continuity, whether ecclesiastical, liturgical or doctrinal. Yet the adjustments involved in the exclusion of papal government and in the movement to do away with mediaeval accretions were far-reaching, and subsequent factors were to make them more so. In some respects the changes then made have been over-estimated, but in other respects their full significance has yet to be generally realized. There was, of course, a period of acute conflict between the old and the new, and to this day individual Anglicans are labelled "high" and "low," "Catholic" and "Protestant," according to the emphasis they place upon these several elements. But what Anglicanism came to be does not answer to party shibboleths. It indeed reflects all the factors, the combination and conflict of which explain, so far as human factors can explain, its modern form.

Looking back from several centuries remove, it is possible to see that, amid all the confusion of the reformation, a very coherent development was taking place, and one which was larger and more modern in its trend than the leaders of that time could have perceived. The Holy Spirit in His Church, and her organic mind, are deeper things than her human leaders, however intelligent, can either fathom or fully control. The Anglican reformation cannot be adequately interpreted by an appeal to the several opinions and designs of the sixteenth-century Anglicans. Restraining undercurrents were at work, and the momentary triumphs of party leaders on one side or the other, in this or that generation,

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could not change the trend of a movement to which all parties contributed and by which all were to a degree overruled.

The form of the movement was in a prominent aspect political—in the enforcement of conformity by physical penalties. The conscious motive of this enforcement was to remove confusion and to secure peace for the realm, a distinctly political motive. The result which has been chiefly noticed was the rise of nonconformity and its final development into separatism. But a far more significant and paradoxical result, so far as the development of Anglicanism itself is concerned, was a shifting of emphasis from a complex theological orthodoxy to faithfulness to the Church's working system. This changed emphasis appears prominently in Archbishop Laud, whose rigid enforcement of conformity was accompanied by what was then a remarkable indifference to the subtleties of theological controversy. Anglicans, in common with others, have now generally outgrown belief in the value of physical means for enforcing religious conformity, but the change of emphasis which that policy brought about continues to be an important characteristic of the Anglican position and temper.

But this does not mean that the Anglican Churches have ceased to insist upon the ancient Catholic Faith. It means that the Anglican judgment and temper is opposed to enlarging the area of dogmatic definitions beyond the central verities contained in the Catholic creeds and in the decisions of the undisputed general councils. The reason is not that these ancient definitions are exhaustive. They certainly are not. It appears rather to be a growing realization that dogmatic definitions become a hindrance to faith when extended beyond a few primary verities, and that sincere acceptance of the Creeds, *accompanied by faithfulness to the Church's working system*, will in the long run bring the faithful to a practically sufficient knowledge of saving truth.

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Unduly to multiply and complicate her dogmatic definitions is to jeopardize rather than to facilitate the Church's propaganda. In short, loyal devotion to the Church's *way of life* is relied on to accomplish what many have thought to achieve by enlarging the range of the Church's dogmas and Confessions of Faith. The Catholic creeds are declared to be "a sufficient statement of the faith," because the truths which they exhibit are leading truths, which involve in their sincere acceptance all the formal beliefs which are needed to ensure that the devout life of a loyal Churchman shall develop in him the full faith of the Gospel. Such a position does not represent a lack of sensitive concern for the Catholic Faith. This concern has indeed been officially expressed in various ways. The true explanation is a realization, based upon experience, that the ability of men in general, especially of modern men, to assimilate and derive the intended benefit from dogmatic definitions is limited; and that men must be permitted to grow in faith along the paths of reasonably free enquiry, if they are to be won to an acceptance of the Faith which shall be really saving. Behind all this is a growing confidence in the protecting work of the Holy Spirit, accompanied by perception that, although it is His will to employ the Church and her discipline as His primary means of bringing men to the truth, excessive disciplinary machinery is not readily adaptable to His operation. Anglican formularies, therefore, give exact definition only to the more *fundamental premises* of Christian enquiry and growth in the Catholic Faith.

This policy is apparent in the *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*—popularly regarded as a Confession of Faith, but really constituting an emergency-platform, framed with political as well as with religious design, in order to tide over a period of dangerous controversy, prejudicial to the peace and safety both of the Church and of the English realm. The premises of the Catholic Faith,



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as "summed up in the Creeds and affirmed by the undisputed general councils," are indeed reasserted in the opening articles. And acceptance of the Scriptures as containing all necessary doctrine, and of the authority of the Church "in controversies of faith," is clearly demanded. But all this amounts only to a re-affirmation of ancient Catholic dogmas and of the ecumenically accepted rule of faith—a needed assertion, at such a crisis, that the English Church was not forsaking the ancient paths.

But when we closely examine the rest of the Articles, we find that they constitute, in the language of their title, articles "for avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion." That is, they were designed to afford an eirenicon between contending partisans, and to stay controversy by securing the common acceptance of general propositions concerning the points—to a large degree speculative—which were in controversy. The eirenic purpose of the Articles was not less genuine because the more radical opinions of the day, whether "Romish," as they were termed, or anti-Catholic, were sternly repudiated. And the imposition of the Articles upon the clergy by the combined authority of Church and State was an inevitable method of the age, rather than a proof of their being intended as a definitive Confession of Faith. That age knew no other method of removing controversy than that of coercive repression. The propositions in the Articles are "general." They are not such as would have been formulated by those who sought to define doctrines in exact and unambiguous terms; and the literature of that time conclusively shows that the framers of the Articles were capable of using clear language. Careful scrutiny proves that, except where the ancient dogmas of the Church were involved, precise definitions were avoided, and phrases were resorted to which can be, and have been, interpreted in accordance with mutually



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inconsistent views. I think the inference is reasonable and justifiable that the quieting of controversy was aimed at rather than a precise determination of the questions at issue. The fact was that, while certain radical opinions could be, and were, ruled out of court, many of the controversies referred to in the Articles did not admit of exact solution, and belonged to spheres of opinion which the deeper and restraining spirit of the Church forbade bringing within the range of dogmatic definition. The Articles were practical Articles of Religion, imposed in the interests of peace. No doubt they have been used by partisans for the defense of very precise opinions, and their original purpose is not fulfilled by them. To-day they constitute a historic memorial, rather than a vital document; and "assent" to them, which continues to be exacted of the English clergy, does not bind these clergy either to any fixed interpretation of their obscure and indeterminate phrases or to admiration of them. They do not enlarge the area of exact dogma, but exemplify the contention of this paper, that in the Anglican reformation the emphasis was practically shifted from over-technical orthodoxy to conformity to the Church's way of life, on the basis of acceptance of the ancient Creeds and of the decisions of the undisputed general councils. These decisions indeed are for theologians to reckon with, rather than for general reference. It is the Apostles and Nicene Creeds which are set forth as containing sufficient guidance of the dogmatic kind for the faithful at large.

3. We now come to the third and latest stage in the constructive development of the existing Anglican position. It has been shown that the original factors in this development were Catholicism in its Western form, an undefined papal supremacy, and nationalism. The reformation saw the abolition of papal government and a removal of mediaeval accretions, in which non-papal Catholicism and nationalism became restraining factors,

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but in which an emancipation from excessive dogmatism took place. The post-reformation or modern period has introduced three new factors—factors which, without essentially changing historic Anglicanism, have to a very important degree affected the Anglican mission and practical policy, and have placed Anglicanism itself in a new perspective, imparting to it a modern significance. These factors are the rise of dissent, the transplanting of Anglican Christianity into other lands, including missionary fields, and the development of the so called “modern mind.”

(a) Anglican dissent may be said, broadly speaking, to represent dissatisfaction with the comparatively small extent of the changes accomplished by the Anglican reformation, accentuated by resentment against the policy of enforcing ritual conformity by coercive means. This policy was characteristic of the sixteenth century, and has been slowly outgrown. Moreover, it was largely political. But ecclesiastical stiffness, on the one side, and reactionary impatience, on the other, defeated the unifying design of Elizabethan legislation, and caused an alienation and separation which I, for one, believe more religious methods of government and more patience would have prevented. Anglicans of today realize that the blame was by no means confined to the side of non-conformists. Schism is a grave evil, and one of the consequences is to set free the factors of divergence by destroying the environment and common religious life which restrain one-sided and exaggerated developments of particular aspects of truth and of diverse temperaments. Thus mutual understanding becomes increasingly difficult, and charity, the chief glory of unity, becomes ineffectual.

English nonconformity, as it continues to call itself, gradually won for itself the legal right to exist; for even those who adhered to the national Church came gradually to see that a truly Christian Church cannot rightly

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resort to physical coercion in spiritual matters. But earlier animosities have become a tradition, and more time will be required before mutual understanding and reunion can be hoped for. This mutual soreness is naturally more acute in the mother country, where the complications of the establishment are continual reminders of old battles, and political influences mingle with and enkindle religious differences. In other lands, in particular in America, the conditions are less mutually exasperating, and more favourable to the growth of mutual understanding and to the recovery of desire for unity.

The continued existence of dissent, the responsibility for it in which the Anglican Church shares, and the ineffaceable conviction that schism is not reconcilable with the will of Christ, have brought about a sense of mission among Anglicans to labour for reunion at any cost short of unfaithfulness to the ancient Faith and Order of the Church. Moreover, the extension of the Anglican Church into other lands, where she has come into contact with foreign Catholic Churches and with older breaches of unity, has imparted a worldwide bearing to her reconciling mission. Missionary experience in heathen lands has also greatly deepened the sense of urgency to grapple with the problem of unity. But this wider experience has fostered the conviction that, if the Anglican Communion is to succeed in its ministry of reconciliation, all short-cuts and "flickering expedients" must be avoided, and no concordats or unions may be promoted or accepted in one direction which would nullify efforts towards reunion in other directions. Conscious of possessing to a unique degree points of vital contact with both of the opposite groups of Communions into which the Christian world is now divided, the Anglican Church is instinctively cautious and patient, because it aims ultimately to bring about visible unity *among all who confess our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour.*

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(b) I have described by anticipation one result of the extension of Anglicanism into foreign lands, but it remains to speak of another effect of this extension upon the development of the Anglican position. The nationalism and provincial insularity of Anglicanism are being modified and transfigured by a cosmopolitan spirit. A Communion which has become international, and which has come into contact with diverse civilizations, must transcend national limitations, if it is to hold its own in its wider field. The change is necessarily slow, for nationalism has too long a history, and is too deeply ingrained, to give way at once to new influences. But one barrier to the change is fortunately reduced. The principle of conformity which was so strongly emphasized in the Anglican reformation is not formally enforced outside of England. There is indeed a strong tie between the Anglican Churches—both racial and that of common Faith and fundamental Order. But local autonomy prevails, along with inefaceable unity; and the Anglican Communion is acquiring an ecumenical spirit, which is enabling it to adapt itself to all human conditions, and to exemplify on a worldwide scale the free unity which it is seeking to bring about among all Christian Communions. The sun never sets upon Anglican Churches, and everywhere they are adapting themselves to local conditions, while retaining a unity which is the more vital and inspiring because unhindered by an inelastic regimen of rigid conformity.

(c) Finally there is the factor usually described as "the modern mind." I shall not attempt fully to describe it. My purpose will be sufficiently served by mentioning the chief causes of its development, and those aspects which are making it an important factor in determining the present Anglican position.

The chief causes of its development are (1) the greater freedom of thought which the reformation secured—a freedom often running into licence, but not less a chief

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factor in modern progress at large; (2) the reduced intelligibility and weight of traditional doctrines in popular apprehension, due in part to the babel of tongues which the multiplication of Confessions of Faith and rival orthodoxies has let loose; and in part to (3) the vast widening of scientific knowledge, which has fired modern imagination, changed estimates of reality, driven theological verities into the background, and created mental habits which often engender naturalistic philosophies and an agnostic attitude towards spiritual realities; (4) the development of biblical and historical criticism, which has discredited certain views mistakenly but widely believed to be involved in any sincere acceptance of biblical inspiration.

These causes sufficiently account for the broad characteristics of the modern mind—the mind, that is, which is peculiarly modern. This mind today determines the attitude of a formidable array of scholars and thinkers towards Christian positions, although the traditional mind retains an effective influence in many intelligent circles of believers and scholars. The modern mind is not characterized by particular opinions so much as by an attitude towards religious truth, and by a method of religious enquiry. This attitude is frankly critical, with a pronounced tendency to regard traditional views as probably defective, and as in need of vital adjustment to wider knowledge and to more rational standpoints. The modern method of enquiry involves a refusal to be influenced in investigation by authoritative teaching. The historical method, critically applied, ostensibly governs the labours and determines the “results” of those scholars—and their number and predominating influence is great—who exemplify the modern mind. It is easy for a traditionalist to perceive what appear to him to be fatal defects which are apt to characterize this attitude and method:—(1) more or less disregard for the burden of proof which properly rests upon the promoters of



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novel views; (2) frequent adoption of the presupposition that supernatural factors need not be reckoned with in biblical criticism; and (3) forgetfulness by many that spiritual things are successfully examined only by spiritual methods, accompanied by loss of the spiritual atmosphere which the Church was appointed to furnish and does afford. Accordingly, the alarm which the appearance of modern methods has caused in many quarters was inevitable.

Aside from excessive and unbalanced developments, which are accidental and passing, modern investigations have changed the perspectives of Christian belief and knowledge. And a demand for a fresh and critical investigation of the data upon which ecclesiastical teaching is based is one which is neither essentially anti-Christian nor inconsistent with belief in the Catholic Faith and in the guidance of the Church of God by His Holy Spirit. The methods which earnest truth-seekers of a given age find most serviceable are the methods which the Spirit employs, or overrules, in guiding the children of that age in their truth-seeking. The critico-historical method has its limitations; but within its proper sphere it is both sound and fruitful. The rationalistic presuppositions and vagaries which have been exploited in connection with it are the results of defective standpoints. They do not inhere in the method itself, nor will their erratic results be able to hold their own. All results of human enquiry ultimately stand or fall by virtue of their truth or falsity, and no mistaken conclusions can permanently hold the field as against divine truth and the patient work of the enlightening Spirit. It may be assumed, therefore, that the fresh and critical investigations which are now going on are fulfilling a providential function, and will in the end fortify the Christian Faith.

The modern mind also demands a restatement of Christian doctrine in terms of modern intelligence; and, in spite of the defective terms in which this demand is often

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made, we shall not err if we interpret it sympathetically, as deriving its power from, and as expressing, a craving of modern humanity for a more vital proclamation of the Gospel. To translate ancient dogmas into the language and idioms of modern thought is not to forsake the ancient faith. It is to propagate the faith, and propagation is the only method by which the faith can be effectively preserved. The assumption is here made, of course, that the translation referred to will exhibit the essential meaning of the original faith—in new connections and bearings, but without reduction of its vital content.

Now, in common with other Christians, Anglicans have been influenced by these modern demands. It is true that the sense of stewardship which is a prominent characteristic of the Anglican position has made the response a cautious one at first. But Anglican scholars have for some time been taking an important and fruitful part in the great tasks of fresh investigation into Christian foundations, and of translating the ancient faith of Christendom into modern terms. There is adjustment all along the line, accompanied by the caution and deliberateness which inevitably attend the labours of those who themselves feel, and are in the midst of a body of believers who feel, a sense of responsibility for guarding an ancient Faith and Order from subversion. I believe that this caution is saving Anglican scholars from many false steps, and that they are acting as a kind of balance wheel to the more rapid whirl of "results" which are being exploited in many quarters.<sup>1</sup> The sum of the matter is that the modern mind has imparted to the Anglican position an increasing readiness to adjust itself to changed forms of thought and language, without alter-

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<sup>1</sup>I have no space here for an account of what Anglican scholars have been doing, but venture to refer to my Hale Lecture of 1912, *Recent Work of Anglican Theologians*, Milwaukee, Young Churchman Co., in which I have given such an account.

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ing the conservative caution which has characterized the Anglican Communion in previous generations.

### II

It remains to describe in summary terms the positive characteristics of the existing Anglican position. We have seen that this position is determined by historical antecedents, some of which are very ancient. It originally embodied the Catholic position of the Western Church, maintained under the limiting and antithetic conditions of an undefined papal supremacy and a vigorous nationalism, and has preserved its Catholic character to the present day. It has significantly adjusted itself to later conditions, under the influence of the factors which have been brought into play by the abolition of papal government in England, by the reformation, by the rise of dissent, by its own foreign extension, and by the complex developments which have produced "the modern mind." These factors have not subverted its original essence; but to important degrees they have developed and adjusted its temper, its mental perspectives, its points of emphasis, and its disciplinary attitude towards private opinion and defective faith, towards partisanship, dissent and foreign types of Christianity, and towards critical scholarship.

The Anglican position is too deeply rooted in the past, and has been adjusted to too wide a range of conditions to be adequately, or even correctly, interpreted by those who reckon only, or chiefly, with the visible trend of popular movements of the day and with public utterances which seem to define prevailing sentiments of the moment. I am not concerned with these superficial and passing phenomena of Anglican life. It is indeed characteristic of the Anglicanism of recent centuries that it permits the development of ecclesiastical parties, which are sharply distinguished by the relative emphasis that each places upon particular aspects of the working sys-

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tem to which they all profess allegiance, whether these aspects be sacramental, evangelical or humanitarian. But party developments and controversies signify the necessary price of that freedom from repressive discipline which Anglican experience has taught to be required for the liberty of the Gospel and for the development in modern days of a really intelligent, virile and aggressive Catholicity. These movements and conflicts do not signify what the Anglican position is in itself, but they reveal the diversity of temperaments and standpoints which Anglicanism is able to reach and enlist. In itself it is obviously a positive, self-consistent and powerful thing, for no indeterminate and inert combination of incompatibles could so long have enabled the Anglican Communion to tolerate the oppositions which it has permitted without going to pieces. Accordingly, while each party stands for a form of loyalty to Anglicanism—each more or less imperfect,—no one of them adequately represents it; and changes in the relative predominance of parties do not signify changes in its own character and spirit. They represent passing conditions of popular opinion, which may either promote or retard an assimilation of the Church's mind, but which leave its consistent quality and abiding power unaltered. The Anglican position possesses a hidden and corporate vitality which at once baffles external observers and inspires Anglican Churchmen. The swing of the pendulum of opinion is sometimes violent, but the fixture from which the pendulum is suspended is not disturbed. Many heresies are ventilated, but the withholding of discipline—even when immediately due to lax views in high quarters—does not in ultimate effect sanction error. Rather it is part of a consistent policy of permitting both the wheat and the tares to grow together until the harvest—a policy only deviated from, as a rule, when the preservation of the Church's own propaganda seems to be involved.

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The Anglican position, summarily described, is the ancient Catholic position, guarded by a limited range of definitions, and embodied in a working system which at once protects the Catholic Faith and religion from subversion and permits constant adjustment to the changing conditions of human thought and life. It involves a large reliance upon the protective guidance of the Holy Spirit. Such a description at once exhibits the coherent nature and vital continuity of Anglicanism and accounts for the complexity of conditions and movements which it permits and survives. Placing the Catholic creeds to the forefront, as sufficiently defining the central truths in which the rest are involved, the Anglican Churches employ a working system in which is practically embodied and implied the fuller mind which they would have their children receive, but which is left to be assimilated gradually and practically rather than to be formally accepted *ab initio* in technical definitions. Such a system involves, and is justified by, the assumption that if living and thinking human beings are to be brought to a full-grown and orthodox faith which is not merely formal but vital and saving, the method must be suited to the laws of human growth. Persuasive education rather than dictation must be resorted to, and defective vagaries must not be summarily crushed during the process. Accordingly, just as the Church with spiritual wisdom patiently overlooks many moral imperfections in those whom she is leading on to Christian perfection, so she patiently ignores many of the one-sided and erroneous views of those whom she is seeking to train in the saving faith of the Gospel. In brief, Anglicanism depends for continuance and propagation upon a working system more than upon a dogmatic method, and this working system has never been in any real danger of subversion. Moreover, *it works*, and every revival of enthusiasm for it is accompanied by the emergence of a fuller Catholic faith and a richer spiritual life.



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Anglicans have been brought by their rejection of papal government into more or less sympathetic relations with Protestantism, and the recent development of movements for unity has worked in the same direction. Moreover, one at least of the historic parties in the Anglican Communion emphasizes Protestant principles, sometimes disparaging the sacramental aspects of the Anglican position. The American branch of the Anglican Communion goes so far as to describe itself as "Protestant Episcopal." This friendly sympathy is a providential factor in the equipment of the Anglican Churches for the work of restoring Christian unity, and is to be cherished. But the negative connotations of the word Protestant, except in the particular of rejection of papal supremacy, do not characterize the Anglican position, which is pre-eminently positive—affirmative. Its affirmations include the following:

(a) The truths and institutions which have been received from Christ and His Apostles constitute a sacred deposit, incapable of compromise or surrender by those who have been appointed its trustees and stewards for the common benefit of mankind, and essential to the restoration of Christian unity.

(b) The Catholic Faith is to be maintained in its purity and integrity, as contained in the Scriptures, summed up in the Creeds and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils.

(c) The sacraments of grace are to be retained and administered with faithful adherence to the requirements of divine institution and Catholic consent. Upon this depends not only the felt security of the Christian covenant in the life of grace, but also, as has been shown, the completeness of the Church's method of leading her children to a full assimilation of the Catholic Faith.

(d) The ancient Catholic ministry, of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, is to be retained, as the accepted Order of the Catholic Church, as the means of perpetuating

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the Church's organized and sacramental life, and as a necessary basis of Catholic unity. In its monarchical aspects the "historic episcopate" is undoubtedly a development, and both can and should be adapted to the conditions and needs of those who are divinely called into Christ's Church; but no results of historical enquiry have altered the validity of the Anglican assertion that apart from the historic episcopate the organic unity of Christendom cannot be attained.

The Anglican position is sometimes called a *via media*, but such a description needs qualification. The phrase properly applies to matters of practice which admit of degree, and it is a fact that Anglicans do not as a rule take kindly to extremes in ceremony and discipline. Moderation is in these matters an Anglican characteristic. But the phrase *via media* is sometimes applied to the doctrinal position of Anglicans. This is apt to mislead. Doctrines are either true or false, and no tenable *via media* lies between their acceptance and their rejection. There may be doctrinal onesidedness, but the antithesis of this is comprehensive acceptance of opposite aspects of divine truth. It is really this *comprehensiveness* of mind that is meant when the Anglican position is called a *via media*. It is a *central* position, but not exclusive. It embraces opposite aspects of truth, but embraces them together, and thus eliminates caricature on the one side and on the other. This explains the readiness of Anglicans to recognize what is positively true in the Roman Catholic position, on the one hand, and in the Protestant position, on the other hand. It is part of the equipment of the Anglican Communion to be a Church of reconciliation.

I do not claim to have written this paper from a detached and disinterested standpoint. But I have earnestly tried to describe what the Anglican position, fundamentally regarded, has actually become—a position which no doubt makes the Anglican Communion

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a sphere within which discordant and partisan views gain utterance, but which is not less a truly Catholic position. The Anglican Churches could not retain such discordant tempers and attitudes in vital allegiance to their working system, did they not possess in decisive measure the principles and conditions which will some glad day restore the organic unity of Christendom. God speed that day!

# Foreign Missions a Constructive Interpretation of Christian Principles

BY ROBERT E. SPEER, M.A., D.D.

My thesis is that in our search for the essential and constructive principles of Christianity, we can get more help from foreign missions than from any other source. Larger knowledge comes from larger life. Christian theism we owe to the Incarnation, and the Pauline Gospel to the Pauline propaganda. The bounds of human knowledge are pushed out by action, even as our Lord said of His own supreme revelation, "The words that I say unto you I speak not from myself; but the Father abiding in me doeth His works." And no action illustrates or reinterprets more luminously the true character of Christianity and its bearing on the most pressing problems of the modern world than the spontaneous action of the Christian spirit in foreign missions.

Let us clear the air at once of all false issues by the fullest acknowledgment of frailties and failures in the agents of missions, of mistakes in policies and methods, of the imperfect grasp and application even of true principles, of inadequate apprehension on the part of the missionary movement of its own true character and goals. When everything has been allowed that needs to be allowed on these counts, it remains true that foreign missions are the most efficient movement in human history. And what is of more consequence, and is here to be set forth, foreign missions embody the elements of

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Christianity which are essential to its life and to the recovery of its unity and the principles which alone can solve the problems confronting the modern world. These are ambitious claims, but after all, they are claims not for foreign missions, but for Christianity, and for foreign missions only because foreign missions are the present expression of the primitive Christian spirit fresh from its first contact with God in Christ.

To go straight to the heart of the matter, foreign missions are the purest embodiment of the spirit of absolute loyalty to duty and of utterly unselfish love. And these are the two highest characteristics of the life of our Lord, and therefore of the Christian mind. They were the two commandments of the Law when the Law had passed through the alembic of His soul who fulfilled it. They were the emphatic notes of His own doctrine. "We must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work." "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me." I am not saying that other enterprises are not carried forward in duty and love. I am saying that the foreign missionary idea is the purest embodiment of these conceptions, and that it and all Christian activities can be powerful with the full strength of Christianity only in proportion as these are their absolutely controlling conceptions.

The foreign missionary movement from the beginning has stood solidly and unflinchingly upon the idea of duty. It has believed in authority and has incarnated obedience. Lord Curzon has spoken slightly of it as resting upon a solitary command of Christ of questionable authenticity. We may dispute the form of his cavil but freely concede its substance. The enterprise has rested on the recognition of the absoluteness and authority of Christ and of the work which He did, and has conceived that in His Lordship, which embraces nobody unless it embraces everybody, there is a sanction of the duty of a world



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propaganda which stamps as ethically anomalous the man who professes the Christian faith and does not seek to discharge the missionary duty, who answers the description and arraignment of Christ, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" William Carey would not have adhered to his purpose through all the indifference and opposition which he met at home, and he would never have wrought for forty years with never a furlough amid difficulties, which we can verbally describe but cannot vitally conceive, in India; Robert Morison would not have toiled for seven years without visible result in Canton, and Stephen Bush and Stephen Mattoon for six years in Bangkok; the Christians of Uganda would not have smiled at the fires of a thousand martyrdoms and the Christians of China at the sharp swords which slew their thirty thousand in the year of grace 1900, if it had not been for that iron clutch of duty which has made the missionary enterprise not contemptuous but indifferent towards all that opposes it before or behind.

The missionary enterprise has been a movement of voluntary loyalty to duty, not the loyalty of conscription or irrevocable enlistment or military discipline, but free and avoidable. And this hard and unyielding fidelity to what ought to be done, no matter what is said or met, or how fruitless or impossible the task, is our great need in all the work of the Church and the Kingdom. The missionary enterprise teaches us to ask simply, "What is right? What ought to be done?" and when we have our answer to do it steadfastly, immovably, in the confidence of St. Paul's assurance regarding the outcome of all work so done. In the patience of duty which we learn from it, we can wait as long as we need to wait to achieve whatever is right in the mission or character of the Christian Church and in the advancement of the world.

Foreign missions embody, also, the perpetuated spirit of the Incarnation. They represent the voluntary sur-

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render of privilege in the interest of purely unselfish service. Those who labour in the missionary enterprise are not salaried, they are merely sustained. There is neither employment nor wage. There is simply life given for work. And no motive of gain or interest attaches to the work. It can be shown undoubtedly that Christian missions produce peace and create trade and advance prosperity. All this is the world's gain, but it does not accrue as payment to the man who produces it, and no missionaries go out because it can be shown that their work is full of material blessing to mankind and is economically and politically profitable to the nations from which they go. If such motives ever found their way into the movement they would be its death. Even the legitimate considerations of patriotism which support so much of our appeal for the work of the Church at home do not enter here. The enterprise is itself only when it is absolutely unselfish, when with no weapon but love, with no purpose except the purpose of doing good and giving life, with no agency except the truth, with no conception of interest or of return or of glory or of pride, it goes forth to meet men as naked and unaccoutred in their need as it is in its supply. Doubtless often the pure ideal of the missionary effort has been clouded. It has taken other tools and implements into its hands and has still produced results. Nevertheless its best fruitage has come from its purest fidelity to a principle of utterly unselfish love and unaccessoried truth. But each age misreads history or forgets it under the allurements of its own temptations and we constantly need to be reminded, to quote Macaulay's words in the *Edinburgh Review*, "that falsehood, though no match for truth alone, has often been found more than a match for truth and power together," and that the temptation of our Lord was a temptation to use His unprecedented and unequalled resources to achieve good ends by means unequal in goodness, to mingle interest with self-forget-

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fulness, to build a golden kingdom on foundations of clay.

We have come nearest to escaping such errors in the most unselfish work which the Church is doing, the work of expatriating her children, of passing the best of them through a real kenosis, of giving where there is no claim and whence there can be no return. And the power of the work has been in proportion to its unselfishness, that is, to its pure reliance upon love as its support, its agency and its only reward. Against all the derision of the world the method and principle of the Sermon on the Mount, of the self-devotion of the Incarnation, are the triumphant forms of action, and the success of the Church everywhere awaits their adoption, freed from every alliance with power and every confusion with interest.

It is in this matter of unselfish service that the missionary principle sets for our modern international intercourse its indispensable lesson. "The history of nations," wrote Mr. Gladstone in 1876, "is a melancholy chapter; that is, the history of governments is one of the most immoral parts of human history." We of the West surely cannot complain if the East and the South, whom our superior political power has exploited—with rare exceptions of trusteeship and those trusteeships maintained by power—look upon us with dislike and resentment. What Western nations today are viewing China with really disinterested good will, anxious that China should be strong and free and that China's interest should be first and most fully secured? How revolutionary the missionary principle would be in international politics! Lacking the principle in politics and business, Mr. William B. Reed, when he was American Minister to China, rejoiced that at least it was found in the missionary body. "Having no enthusiasm on the subject," he wrote to the Secretary of State, "I am bound to say that I consider the missionary element in China a great conservative and protecting principle. It is the

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only barrier between the unhesitating advance of commercial adventure and the not incongruous element of Chinese imbecile corruption."

The service of the missionary enterprise in this regard is varied, and it is indispensable to the neighbourliness of mankind. The missionaries make the East and West, the North and South, acquainted with one another. "The great agency today in keeping us advised of the conditions among Oriental races," said Mr. Taft in an address while he was President, "is the establishment of foreign missions." All other agencies combined do not do as much to introduce the West to the Oriental races. The missionaries bind the peoples in friendliness. They draw after them the love of millions in the lands from which they come, and it is their business to win the friendship of those to whom they go. There they become centres of good-will and kindly feeling. In time of suffering it has been they who enlisted the sympathy of the richer peoples and who are the almoners of their bounty. Of their services in the last great famine of China, one of the leading English papers in Shanghai remarked:

"It must be regarded as a fortunate circumstance that the famine committees have been able to enlist the services of the local missionaries in the distribution of relief. Their fitness for the work entrusted to them, which they have willingly undertaken, no one will question, whilst their probity and conscientious administration of the funds are equally beyond cavil. Their knowledge of the language and customs of the people, and their, generally speaking, friendly relations with them, constitute them the most fitting instruments for the work."<sup>1</sup>

It would be easy to multiply indefinitely the evidences of the work of sympathy and conciliatory understanding wrought by missionaries. Many, already endeared to the people among whom they worked, have been enshrined in an almost religious reverence for such sacrificial service.

The missionary enterprise everywhere is itself only when it is a movement of good-will and friendship. It

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<sup>1</sup>*The North China Herald*, March 28, 1907, editorial, "The Famine."



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is in this that the secret of its power to promote peace and order resides—a power greater, where it is allowed to work, than any other power the West possesses. “I have relied,” said Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor of Cape Colony, “more upon the labours of missionaries for the peaceful government of the natives than upon the presence of British troops.” “For the preservation of peace between the colonists and natives,” said General Sir Charles Warren, Governor of Natal, “one missionary is worth a battalion of soldiers.” “In my judgment,” said Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, “Christian missionaries have done more real and lasting good to the people of India than all other agencies combined. They have been the salt of the country and the true saviours of the empire.”

But we should go back of such testimony and illustration to central principles. And the principle here is that foreign missions represent the duty of unselfish and helpful relations on the part of the strong nations to the weaker, and to that end the duty of understanding and intelligent sympathy. The best type of British diplomatic service has supplied this intelligent understanding of the language and life of other peoples, but much of our political contact with other nations, and almost all of our commercial contact, has been devoid of it. Ex-President Eliot bore frank testimony to what he had found in the Far East; life-long residents who could not speak a word of the language and who knew none of the people, and the great body of foreigners, with the exception mainly of missionaries, utterly unacquainted with the real life of those among whom they dwelt. There can be no constructive handling of the present world problems in conditions like these. And these are the very conditions which the missionary principle assails. It calls for a sympathetic understanding of all mankind, of its literature, its religions, its social institutions, its ideals, its realities and its dreams. Missions have been



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and are the greatest of all agencies opening the world and bringing the knowledge of it to the civilized nations. "We owe it to our missionaries," said the *London Times*, "that the whole region (of South Africa) has been opened up." Indeed, the one name which towers over all others in African exploration, is David Livingstone's. "In the annals of exploration of the dark continent," said Stanley, "we look in vain among other nationalities for such a name as Livingstone's." "Religion, commerce and scientific zeal," said Professor Whitney of Yale, "rival one another in bringing new regions and peoples to light, and in uncovering the long buried remains of others lost or decayed; and of the three the first is the most prevailing and effective." But once again let it be noted that these testimonies and illustrations are not presented here in any apology for foreign missions, but to set forth a principle of the foreign mission movement which is essential to the solution of our present-day problems. We shall make no progress at all toward those solutions until we all take up toward the world the attitude of respect and sympathy and understanding without which missions could never have gained any foot-hold at all and which, apart from any such prudential consideration, are the marks of its essential spirit.

But a yet deeper principle than this lies beneath the missionary enterprise—and it is the only enterprise which is the definite and uncompromising avowal of this principle,—the principle, namely, of the world family of God, of the true unity of mankind, of human brotherhood not as a phrase but as a reality. This conception is fundamental to Christian missions. They hold that there is one God and that He is the God of all men, that He made all men of one blood, that there is one Lord and Saviour of all, that truth of whatsoever kind is not ethnic but universal, that the conception of different religions as equally true or valid is as absurd as the conception of ethnic medical sciences or racial mathematics or national

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chemistries, that however real racial differences may be, these differences do not go down to the essential groundwork of human unity. Mankind is all one family, or ought to be, and the Gospel was sent to the end that the family life of humanity in God might be restored in Christ. The missionary movement takes issue absolutely with Mr. Meredith Townsend's view that "something radical, something unalterable and indestructible divides the Asiatic from the European. . . . They are fenced off from each other by an invisible, impalpable, but impassable wall."<sup>2</sup> The main contention in Mr. Townsend's essays, that human unity is broken in the chasm between Asia and Europe, is what on principle and from experience the missionary enterprise denies. It believes that God made one, not two humanities, and thousands of its representatives have proved the truth of Sir Andrew Fraser's words in *Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots* when, commenting on Mr. Townsend's view, he says:

"It is no cant sentiment with men who have spent their lives among Eastern peoples, that God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth. Human hearts, human needs, human sentiments are much the same in the East and in the West. . . . Human hearts come together in the East just as they can in the West."

On any other theory, what a hell on earth we have to look forward to! Asia and Europe flowing ever more and more together, but unintelligible, alien, living a common life but incapable of sharing it, working at a common problem but doomed to eternal misunderstanding over it, answerable to the same God but incapable of a common worship or a common responsibility. This is to promise us a future of perpetual misconception and dread of war. St. Paul had a far nobler view. He believed in the one family of God and the unity of the world in that family's life:

"Now in Christ Jesus, ye that once were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ. For He is our peace Who made both one, and brake down the

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<sup>2</sup>*Asia and Europe*, pp. 50, 150.

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middle wall of partition, having abolished in His flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; that He might create in Himself of the twain one new man, so making peace; and might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby; and He came and preached peace to you that were far off, and peace to them that were nigh; for through Him we both have our access in one Spirit unto the Father. So then ye are no more strangers and sojourners, but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the chief cornerstone; in Whom each several building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit.”<sup>3</sup>

Foreign missions are the affirmation of this world unity.

And foreign missions are not only affirming it. They are creating it. It is not enough to say, “All men are brothers.” For a generation we have heard religion reduced to the two propositions of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and this reduction offered to us as a reason for dismissing the missionary enterprise as superfluous. But humanity is one only in ideal. The brotherhood of man is still an unrealized dream. To profess it as a faith is not enough, unless we accompany our profession with the works that achieve it. Foreign missions are doing this. Wherever they go they produce the consciousness of unity. It is by the foreign missionary movement that this vision of the truth comes to men. The non-Christian faiths denied human unity. Christianity affirmed it and in the work of foreign missions exemplified and validated it. The world has to learn from foreign missions still how the task is to be completed. At home we must acquire the attitude of mind and heart toward the non-Christian nations which this modern reproduction of the Incarnation embodies, and abroad the great constructive work must be done in the non-Christian nations which will give them the principles without which they cannot take their true place or fulfil their missions, or be ready for human unity. The non-Christian nations are realizing that they do not have these principles and must find them. And these new

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<sup>3</sup>Eph. 2: 13-22.

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principles for which the nations are feeling have their origin and their full life only in the missionary interpretation of Christianity.

It alone fits men for freedom, by teaching them self-control in liberty, and making them fearless followers of the truth which makes men free. The two greatest gifts of the Gospel—truth and freedom—are the supreme needs of the non-Christian peoples. These nations need Christianity to fit men for freedom. They need it also to teach men service, which is the divine end of freedom. Until men are unselfish freedom is only an enlarged opportunity for action hostile to human unity. And Christianity, uttering itself through one channel or another, can alone teach the nations this law of ministry, which is a new principle to the non-Christian peoples.

Furthermore, it is the missionary construction of Christianity which must give the world the principle of equality of man and woman, of man and man. The non-Christian principles of class and sex inequality have ruled the whole world except as Christ has changed it. The missionary enterprise has been the one great enterprise of modern times which has placed men and women on an equality of administration and responsibility in its advancement and which has gone to the non-Christian world, which has always been a man's world, and the non-Christian religions which have been men's religions, with a message of human equality necessitated by its message of human unity.

And one other principle which the Christian ideal in foreign missions has to contribute to the nations from without is the ideal of a true nationalism.

"The very idea of nationality has come to the educated mind of India under the auspices of Christianity; it has been undoubtedly quickened by the unconscious assimilation of ideas and principles essentially Christian. Split up hitherto into a number of separate and conflicting races and castes, a corporate life is now beginning to stir."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Slater, *Missions and Sociology*, p. 14.

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It is Christianity and the Christian principles, presented with whatever obscurity, which have created this stirring and given it the life of hope. Throughout the world the missionary movement has been one of the great educative ideas, and is the true norm and illumination of the Christian nationalism which is the divine principle of the next stage in the development of humanity.

And missions not only introduce from without the principles required for the development and unity of humanity, but they present in doing so the only possible method of achieving unity. They deal directly with the individual and move upon his personality and will, and so rest the new movement where alone it can stably rest, upon the redeemed character of persons. "The mightiest civilizing agencies," says Dr. Fairbairn, "are persons. The mightiest civilizing persons are Christian men." And it appeals through the mind and heart of the individual to the reason of the world. "If our people are ever to be moved," says Mr. Dickinson's Chinese official, "their reason and their heart must be convinced."<sup>5</sup> That is true of all the peoples, and that is the method, and the only method of the missionary enterprise. It is speaking to the reason and the heart of nations. By the purely persuasive agencies which it uses, the voice of the friend, the steady upheaving transformation of the school, the tenderness of sympathy in suffering, by dissolving prejudice and incarnating the truth of human oneness, it is convincing the world's reason, even when it is unaware, and has already penetrated every nation and permeated some nations with the principles by which the people are to fulfil their separate destinies and attain their heavenly ordered unity at the last.

Furthermore, the missionary aim of Christianity is essential and effective because it provides the adequate moral basis which is necessary for the life and institutions

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<sup>5</sup>*Letters from a Chinese Official*, p. 42.



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of the peoples. All the non-Christian peoples have lacked the moral basis of national life. The Chinese have come nearest to possessing it, and what was strong in China's neighbouring nations was borrowed from the Chinese, but even there the want of what is elementary in Christianity deprived the Chinese people of the central power of a great nationality. As the foreigner wrote, who knew the nation as well as any foreigner has ever known it:

"Even among a people like the Chinese, who are possessed of the conveniences of life and held together by an organized government founded on the consent of all classes, the want of truth and integrity weakens every part of the social fabric. Moral ethics, enforcing the social relations, the rights and duties of the rulers and ruled, and the inculcation of the five constant virtues have been taught in China for twenty-five centuries, and yet have failed to teach the people to be truthful. They never can do it, for they have no sanctions calculated to influence the mind and strengthen it to resist temptation. . . . But until truth becomes even here the basis of society, so that a man sinks in the estimation of his fellows if caught in a falsehood, and is afraid to lie because he will be despised, the Chinese must remain far below any Christian nation. They cannot progress in civilization until they become truthful. No corporate bodies formed among them for the purpose of carrying out great plans of improvement can cohere in consequence of this inherent weakness, because no subscribers will trust their money to such a company. No insurance company can obtain the confidence of the community; no trust company can succeed, let it promise ever so much. If the government issues coin, it is taken for its intrinsic worth, like bullion, because it is so tampered with as to lose its nominal value; and the case is still worse with its bonds,—so that China alone, of all the nations of the earth, has even now no national silver or gold coin, and no bank bills, the only currency being a miserable copper-iron coin, so debased as not to pay counterfeiters to imitate it. . . . Truth alone is the proper aliment for the mind; on it alone can all the faculties acquire their full development."<sup>6</sup>

And so of every nation. Its deepest needs are the moral needs, which must be met before the people can be free to fulfil their divinely ordered ends. "It is the moral sense of the people that has to be elevated," says a Hindu writer of his own nation."<sup>7</sup> And both in each nation in its needs, and among the nations in their relations, Christianity, and Christianity alone, can furnish

<sup>6</sup>S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, Vol. I, p. 352, ff.

<sup>7</sup>Jwala Dass in the *Hindustan Review*. See *The Literary Digest*, Feb. 15, 1908, p. 220.

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the indispensable foundation. It is in Christianity and the principles which men cannot permanently separate from their historic origin in it and their organic connection with it that the moral basis of true nationalism and of true universalism is to be found. As Bishop Brent says, in speaking of the Christian Church in which Christianity prosecutes her central mission among men:

“Upon her perpetuation in the civilized world depends the maintenance of common morality, not to mention moral refinements, the achievement of even that moderate success in character-building which marks the pathway of Christian history, that buoyancy of hope which casts upon the harsh disciplines of life something akin to transfiguring radiancy. Upon her extension to every corner of the world that is ignorant of the truth, as made known in the good news of the Saviour’s message, hinges the consummation of God’s beneficent purposes for the human race, the full knowledge of Christ’s personality by men, and that unification of the nations of the world which has ever been the dream of philosophers, the labour of philanthropists, and the prayer of the saints.”

The missionary movement embodies the one supreme uniting power. Within each nation for the perfect development of its character and for the faithful fulfilment of its mission there must be some adequate unifying bond. The bond must relate men in their deepest life, in the foundations of their principles, in the fountains of their ideals, in their eternal hopes. Only a common religion can supply that bond.

“Anyone realizing the importance attached to religion in Asia,” says Arminius Vambery, “will easily understand how impossible it is to bridge over (politically) the gulf which separates the professors of these various beliefs in India. Religion absorbs the interest of the Asiatic; it is stronger than his feeling of nationality.”<sup>8</sup>

When any land is torn by religious and racial division, as Dr. Ghose reminded the Surat Section of the Indian National Congress in 1907, after the unhappy division of the Congress, it cannot realize the unity of its character or its destiny. It was the missionary movement in Christianity which furnished the Roman Empire with this essential bond, and his discernment of the power and duty of Christianity thus to unite men marked the

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<sup>8</sup>*Western Culture in Eastern Lands*, Ch. II.

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supreme statesmanship of St. Paul. The task which St. Paul performed for the Roman Empire we have now to perform for the world, and in a more complicated form, but a form for which Christianity is entirely adequate. We have to locate Christianity in the life of each separate nation for the perfection of its national character and the accomplishment of its national destiny, and we have to set it in the whole life of the world so as to bind into one each perfected nationality and to cement and complete with its unity the whole varied life of mankind. This is the work that must now be done, and which Christianity alone can do. The privilege of it is ours who believe that God has made of one blood all the nations of men, and has appointed to each the bounds of its habitation and the glory of its own distinct mission, and has also given them in the Gospel of His Son that common life provided for all mankind, wherein there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman nor freeman, but Christ is all and in all.

But the issues which have arisen in recent years over Oriental immigration have raised the question of the implications and limitations of the doctrine of human unity. If the world is one and human brotherhood is equal, what are the logical consequences in the case of legislation which rests upon contrary assumptions? So far as any legislation does rest upon the contrary assumption, the only judgment which we can pass, under the mind of Christ, is one of condemnation. The law of human unity is the sovereign law and mankind is bound to live by it and to recognize in every man a brother to all his brethren. But within humanity there are also races and nations and families, and the recognition of racial and national distinctions, and of the insulation of the family as a separate integer is not only not inconsistent with the conception of human unity, but is essential to it.

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The spirit of nationalism is inevitable and it is invaluable. It is not in conflict with the ideal of a united humanity. It is essential to its realization. The same God who made of one blood all nations of men, assigned them also their racial and national character and destinies to the end of a perfected humanity. The development of state consciousness, state conscience, state ambition, state duty, is a development in the will of God for man, and the true world citizenship will recognize this and build the unity of mankind, not upon any speculative theory of humanity, nor upon any sand-heap of individual units, but upon corporate nationalities such as God has always dealt with and built upon in human history. He used a nation to prepare the salvation of the world, and He has always wrought His purposes through racial movements. His men were men of their nations, and His judgments were judgments of nations of men.

The problems presented by a world made up of conscious and independent nationalities, with distinct missions to fulfil and distinct contributions to make to the ultimate perfected human society, are complicated and difficult but they are not insoluble. What makes them dangerous is the introduction of the spirit which always arises from the denial of the fundamental postulate of world unity, the family idea of humanity. If we accept this idea freely, there is no danger of jealousy or injustice in the effort of each nation to guard for itself its own mission and national duty. The recognition of human brotherhood does not necessitate universal miscegenation, much less marital communism. Likewise it does not necessitate the surrender of national identity or the confusion of racial character. Just what racial intermixtures are wise and beneficial, what are the proper bounds and limitations of the safeguarding of national character and personality, are problems which nations should work out in good will and mutual considerateness, and which they can work out thus on the basis of a genuine mutual



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acceptance of the principles of human unity and racial function.

Foreign missions are showing how this problem can be worked out. They are based on the assumption of human unity. They seek to establish a universal society. At the same time they operate on the principles of nationality and of distinctive racial character and mission. They believe that each section of humanity has its own contribution to make to the ultimate wealth of the whole, and that each should fulfil its own distinct task; that in each there should be a national Church, of the soil, rooted in the tradition and life of the people, fitted to its customs and institutions, sharing its character and participating in its mission—yes, defining and inspiring that mission as it can do only when it is a truly national Church subject to no alien bondage. In such a Church Christianity will, of course, surrender nothing that is essential and universal. It enters into no compromise. It simply domesticates itself in a new home which it has been long in finding, and from the new roots which it sinks into humanity expands that interpretation of the life of God in man and nourishes that hope of man's future in God, which can only be perfected as all the peoples bring their glory and honour into the final temple of humanity. If we borrowed these conceptions and carried them over into the present day problems of world politics, we should be lifted sheer over some of our current perplexities into a new atmosphere of international life.

By this recognition of world unity as an ideal and by all that foreign missions are doing to realize it, they are making a great constructive contribution to the cause of Christian unity at home. The influence of the principle of nationalism, to which I have just referred, is one part of this contribution. The ideal of foreign missions is another. That ideal is the creation of indigenous national Churches, deadened by no throttling laws of uniformity, free and varied as the spirit of man, but still unified,



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corporate, animated by one organic life, fulfilling one great mission, and inspiring and answering the national life and destiny of the people. If that is the right ideal for Japan or India, it is the right ideal for Scotland or the United States. It is the ideal toward which the people of Canada are working. The very ideal of missions involves union and suggests the road to us at home.

Foreign missions have shown us the uniting power of a great work. The immensity of the common task, the essential oneness of aim of all engaged in that task press the workers together in spite of their unacquaintance and their dissonant traditions. When men are not united in their work, they can easily remain apart, exalting the secondary things into fundamental principles, but when they are seeking the evangelization of a world, the primary things assert their dominance. Dr. Swift, the great spirit who laid the foundation of the foreign missionary organization of the American Presbyterian Church, understood this principle and expressed it in one of the first reports of the Board, referring to the temporary abandonment by the Church in 1826 of its corporate responsibility as a missionary agency, and to its later separation into New and Old Schools:

“Had the commotions which now agitate the Church found its ministry and its churches bound together by the hallowed ties of one harmonious and life-inspiring effort to evangelize the world, those waves whose rockings now threaten its destruction would scarcely have left the trace of their existence. . . . The days of division and inaction cannot last forever. The Spirit of God will return in glory and in power to the Churches, and the spirit of love and concord to the Saints.”

Common aims and honest effort to realize those aims are making us one abroad. They can make us one at home. More than that, they require unity of us. As Dr. Henderson said in his final address as Moderator of the United Free Church Assembly in 1909:

“Fathers and brethren, may I so far allude to the great subject of Church Union as to say that nothing will so effectively and so truly prepare for it as such development of our spiritual life by active service? If it is to come as a blessing—which God grant it may speedily—it will be as a union of those

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who labour for it from a supreme desire for fuller and freer service; from a pressing need of developing a free and fruitful life in direct obedience to the will of Christ. Hindrances which thwart such spiritual aspirations will become intolerable, and their removal will be demanded at all costs. And union will come, not by mere good-will wishing for it, or adroit scheming to bring it about, but when an awakened sense of the urgency of spiritual service thrusts out of its way all that opposes itself to the doing of the will of Christ."

The simple existence of the missionary spirit is evidence of a vital unity in those who are animated by it. They may be travelling different roads, but their spirit is from a common source. "We love because He first loved us." All our human love has a single origin. The deeper and richer this love becomes, the nearer and fuller our fellowship with the Source, the closer, whether we know it or not, do our lives come, each to his brother's. And this essential unity is found not in a common source alone, but also in a common end. For it is a common end which all the varying missionary impulses are seeking, the end of the world Kingdom of Christ, of the realized Family of God. We may differ in our definitions of the thing. We shall find when we come to it that the thing itself differs from all our definitions. But it is the thing, however we define it, which we are all seeking. That is a bond which no unconsciousness or denial on our part can dissolve. And more than this, the elevation of this end as supreme unifies men. Whenever men believe enough in a cause to die for that cause, the sacrament of their consecration discloses a unity deeper than all their disagreement. When Churches or men say one to the other, "Come and let us die for that for which Christ died," or, when they are not near enough to say it one to the other, but are sufficiently near to Christ each to say it to Him, then in the death to which they go they pass no more divided, but as one.

And foreign missions provide the larger stage, the ampler air in which we can pass out from the proximity of what has hampered us, and scale our estimates and measurements to the true standard of the full life of

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humanity. We come to a place of vaster hopes, of richer flexibilities, of expanded life. We do not stay there on the level of our history, of our past disagreements, and seek by modification, by surrender, or supplement to fit them together. We simply rise to a higher level, into a unity which comprehends in its completeness our half-lights and fragments. Our theologies are to be reconciled at last, not by a restatement which will balance them afresh and establish a universal compromise and equipoise. They are to be reconciled in God. The living God, conceived and experienced as the God of all men, will unify them and supplant them. And so with all our disagreements as Christians. We shall not need to compose them. As we move upward into our true air and outward into our whole life each man will be the most eager of all to lay aside his error, and in the world knowledge and world love we shall find our lost unity in our freshly discovered God. It is no enmity to our past to believe that it did not exhaust God. There is no disloyalty to the past in believing that God means the future to be better than it. Unless the past has made ready for a better future, the past was a bad past. Only those things are good that make ready for better things to come after them, and those men are disloyal to the past, who believe that all the great things are in a golden age gone by. Very great and glorious the past has been, but the past will have failed to teach its lesson to us, the past will have failed to fulfil its mission in the will of God if it binds men forever in the chains of its sectional apprehensions or institutional forms, if it has not made them ready for larger and completer things and led them on to such a unity as Christ Himself, we must believe, longed for while He was here, and waits for now where He is gone.

In the methods which foreign missions took up instinctively on their field, there is light upon some of the questions which seem to perplex the Church so greatly

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at home—for example, the relation of the Church to social service and of religion to education. What is the function of the Church? How far is it the Church's business to care for philanthropy, to organize hospitals and asylums, to provide sanitation, to organize industry, to look after the housing of the poor, to concern itself with the redemption of the social environment? Is the Church justified in concerning itself at all with these things, or is its one business the preaching of the Gospel to individual men? The work of foreign missions from the beginning has by the instinct of Christianity given its answer. As an aged apostle and missionary bishop has said:

"It is just as natural for one who has the love of Christ in his heart, if he sees a man hungry, to feed him, or to watch with the sick, or to devote himself in any way to relieving distress, as it was for Christ when He was on earth. And if any one of you can fail to relieve suffering when it is within your power to do it, let me tell you that you have yet to prove that you have the same kind of love in your hearts that Christ had.

"I could give you many illustrations on this point, but I will confine myself to just one. You take a young man out of this meeting and say to him: 'You are going abroad as a missionary. Don't be drawn aside into other enterprises. Keep to the one thing, the preaching of Christ.' 'I shall try to do so,' he says. He lands on an Eastern shore and starts up into the interior of the country, and at the first river that he has to cross, as he goes down to the ferry boat, he finds a row of lepers lining the path, and it comes into his heart at once that those people should have something done for them. He has a new love in his heart as he crosses that river, and some day it will take form. He crosses the river and goes along the highway, and finds a starving child; the little one says, 'My parents have deserted me and I am dying of hunger.' He cannot pass that child, and yet if he takes the child he becomes responsible for its keeping, and he has started the nucleus of an orphanage. He goes on and perhaps finds the parents dying by the roadside. 'Well,' he says, 'I must take care of these people.' And he founds an almshouse. He goes on upon his journey and he finds the lame, and the sick, and the halt, and the blind, and he says, 'I must relieve these suffering people.' Then he has a medical dispensary and a hospital. They are all there before he reaches his station. His friend comes out to visit him and finds him thus surrounded, and he says, 'I thought you were going to do but one work. I thought you were going to preach Christ.' He answers, 'That was my intention, but I couldn't help it.' No. If he had the love of Christ in him he couldn't help it."

These expressions of the Christian Spirit are irrepressible, and they are characteristic. Whether medical missions and charitable activities are proper agencies of



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the missionary enterprise are useless questions. They cannot be prevented. If missionaries see widows burned and children slaughtered and villages ravaged in slave raids, and famine orphans and Christ's sheep scattered abroad and suffering with no man caring, they are going to care, and agitation and action are as certain as the love of Christ. And such services are themselves manifestations of Christ. They are original to Christianity. The non-Christian peoples recognize this. "There is plenty of scope for active work," said the leading social reform paper of Madras, "not only for policemen, but for earnest men and women, of course among Christians. Our countrymen must pardon us for this piece of plain speaking, as they have never shown the least anxiety to reclaim the fallen. For 'once fallen always fallen' would seem to be their maxim."<sup>9</sup> All pure unselfishness preaches Christ. Indeed, it is the only way He can be preached. No words can speak Christ to men as words can speak Him when pictured also in deeds. Many of the non-Christian peoples are kindergarten peoples and need to be taught by object lessons. Acts must put content into words for them. The love of Christ must be interpreted to them by the vision of a man in whom Christ is loving them.

But universal charity is not the aim of the foreign missionary movement. It cannot heal or feed the world any more than it can educate it, and it is not its business to try to do so. All that the Church is giving or would need to give to discharge its distinctive foreign mission work would not suffice to meet the physical sufferings of the Yangtse Valley or to educate Bengal. Foreign missions attempt as much of such work as is necessary to get more of it done. Foreign missions cannot do it all, but they do what they do in order that other agencies may do all that ought to be done. In part foreign missions seek to raise up an indigenous Church which will

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<sup>9</sup>Quoted by Slater, *Missions and Sociology*, p. 34.



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do more than foreign missions could do, but in larger part still, foreign missions look forward to such a Christianization of the state as will accomplish through it all that can be accomplished by organized human effort. Is not the method of foreign missions the indication of the rational policy for the Church at home? It is the business of the Church to create ideals, to blaze trails, to generate power, to maintain purpose, and, until a Christian state has been developed, to do all the actual work of social as well as individual redemption that can be done. But when and as such a state is developed it will be the work, because it will be the nature, of that state to establish all righteousness. Indeed, just as foreign missions have their fulfilment in the national Church, so in the perfect coming of a Christian State the Church may have its fulfilment. In the vision which was given him of the heavenly commonwealth into which all the glory of the nations is to be gathered, St. John saw no temple. Church and State were the same thing. The Lord God Almighty and the Lamb were the only temple.

Twenty years ago the most criticized feature of the work of foreign missions was its use of education as a missionary agency. Although there are still a few missions which neglect education, and although Lord William Cecil complains of this neglect on a large scale on the part of British missions in China, nevertheless the objection to the principle of educational missionary work has passed away, and it cannot be denied that a great part of the sudden transformation of China and of the slow and unnoticed but equally real transformation of India have been due to the use of schools by the Christian Church, partly as a training ground for leaders and partly as a fountain of ideas. Foreign missions have from the outset believed that religion must use education, both because it needed it and the power which it produced, and also because education without religion is a source of danger to a nation, and each nation should have before its eyes,

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accordingly, in the Christian schools of the missionaries, an object lesson of what education could do and of the indispensable necessity of the religious principle in education. Duff acted upon these convictions at the beginning of missionary work in India, and courageously told the Government what would follow if it acted otherwise:

"If in India you do give the people knowledge without religion, rest assured that it is the greatest blunder, politically speaking, that ever was committed. Having free, unrestricted access to the whole range of our English literature and science, they will despise and reject their own systems of learning. Once driven out of their systems, they will inevitably become infidels in religion; and, shaken out of the mechanical round of their religious observances, without moral principles to balance their thoughts or guide their movements, they will as certainly become discontented, restless agitators."

What Duff foretold has come to pass in India, and in Egypt also, and wise men are dreading it in Japan and turn to Christianity as the one power that can help. Said Count Okuma recently:

"Any nation that neglects the spiritual in the education of its citizens, though it may flourish for a time, must eventually decay. The origin of modern civilization is to be found in the teaching of the Sage of Judea, by whom alone the moral dynamic is supplied."

And if they do not turn to Christianity for what they need the people of India are nevertheless making it clear that they realize that religion is indispensable to education because indispensable to life. These wants are as real in America as in India, and the Church at home will do well to draw from the lessons of our missionary experience a deeper purpose to convert to Christianity the educational influences which are shaping the coming citizenship of the nation.

In a larger sense, also, foreign missions are a reminder of the need of religion in national life. They are our one protest against secularism in Asia. So far as most of our contact with Asia and Africa is concerned, our Christian nations might as well have been materialistic. There was little in our conduct to betray any idealism, genuine sympathy or altruistic good will. Mr. Fuku-

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zawa's paper, the *Jiji Shimpo*, once remarked that in the early days of Japanese intercourse:

"There can be no doubt that many serious troubles would have occurred had not the Christian missionary not only showed to the Japanese the altruistic side of the Occidental character, but also by his teaching and his preaching imparted a new and attractive aspect to the intercourse which otherwise would have been masterful and repellent. The Japanese cannot thank the missionary too much for the admirable leaven that he introduced into their relation with foreigners."

And Count Okuma has expressed frankly his opinion of European character as seen in Japan:

"Comparing Europeans and Japanese, I do not think that the Europeans then (thirty years ago) in Japan were a particularly high class of persons; nor do I think that those here now are particularly high class."

There is no doubt that Japan was often irritated, almost beyond endurance, by her political contact with the West. The missionary influence smoothed over and conciliated this irritation. Mr. Fukuzawa declared:

"I once said that if no missionaries had ever come to our country, the dissoluteness and wantonness of foreigners would have come to be much greater and our relations to foreigners would not be what they are now."

We need a Christianization of all the impact of the West upon the East, and to that end we need the acceptance at home of the missionary affirmation of religion as the central and comprehending necessity of national life and international relationship.

I have been speaking of the missionary movement in its modern aspects, but a larger survey would show that in some measure the ideals and principles we have noted have been illustrated and advanced by all the forward movements of the Church throughout the ages, as the Church has passed out from old limits to plant itself on new soil. Recall the history of the Nestorian Church. As one who has given his life for that Church and for the Kurds, with a devotion as apostolic as it is modest and selfless, has written:

"Without a home board to support it or government to protect it, in highly civilized cities, among wild mountain tribes and the nomads of the plains all the way from Antioch to Peking, the Nestorians preached the Gospel to Syrians, Arabs, Kurds, Persians, Hindoos and Mongolians, established

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schools and organized churches. And this was not done without the shedding of blood; the martyrs of this Church were countless. And after Tamerlane and Ghengis Khan and the Moslem armies had ended their bloody work, the self-inflicted punishment it may be of a disobedient Church, the remnant of that Church, cut off from their brethren in the West, despised and hated by their fanatical conquerors, almost continuously oppressed or persecuted, kept the faith, held fast at least to the Name of Jesus. For a thousand years in the midst of Islam the Nestorians have, in some measure, borne testimony to the Sonship of Jesus Christ and to His claim to be the only Redeemer. And so preserved by Him throughout these centuries, would it not be like God to use this very people, the despised remnant of His early Church, to evangelize those from whom they have suffered so much? Is there not a Divine logic in it? The covenant He made with their fathers bespeaks this commission for them, that they may fill up that which was lacking in the service of those fathers.

"But granting their adaptedness and their calling, what prospect is there of the Old Church community's hearing the call and obeying it? Today, if not dead, they are asleep in formalism. Is it possible that they can be revived and reformed and equipped and so be used of God as a special agency for the evangelization of the Kurds and Arabs? What is the state of the Nestorian Church today? What does it promise to be tomorrow?

"To a casual observer they are rude and wild mountaineers. They are illiterate and lawless. In religion they are formalists, trusting largely to fasts and ritual observance for salvation. And perhaps most discouraging, the major part of them are self-satisfied, without ambition for better things."

But over against this are their reverence for books, and for the Book of books, their deep religious feeling, their capacity for education and evangelistic service. Our friend adds:

"Recall what Scotland once was, a land of blood and rapine, the abode of ignorance and superstition. And behold it today. The parallel between the ancient highlanders of Scotland and these mountain clans of Kurdistan is a close one. And if God could transform a Rob Roy into a Henry Drummond or a David Livingstone, can He not do as much with these highlanders of Kurdistan? There is the same Word of God to preach; there is only needed the faith and the passionate desire of John Knox. There is much to argue the calling of the Nestorians and, whatever their condition today, we cannot doubt but that God is able to make them hear that call and obey it."

What has not wholly ceased to be, nor shall. Where the Church has gone there is something that was not before and cannot elsewhere be—as with this ancient Assyrian Church, the possibility of a new life and the ancient mission, if the dreams of those who love it can be fulfilled and its light be not extinguished or absorbed.

And lastly, foreign missions rest on just such hopes as these. They know of no impossibilities. The pioneers

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going out alone were more ludicrous than David with his little sling against Goliath. For they wrestle not with flesh and blood. But they had the faith which the Lord invited, the faith which can remove mountains and to which nothing is impossible. If ever the world was warranted in ridiculing a movement for the disparity of its means and aims, for its worldly impotence, for its illusions of faith, for its innocence, for its childlike magnitudes of ambition, it was warranted when Carey and queer John Thomas set forth for India. But these are the very lessons which we need to learn today, that there is no impossible duty, that nothing that is right and good should be left uncared for, that all that Christ saw in humanity is there, even its recoverableness from all its waste and sin.

This is what foreign missions mean to us. They teach the miracle of endless possibility in the world. They have been the miracle of an ever new possibility in the Church.



# Missionary Education in India

BY A. G. FRASER,

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Christian educational missions should aim at, in Dr. Warneck's words, "not merely the conversion of many separate individuals but at the founding of independent national Churches, self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating." But how are we to carry out such an aim? Education, as it has been conducted in India, has notoriously tended to denationalize its subjects. Sir Valentine Chirol says education in India "tends to produce dangerous hybrids, more or less superficially imbued with Western ideas and at the same time more or less completely divorced from the realities of Indian life." A Ceylon Missionary Conference, challenged to consider the influence of the education they were sharing in, stated, "A College education divorces a young man from his own language, national traditions and sympathy with his own people, and therefore greatly weakens his power for good amongst the race to which he belongs. . . . We recognize the fact, also, that our better educated Christians are so Westernized by their education that they hold the Christian faith too far apart from all mental comparison or contrast of its tenets with their old non-Christian faiths, and so are weak both for defence and for convincing those whom they ought to influence for Christ."

Personally, I believe that every man in charge of higher education in India should sit down at the end of each term for two or three days' quiet examination into its

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aims in education, and, in the light of the term's history, into his methods towards achieving them. There is a tremendous current always trying to drag a man away from that which education really ought to do. It is so much easier to educate along lines already laid down as they have been for so long in the West, and to educate others just as one has oneself been educated. It is so much easier to score obvious and recognized successes on beaten tracks where all the road is known. It economizes thought so admirably and invites so much less criticism, and tends towards peace. Then, to teach the thought and learning of the West through the language of the West and through its text books saves the immense labour necessary if the new knowledge is to be adapted to the pupils' conditions. Again, it is far harder to work for character building than for examination results, and to meet the needs and to look to the future of a rapidly changing East than to continue quietly in the conservatism of a well known past. Rivalry with other institutions is keen, money is scarce, and endowments are practically non-existent. Secondary education is nowhere self-supporting, not even in the wealthy and educated West. Much more than is it difficult to start and develop it in a country where it has been almost unknown, as in India, where parents care little as to the form the education takes so long as the examination is passed, and where they bring no experienced and trained thought to bear on its problems. Much more difficult is it again if one should venture from the beaten track. Under all these circumstances, a very careful and honest scrutiny of one's aims and methods is essential.

The first step, I believe, is to get clear in our minds what our aim really is. And here the question of the most fundamental importance has to be faced—Are we aiming at the education of a limited number of individuals, or are we aiming at the general uplifting of the community through those we educate? The wishes of

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parents, the compelling personal interest our boys command, the competition with other schools for posts or places in examination have tended to make us believe that the school exists primarily for the sake of the pupil. At a recent inquiry into missionary methods, one of the questions propounded was as follows: "Do the needs of graduates, as contrasted with the needs of pupils who will drop out before graduation, determine unduly the policy regarding the curriculum of educational work?" However far it may have been from the minds of the inquirers, the question as put seems to take for granted that the pupil is himself the end for which educational policy is framed. But not only in the mission field but in every educational institution we should be working for the individual only as a means to an end, for the sake of the Nation to which he belongs. We are training citizens of the Country not graduates of a College. I believe our lack of success is mainly due to our forgetting this, and falling into the heresy of aiming at the individual as our ultimate end, and so our whole work becomes vitiated in spirit as in practical details.

*Esprit de corps*, for instance, is the inspiration of a school, but how often the attempt to create it in a college or school produces a spirit not inclusive but exclusive of the interests of other citizens. The pupils are encouraged in their competitions against others; a warm love for the school often implies almost hatred of a sister school, and generally a feeling of immense superiority to the unfortunate beings taught elsewhere. Again the pride of the school is often nurtured merely on what its pupils are doing within its walls. Its own buildings, its own victories, its own prizes and its own successful alumni are the food on which its spirit is fed. No wonder it is not then national or missionary in its enthusiasm, or selfless and devoted in the record of its sons. *Esprit de corps* should spring rather from joy in service nobly done in the past, from the knowledge of sacrifice being

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borne now, and from the firm expectation of harder and finer service to be rendered in the future. And if ever this truly Christian *esprit de corps* is to be attained, it must be not by a superior clique but by the maintenance of close relations between the pupils and their fellow countrymen outside, and the new knowledge must be taught with the old environment always in view. A very noble example of the successful attainment of such an *esprit de corps*, by these very means, is to be seen in the Hampton Institute, the great college for negroes and red Indians in Virginia, U. S. A. There, under the hardest conditions, with the least promise of success, a herd of slaves has been transformed into a band of nobles. Dr. Frissell and his workers consciously aim at an *esprit de corps* which shall be created by deeds done for the crowd outside and shall not be self-centred, and having lost their life they have truly saved it. Hampton has consistently been content to bury its own immediate profit and prestige for the sake of the community. And as a result, it no longer abides by itself alone, but bears much fruit in a nation born again, in its daughter Tuskegee, and in its children carrying light and life and hope into many States and into more than one Continent.

But to return to the charge that our education is denationalizing the pupils, we must admit that it is much too true. In India itself, for instance, few will deny that there is a power of metaphysical thought which is almost unequalled elsewhere. And yet, in our system of education, no Indian has added anything to our Western metaphysics. Men, trained in the latest German philosophy, have done no original work. Our Christian Church has produced no Indian theologians although it has modified greatly the theological thought of many Christian missionaries. Such barrenness is far more significant of educational failure than the fact on which tourists often comment, that denationalization

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is shown by the habits of dress and the manners of eating which they see changed. That, I think, is superficial and not altogether true. For instance, a man is not necessarily denationalized if, in company, he prefers to eat his curry and rice with a fork and spoon instead of with his fingers.

No doubt all education must inevitably tend to produce changes in the minds of those educated and to make their outlook different from that of the generation which preceded them, but that change does not usually amount to denationalization. I remember once in a Church in England listening to a great preacher holding forth with vehemence some exceedingly conservative views. I happened to be sitting next one of his sons. As we came out of Church, we met another stream of men coming from another part of the same building, and the one with me called to his brother whom he then met, "What do you think of the old man?" "Frightful nonsense," was the answer. "Let us go and talk to him." There you have a change in the point of view but no denationalization. They were able to go and talk over the case with their father, each able to see the other's point of view and discuss it reasonably. Denationalization is caused only when the new knowledge is received without being related to the old knowledge commonly held by the nation or tribe. It is essential that the new knowledge should be held in relation to the old by young educated India today. The rising generation must be educated to understand the thought which is pouring in from the West, but it is no less necessary, it is even more necessary, that they should be able to understand its effect upon their countrymen and their attitude towards it. It is essential that they should stand shoulder to shoulder with their own people and see the new movements from their point of view. At the time of the Renaissance, English statesmen would have been of little use if only versed in the new thought which



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was pouring in, and only learned in it. It was essential that they should know, in the first place, how England was affected by it, and how Englishmen thought of and looked at the new views. And in this lay the power of a man like Cardinal Wolsey.

Now then, how are we going to teach the new thought, which is recasting the future of their country, to our pupils, whilst still keeping their eyes on their own environment and their interests in their own people? The first practical step is to see to it that every member of the staff has a chance to grasp the ideal and to aim for it. The missionary command was not only given to clergy, or to principals or to Europeans. Every Christian master, and in Ceylon all our masters are Christians, has equally been given the missionary responsibility and privilege. One good way of getting all to realize it is to begin each term with a retreat for the staff, during which the ideal before us can be considered and our common difficulties met in prayer. It has proved useful, too, to begin each day with staff prayers, and then a united body to go into school prayers to begin our day's work. Then it will soon be found that the keenest and most effective workers are not confined either to the clergy or to the Europeans.

Then, as far as money permits, the staff should be large enough and the number of pupils small enough to allow of close personal contact and friendship between each. Again, I believe, it is good to have boarders and day scholars in almost equal numbers. The boarders are valuable because they quickly take their tone from the staff and the school tradition, and make a powerful nucleus for forming public opinion inside the school. The day scholars are important because they make it easier to keep in touch with the general community and remind us of the just claims the family has to our attention. Care spent on the day scholars, on their games, on visits to their parents and homes, in supervis-

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ion of the conditions under which they work at home very speedily brings its reward not only in the enthusiasm of the day scholars for the school, but in the school's knowledge of the town and its needs, and its power to help. In the control and supervision of the dormitories, it is well to have both Western and Eastern masters working together. If the one has more initiative and enthusiasm, as a rule, the other has more patience, more local knowledge and more common sense. I have never in my own experience found any difficulty in getting European masters to share the supervision of a dormitory with Ceylon colleagues. Sometimes the European has been senior, sometimes the Ceylonese, but there has never been any real difficulty in either case.

In school subjects, the first essential is to see that each boy can read and write his own Vernacular, and that not the obsolete language of the Pundit, but the language of every day life. That sounds a truism, but it has often been neglected. Then, as far as possible, and that should be very far, the elementary stages of every subject should be taught through the medium of the Vernacular. The reason for this is that subjects whose bases are taught in English are found very difficult of translation later by the pupil. Their technical words and their associations are all in English. Moreover, he learns them with less understanding. The illustrations by which they are first explained are almost inevitably chosen from the regions dominated by the language in which they are taught. Thus they are unrelated to the pupil's own life and environment from the very beginning. Even if he comes to understand them ultimately, he rarely if ever passes them on to his own people by translations.

Another important point is the laying emphasis on the study of folk-lore and local traditions by means of vacation prizes for research essays. Not only are these studies valuable in themselves. In Europe we little know how much we have lost through the carelessness

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which has preserved so very little of our own, and we have still time to prevent the loss of much in the East. But emphasis on this point is valuable also because of the contact which it requires between those learning the new thought and those who are conversant only with the old. Far the best receptacles of folk-lore are to be found amongst the grandparents of the present rising generation. And so it becomes incumbent on one, who suddenly finds from his College professors that folk-lore is a valuable bit of knowledge, to sit at the feet of those whom he fain would teach. He finds that what they know is also knowledge. They on their side find in him an appreciation that what they too know is knowledge. It means sympathy and mutual understanding instead of possibly scorn on the one hand and suspicion on the other.

Much, too, can be done in interesting pupils in the country games and sports and customs. For those who are to be landlords and country magnates, such interest is invaluable. It not only makes their environment more intelligible and therefore more pleasant to them, but it wins for them the love of the villagers with whose ways they have learned to sympathize.

Another useful plan is to take the pupils on expeditions to places of historical interest in their own country. This too is valuable in that it brings them right up against their own historical development and they realize in some degree the adaptations which are necessary before the very different history of the West can be applied with its lessons immediately to their own country.

Again, in the choice of subjects in the curriculum much can be done. To begin with, great freedom in the use of English should be aimed at, as through it all the new ideals are to come, and facility in translating English into the Vernacular and *vice versa*. Religious instruction should be given in the Vernacular also to a late stage, and then in English.

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The most modern educationalists will admit that manual training should be given in every school. But what sort of manual training? Let it be of the type which occupies the main body of the people. With us that means agriculture. Over ninety per cent. of the people of India and Ceylon are employed in agriculture in one way or another. And the training given in the school should not be in fancy gardening of strange flowers and fruits, but should be in the products of every day industry. Only the pupils should be taught how to improve on the methods of every day, how to select seeds, how to enrich soils and all with materials which are within the reach of the common people. Thus again the interest of the ninety per cent. becomes also the interest of the few, and the few learn how to use their knowledge for the ninety per cent. and so gain once more in affection and understanding of them.

As regards religious teaching, two things commonly overlooked are in my opinion of the first importance: (1) that not only Christianity, but, on the intellectual side, the underlying thought of the old faiths should be taught from a sympathetic and fully appreciative standpoint, and (2) that as the Christian faith is taught, opportunities of working it out in practical activities should be immediately given. To the first of these points. It is important, especially for those who are Christians, that they should know the underlying thought of their old faiths, and that at its best. Their Christianity should develop alongside the thought of their own country. They are sure, sooner or later, to meet the objections to Christianity which are common amongst the priests of non-Christian faiths. Should these objections not arise in their minds whilst they are still in a Christian environment, they are sure to do so after they are isolated and alone and when they are out of reach of those who might help them to meet them. To me it seems right that they should be taught their

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own faiths whilst still in the Christian school. Moreover, it brings them into touch with the thought habits of their own people. For just as Christian presuppositions lie behind the thought of our peoples in the West, even when as individuals they are opposed to Christianity, so Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Hinduism make the background of India's thought.

As to the second point, the giving an opportunity for practical service immediately following on the Christian teaching, that is perhaps the most important of all, and in a non-Christian country even more than in the West the opportunities given are immeasurable. As the Principal of a missionary school, I am sometimes asked which I consider the most useful department educationally of our school life: the class room, the playing field, or the dormitory. All are important, of course, and the neglect of any one would weaken all the others, but the greatest possibilities lie in a fourth rarely considered, the community in which we live. It is the needy village school, the degraded slum, the sorrow-laden hospital which offer the best education to those who desire it. Work in this direction should be done both individually and collectively. For instance collectively, volunteers can be called for, these divided into groups, each group given, under a member of the staff, a section of the town to survey and report on. When all reports are in, a complete and large map of the town can be made showing the streets, houses and drainage. The condition of the poorest streets, their overcrowding, sanitary condition, the care of their children, their food supply, wage-earning power and rents can easily be ascertained with care and tact. Knowledge of this kind gained is immediately useful as a lever to gain improvements in the ascertained conditions. It is much more useful in the education of future property holders who have helped to make the investigation and in the personal touch and sympathy it has given them for the very poor,



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together with the blow it has dealt to caste prejudice and social cleavage. Individually numerous opportunities are given for practising the Gospel of Christ. Neglected cases of disease can be taken to the doctor, sores wrongly treated can be rightly dressed, neglected eyes going blind can be cured, and children who have never learnt a game can be taught healthy exercise. I have seen boys still at school become interested in the education of the deaf and dumb and subscribe and collect for it. They have built a shelter for the rickshaw coolies—these cabbies of Ceylon—and made it into a sort of Club for them. Some have become enthusiastic on the publication of high class Vernacular newspapers, which does much to counteract the influence of others less scrupulous. The village schools and their struggling teachers offer another grand field for willing service. For instance, physical drill can be taught to the children, thus lessening the danger of consumption, one of the scourges of the country. Then flowers and concerts can be provided, and other services can be rendered in hospital. There is much room for initiative and development. Again in times of epidemics or disasters, a great deal of valuable education can be given. If smallpox breaks out, senior boys can be taught to vaccinate and help in limiting the outbreak. When a malarial outbreak ensues on deferred rains, quinine can be taken from house to house. If a flood does damage, relief can be given. A scientific war can be waged also upon mosquitoes. The good done is much, the training for the future more.

Inside the school itself much can be done. From among the senior students and the heroes of the school matches, volunteers may be trained to teach in the Sunday School, and each given a class of very small juniors to teach in his own language. Prefects can be encouraged to make suggestions for the improvement of the school in many directions. I have often known the prefects as a body approach me to suggest a new class

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room, or an improvement in existing buildings, or a circular letter to parents on some topic of importance, or some new rule for the school, and most of their suggestions have been taken. Our present form which all entrance candidates have to fill up, for instance, was drawn up by a pupil.

But in all social and religious work the Christian boys should be made to feel they have the responsibility for leadership and initiative just as the prefects have in discipline and sports. The Christian boys can, easily, whilst at school, be trained to evangelistic work by being allowed to accompany masters on tours round the villages, to lantern lectures or to street meetings. Many will keep it up after they leave the school and it will be a great safeguard for their own lives as well as the salvation of others, for remember no virtue is safe which is not enthusiastic.

For their encouragement in this as well as for other reasons Old Boys should be visited, and if possible an annual meeting of them should be held in each district. Then those who, when at school, have taken a Christian stand may be asked how they are continuing their old social and religious activities. If my limited experience is common, it will be found that far and away the greater number are actively engaged in some form of Christian work. I have known the son of a Chief supporting a missionary school for pariahs, and himself acting as its inspector. He was also in his little spare time walking out twice a week to instruct an old villager who was seeking baptism.

The Communicants Union is the key to the spirit of the College. In the preparation services, in the business meetings of the Union, in the voting of their offertories, in talks on life work, much can be done to enable them to claim their privilege as the salt of the life round about them.

Sports I have not touched on. Their value for the morale of a school or college at home is a commonplace

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of educationalists, but still more are they essential in a country where the general moral tone is especially lacking in precisely these manly virtues which sports develop. Moreover, not only should boys learn to play their games well, but they should be encouraged on breaking up for the holidays to take their own football or cricket material with them to their village or town, and there introduce these games to their poorer brethren, and so lead to a breaking up of cliquism and lethargy and to the spread of a healthy and friendly spirit.

But if, as I have urged, denationalization can best be prevented and the school made an effective influence in planting indigenous Christianity by the encouraging of the boys in interests outside the school, the staff who are to train their interests must themselves possess the outward look. They should take an interest in the general missionary work of the country, in municipal politics, or in anything which keeps this. Other lands and their interests, the World Christian Student Federation and all that concerns the Kingdom of God deepen as well as widen the sympathies of both staff and students.

All of these things are small in themselves. But life consists of small things, and in these will be found a cure for denationalization and the basis of a profound and inspiring and effectual national education, an education which with God's blessing will one day, because led by the native-born, establish "self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating" Churches. The thing to cultivate is a spirit of love and service. Given that, you have a soil on which some way will be found to adapt the new knowledge to the needs of the old. Given a spirit of love, it will work out to effective service. But the spirit of love can only grow where it is given opportunity for active service.

# The Church and the State:

## The Solution of the Problem in the Ministry of Service

BY EXCELLENZ D. DR. HERMANN VON BEZZEL,  
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The separation of the Church and the State stands today closer at hand than it did seventy years ago. In making such a prediction, there is no fear of justifying the charge of superficiality, of taking a dark view of the future, or of being subject to temperamental pessimism, in an age where the tendency is to force all movements to acceleration. Seventy years ago separation was passionately desired by agitators. Theorists had established it as a necessary principle, despite the fact that enthusiasts contended for the ideal of a Christian state as a realizable hope. At the same time, mystic thinkers, in their hostility to all secular influence, saw in the uninterrupted assimilation of the Church by the State an essential characteristic of the Church itself. It is not worth while to determine who is to make the first step in breaking the bond between the two powers and destroy the tie that has endured for more than fifteen hundred years. In the Reformation period itself it may be noted that the association was kept intact rather by accident than because of any fixed principle.

In any case, Catholicism is better ready for the change in whatever way it may come. We mean it is better prepared for the break, whether the State ceases to protect the Church and deprives it of its wealth and privileges, or whether the Church itself, hard-pressed, hin-

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dered from exercising its real gifts and prevented from carrying into effect its demands, justifiable as they may be, or only sincerely thought to be so, is willing to make sacrifices to attain its independence.

Protestantism is not homogeneous; it has its source in divergent assumptions, without mutual relation. It is concerned, too, with the solution of fundamental questions, of a sufficiently absorbing character. These questions are concerned with the relativity or permanence of human conduct with the plan of salvation as it appears in its creedal statement. It is rightly recognized that the correct analysis of practical questions, the establishment of their ultimate causes, and the explanation of matters concerning actual existence, have the primary place. The Evangelical Church realizes, too, that in a short time it must establish its position in reference to new social phenomena and changes. It tends, beside, to adopt intuitively what is right and what is proper, rather than to come to a fixed result by processes of reflection. Just at the point where Evangelical Christianity is weakest, in its inability to test and determine the movements of the day, because of its transcendent isolation from the world, its special strength may be found. What the times require comes at the very moment that quick decisions are needed. The source of this inspiration is the convinced belief in the supernatural and the eternal. This is a view that constantly recurs through all the centuries and gives the power of analysing the ultimate factors of existence. Others may carry in their pockets gold already minted to satisfy instantly the demands of the moment. It may have imprinted on it a superscription that offers "the saving word." But the rich gold of knowledge, because of its firm act of apprehension which takes in the whole field, is the kind of reserve to be drawn upon in time of need. It holds within it values able to satisfy the demand, and replaces by the wealth it keeps in store



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what it lacks in the rapidity with which it can be offered.

Perhaps I am not wrong in surmising that Catholicism, by reason of its characteristics, can take the first step in abandoning its State connection; it has admirable compensations in its organization, which in recent times has been particularly strengthened. Protestantism, as I see it, will only give up under the utmost extremity a connection which offered it at once a shelter, a prop and a resting place. It is certainly true that historic development has shown, so far, that the strong individuals who, out of their own initiative, abandoned their association with the Roman Catholic Church, could not weaken it. They have rather surrounded it with a halo in whose true and apparent light unexpected developments of power resulted. Maxime du Camp once pictured what Paris would come to without its voluntary—that is, without its ecclesiastical—poor relief, and the demand for the return of the banished orders to care for the sick, and to take charge of children, showed she was right.

In Protestant countries barren doctrinaires, who talk about religion as the sole concern of the individual, clamour for the separation of the Church from the State. It seems as if many states would be ready to consent to the divorce, providing the Church is not to be cast out, as the helpless maidservant with her children, into the desert, but receives her dismissal with provision for future subsistence. Such a separation, though intended by its founders and supporters to be the death-blow of a superannuated and decrepit Church, mummified to the point of petrification, will really awaken it to new and permanent manifestations of vitality. The truth in the smallest things is very great. In phenomena passed over without a thought by the world at large the Lord of history exhibits symptoms of great changes that are to come.

It may, therefore, be considered singularly impressive

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that, in one of the smallest German principalities, an accidental majority of Socialist members has contested the right of existence of the local established Church. By so doing the separation of the Church from the State has been brought a step closer. Is this the cloud as broad as a man's hand announcing the great storm that is due to come? Even more significant than this was the fact that in the course of the debates, above referred to, a larger sum was voted for the support of voluntary philanthropic agencies than has ever been given before in the principality. It was like a return to the old days when two maxims stood in sharp contrast; first, "It is not permitted unto you"; and secondly, the hardly wrung acknowledgment that "love is the king of Christians." This was at a time when the men who came into being but yesterday, bound together by the tie of love and devotion, conquered cities.

In an age already overfull of conflict living apologies of Christian belief must be produced. So the age by them may recognize what "days of visitation" its environment suggests. The world is spiritually impoverished and is more than sated with the gifts of culture. To it must be brought streams of living water, coming from the Cross, whose folly shows itself in blessing its adversaries and in comforting its opponents; just as, through the might of its deeds its powerlessness puts to shame the wisdom of philosophers. We are not at all inclined to adopt some plan to erect trades-unionized philanthropic activities in place of encouraging those impulses which should inspire the community of Christian people, nor do we wish to substitute for such impulses individualistic machinery, though we do recognize that there is such a thing as spiritual machinery. Just as little are we inclined to encourage Christian romanticism by eulogizing the heroic virtue and power of an earlier type of morality, far surpassing the average standard. Yet we are bound, because among many love has grown cold and because

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there is a great deficiency of the charitable temper, wherein is the real transgression against the royal law of love, to see that in individual groups the holy flame is fed and glows brightly.

Organizations in Germany for the ministration of service originated at the opening of the modern period and so may be considered a special dower given to the new age. Of course, chronologically speaking, England produced at an earlier time, in its houses of mercy and in its Poor Law guardians, many genuine specimens of philanthropic work. In Germany the foundations just referred to owed their origin to the reawakening of faith, and as a requital for this act loyal service is due from them now, when the faith is again assailed. Others may see in the coincidence of dates only an arbitrary chance but to me it has always appeared a providential event that Wichern, the father of the domestic missionary movement in Germany—the name given by him to all voluntary methods of alleviating religious and social needs (he used, by the way, a name coined by Lücke of Göttingen)—and Löhe, also, the talented creator of the Lutheran programme of social service and its noble ornament, were born in 1808, the same year that saw the birth of David Friedrich Strauss, the thinker who made the most aggressive onslaught on the principles of Christianity. It is still more significant that one year after the appearance of the *Life of Jesus* by Strauss, the homely pastor of Kaiserwerth, Theodor Fliedner, started the Order of Deaconesses, those daughters of the preaching of free grace. He was certainly the right man at the right time to silence with well doing the ignorance of foolish men.

The ministry of service as a Christian apologetic by deeds should in every way be encouraged, but especially in centres of movements that are alien to the faith and where atheistic tendencies are cultivated. Preaching by deeds does not require highly cultivated persons nor even those who have a complete professional training,

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although such a training is welcome as a protection against the charge of reaction. What is wanted are young women who are filled with the sincere love of Christ, the Master, who revealed Himself in a life of suffering. They are not to be provided with all the current phrases of popular apologetics which, just because they are the creation of good will, are only applicable to the atmosphere that created them. Still less is it desirable for them to be schooled in subtle demonstrations; rather, they must be constrained by that ever ready love which while believing all things is not credulous, which hopeth all things and yet is not frivolous, and which endureth all things in order to prepare the way for Christ. Only those certain of final victory, able to survive apparent defeats and even to emerge glorified by them, can walk steadfastly in the way of service, can devote themselves to a ministry that continues to the last stroke.

The meek shall inherit the land. This prophetic statement must be fulfilled. If the fruits of a life abiding in Christ are recognized, the roots of the tree which bears them will be acknowledged too, and also He will be acknowledged who has planted it in a holy earthly kingdom. All praise and reverence should be given to humanitarian work. It is often nearer the centre than its activities at the circumference might lead us to suppose, but it is only directed to the phenomena of human suffering. It brings momentary help, while the Christian ministry of service, on the other hand, mercifully approaches the cause of the suffering, in addressing itself to the resultant effects. The opposition humanitarian work meets with cripples it. Such is the negative effect upon it of disappointment, misunderstanding and misconception.

Paul Marat calls humanitarianism "paying back the disinherited with the discount off." As the demand for equality in income and enjoyment becomes more violent, how can the work humanitarianism is capable of doing be

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sufficient? While the bitter criticism of all weak attempts becomes, as time goes on, more intense, that kind of well intentioned work which only actually lives when recognized and appreciated, dies out simply because such response is lacking. In facing the serious situation of a "century that trembles on the brink," the perils of the work must be foreseen and every kind of help must be drawn upon. But the love of Christ as it is revealed in the ministry of service alone avoids all bitterness and takes no thought of reckoning up railing accusations.

More deaconesses are not asked for by the Evangelical Church as a way to solve the social question, for this question cannot really be solved by itself at all. It cannot even be approached when it is treated as an isolated phenomenon. It is really a part of a complex series of undervaluations and overcharges, of exaggerated claims, and protracted payments. The situation, as it is, excludes all ideas of compromise and times of transition. It lies within those extreme limits where the divine world-order discloses possibilities of an internal compromise, which allows the emergence of things, great qualitatively, though quantitative greatness is absent. The Church asks for deaconesses to help fallen women who are sinned against by the so-called cultured classes, themselves the patrons of class hatred, as they are called by a modern political economist. To recognize outcast and degraded women as sisters, elevated and ennobled by the same baptismal grace, to love the coins lying in the refuse of the gutter "because of the superscription they bear" (Augustine), and to rescue them, is a task that can only be performed by Christian women, with loving eyes, who stretch out their hands to help in love.

Humanitarianism talks in vain of the rights of men, how they are trodden under foot by wantonness and brutality. Compassion exalts the claims of a grace applied freely to the lost. The hospitals of the great



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city, the attic rooms of the abandoned, the women, once adorned with costly raiment and now forgotten outcasts, make an appeal for deaconesses, for those who give faith to human souls and evoke hope from them. "Love by hope conquereth all things." The children of the proletariat, received with curses, now hustled about and now spoilt, brought up without discipline and degraded by a foolish indulgence, which attracts but which offers no compensation, have children's refuges and kindergartens, country homes and asylums. But all such institutions tend to encourage the development of wants which later on can never be satisfied. Humanitarianism removes in youth the burden which succeeding years impose with a severity all the harder to bear. But the ministrations of Jesus Christ, while caring for the souls of children by cherishing and cultivating the life of the body, impresses upon the plastic soul, associated with the body, the image of Jesus. In this way is kept in equal measure the unwavering love and tender affection that are the reflection of the tireless devotion of the Good Shepherd.

Who is bold enough to ask and solicit in behalf of the shamefaced poor, those denied entrance into rich foundations and institutions? Who builds the bridge between generosity and necessity, or rather, between the giver and the receiver? Who causes those, who acquit themselves of the obligation of doing deeds of mercy by some casual benefaction, to experience the sweetness of personal attention as an honoured privilege? Who not only nurses the sick but cares for the poor patient during sickness? Who is it that in days of pestilence strives to enter into doorways long since closed up, and brings sunlight to darkened windows? Chalmers calls care for the impoverished soul the soul of poor relief. Our common people speak of having a good cry as a great act of mercy. In prisons where loneliness brings bitterness as well as repentance the ministry of service sees that

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opportunity is given for relieving one's feelings through speech and perchance for offering helpful counsel. Necessity in many shapes calls from without at the doors of our churches, "Come and see how it fares with us," an appeal answered by a band of women who are devoting themselves to prayer, conversion and relief on behalf of the poor, who in their turn are thus making many rich.

How is it that the Evangelical Church can secure enough deaconesses? It stands on its watch-tower, proclaiming day and night, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people." There is no silence on its part. It may be that the fires of the first enthusiasm have burnt low. The attraction of novelty has disappeared, and the opposition the deaconesses met with in the fifth decade of the last century is no longer experienced. This was an element, healthy in itself, which kept the movement healthy, for at that time deaconesses could not cross the streets of large cities in their habit.

The men whose very names were a platform because they unreservedly identified themselves in knowledge and in feeling with the cause they represented, have passed away. Their successors write sketches of the founders' lives and do not always care to receive the inheritance of their loyalty. When God kindles a fire on the earth the German arranges each separate stick in systematic rubrics and easily quenches the flame. The limitless ocean of books on the history, principles and significance of the diaconate of women is often found unproductive. To imitate is not to follow; the introduction of a system is not the thing itself. The old deaconess houses which began with the blessings of the poor, at whose thresholds, if the question were asked whether they were at any time in want, a negative reply would be made—these have been succeeded by institutions under superintendents. Women become leaders before they are learners, and have limited the spirit of

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the institutions rather than succeeded to the influence under which they were founded.

Even more important is the fact that some time ago our deaconess houses had to face the opposition which comes to all God-given originality, the antagonism to the knightly daring of being true to oneself. Through worldly recognition the work of Christ is easily exposed to the danger of making concessions for the sake of preserving such recognition. The Church should have the courage to take into its service the type of humility that belongs to really educated young women. It should send to deaconess houses those who with burning hearts accept the Saviour, individuals who do not artificially furnish up the history of their youth, but pray, with awakened consciences, for the spirit of the first witnesses of Christ. On such conditions candidates will come in from all classes.

It is a question whether the mother house system and the institutional type should be maintained. This answer God will reveal, who wills not that the form should quench, disturb and suppress the spirit, but rather gives to the spirit the power to control and adapt the form. The accidental should never be exalted to the level of an essential principle nor should it be presented in false colours. It is rather its peculiar virtue to disappear when it has done its work. It is the characteristic of Catholicism to emphasize the form and to become rigid in its formalism. He whom the Son makes free, he is free, indeed.

The German Evangelical Church, or, more especially, the Lutheran Church, since it preserves most clearly and most distinctly all the excellencies and defects of the Evangelical Church system, does not emphasize the individual community, nor present it as an isolated organism tending to the atomic state. The community is treated as responsible for the whole, since it is the pattern and miniature of the whole. It therefore places

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a high value on those necessary and serviceable elements contained in the form that can be adapted to the particular age and time. Each individual community must, in the case of its deaconesses just because they come from its own environment, know best the character of the native soil. It can best appreciate individual needs. It can supply vision and help in the work. In humble seriousness of mind the deaconesses can treat each individual case from the point of view of the problem as a whole, realizing its full import. They will be powerful defenders of Christ and can witness against the members of their own sex who often indulge in harsh criticism of their work. All this will give them better training for their duty, make them readier for seizing the opportunity it offers, and what is just as important, more alert in withdrawing when this is necessary. They will protest in a real way against that unevangelical kind of romanticism which prefers the intoxication of an alien atmosphere to reverence for the ointment whose sweet-smelling savour fills their own house.

We are concerned with questions of worldwide importance, which cannot be solved by reason, for reason strives to reach into the heavens. Nor can it be solved by thoughts and speculations whose structure rises aloft to giddy heights. What is necessary is consideration of the visible and last work of God, to be beheld on the Cross and in suffering. (Luther, Heidelberg Theses 19 and 20). This is the love of the Cross which finds its source in the Cross, a love which betakes itself, not where it finds the good it can enjoy, but where it can do good to wicked and miserable human beings. Apologies for the old belief do not, it is true, demonstrate its reasonableness, for this would be really denying it. They do not eloquently reveal the truth founded on the divine paradox: "They are deeds that come from what is done; works that come from what has been accomplished."

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By a tactful agreement the widely celebrated achievement of Constantine has not been observed in our churches. He welcomed and introduced into the Church paganism before it was conquered. But God's methods follow their own way. Therefore, the spirit of the world is certain to turn again the Church into a poor community of the despised and the outlawed, and Christians will in return for their banishment do the service of the Good Samaritan to the dying world, and so for the sake of their Lord offer the unrequited proof that the power of God is alone fulfilled in weakness.



# The Moral and Religious Restoration of a Tenement-House Quarter in Paris

BY DR. MAX TURMANN,

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Many people would be surprised to be told that there exist in Paris—in this city of beauty, art and luxury—whole quarters which, from the material, moral and religious point of view, would be as worthy of the attention of missionaries as Buddhist China or the pagan Congo. Impiety rules there like a mistress; distress there attains a profoundly affecting degree of horror. As for morality, what can one expect in such surroundings?

These quarters are situated upon the whole periphery of the city in the neighbourhood of the fortifications. Some twenty years ago a priest of admirable devotion and of high intelligence, the Abbé Boyreau, of whom I shall often speak in these pages, wrote an article upon the lamentable state of the Parisian *faubourgs*. After exhibiting these immense proletariat parishes, where the priest is lost in his powerlessness in the bosom of a whole atheist population, the author added, with great apostolic feeling:

“The conclusion of all these facts is that we must in the end concern ourselves with this China which surrounds Paris, and which counts nearly two millions of inhabitants. There is a crusade to be undertaken. We must procure for our working population the spiritual aids of which they are in need, and must snatch them from socialism and from irreligion. We find means to evangelize the blacks of Africa. It seems to me that, with a little good-will, we might be able to reach the same result for the inhabitants of Paris. . . . What a triumph for religion if we could raise the two millions

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of inhabitants of our *faubourgs* from atheism. Is it not here that the evil journals and evil teachings find their support and their resources to spread themselves through the whole of France?"

And the Abbé Boyreau concludes with these words: "It would be to lack faith, to say that there is nothing to be done. There is everything to be done."

What we wish to write is the story of what M. Boyreau and his collaborators are in the way of accomplishing in one of the poorest quarters of Paris: our article will be in some sort an illustration by facts of the comprehensive study which M. Georges Goyau recently gave in *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY* on the actual situation of the Church in France.

### I

The Plaisance Quarter (and more especially, within this quarter, the neighbourhood-centre which bears the name of *Rosaire*) fully deserves to be compared in more than one respect with those countries where the missionaries lift up and sustain morally (and often materially) unfortunate beings who are borne down under the weight of misery and ignorance. The physical aspect of the quarter tells its misery in an impressive way. Follow the interminable street of Vanves, the main artery of this region, and look at those hovels oozing dampness and filth, those dreary patches of waste land surrounded by bristling palisades. Here and there rise a few tall, pretentious houses, the apparent decency of which is given the lie by the rags hanging out of the windows. From this long street little alleys branch out, where the houses touch one another; at all the corners we see disreputable *cabarets*, where many-coloured poisons are sold to the sound of a droning phonograph. In this setting of acute destitution there lives, works and suffers a population resigned and weary.

More than anywhere else, existence is harsh here, and thankless labour scarcely procures the necessary bread.

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Winter without fire, illness without care, days of strike, when the people are driven to despair, are the lot of many. I still remember the saddened astonishment of a foreign student whom I was taking through the slums, some fifteen years ago. This young man had never seen such piercing misery. In the distress in which the body is using itself up, all moral elasticity disappears, and the soul is given up without defence to debasing instincts and the vices which degrade it. In the narrow and crowded tenements where children swarm, how can innocence be protected? The young people think only of escaping observation and running about the streets; the father makes a beast of himself in the *cabaret*; the mother often imitates his example; the family is broken up—everywhere there are children without baptism and unions without marriage. Has anyone the time to think of his soul? Into the midst of this hell there come the echoes of the socialist propaganda, which completes the ruin of what misery has not yet done for.

These poor people, just as much as the blacks in equatorial Africa, needed religious help, and God would not leave them in that dolorous state of abandonment. A group of priests came and settled in this land of physical and moral suffering; and during twenty-five years of apostolate they have profoundly modified the quarter.

The beginnings of the work of the parish of Notre-Dame du Rosaire in Plaisance were of the humblest. They deserve to be remembered. His Eminence Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, finding it materially impossible himself to distribute to the poor the sums of money he had at his disposal, had a number of pious people to help him in this charitable ministry. Mlle Acher was one of these admirable rich women, true Sisters of Charity in lay dress, unnoticed by the world, going about without any noise among the most abandoned of all the poor, to distribute alms and render service in the name of the Archbishop of Paris. They saw those

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whom the pastor of the immense diocese was powerless to visit; they were received where the door would have been shut in his face. They received the confidences and the complaints which the people would not have dared to make to him.

Accustomed as Mlle Acher was to all the horrors of poverty, she experienced, as M. François Veuillot tells us in his volume *Apostolat social*, a surprise and a lively shock when, in 1885, she discovered the Plaisance Quarter. She was seized with an immense pity for these disinherited children of the great city, and the idea of working for their moral and material salvation took powerful hold upon her heart. Afflicted most of all at the sight of so many girls brought up like savages, and devoted from their infancy to the corruption of the street, she resolved to open a school for them. This generous idea was gently ridiculed: "How can you hope," it was said, "to bring all these little savages to an independent Christian school, when they do not even go to the laïc school which by law they are bound to attend?" Mlle Acher answered these objections by deeds.

When she had succeeded in getting a few children together she had to look for a place in which to assemble them. Now there was in the quarter a sort of shop where the men used to gather to drink. Mlle Acher, whom nothing could discourage, rented this dive. Some plain wooden benches replaced the furniture of the bar-room; on the smoke-blackened wall, which was thoroughly penetrated with the acrid odour of alcohol and tobacco, a Christ extended His arms. At the foot of the crucifix Mlle Acher one Sunday gathered for the first time fifteen children, boys and girls, to teach them to read and write, and to speak to them of God, the family and the fatherland. In spite of the distance from any church, the brave instructress led her pupils religiously to the parish church of the Rue de Texel, two kilometres away.

Mlle Acher made an effort to instruct these little sav-

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ages; she taught them to read, to write, to cipher, and she taught them the Catechism. However, she could not do everything. It was necessary that a priest should be attached, as she was, to these poor abandoned children, to preach religion to them, to baptize those whom their parents had left pagans, and, lastly, to prepare them for their first Communion. So Mlle Acher asked for the help of a curate from the nearest parish. When the Abbé Soulange-Bodin saw Mlle Acher coming to him, surrounded by her little children, he understood, according to the very happy expression of M. Félix de Vogüé, that this pious woman had appeared to him as the star appeared to the Three Kings, to guide him towards an unknown land. He felt that God called him to a high mission, that of founding the religious and social enterprises of the Rosaire.

He immediately set himself to work: a school-house was built, a little roomier than the wine-shop; children came there in rather greater numbers. It was in this school-house that M. Soulange-Bodin, realizing the difficulty of taking pupils to the distant parish church, thought it might be possible to transform his school-room into a chapel on Sundays. To be sure it was a very modest chamber; it was more like a barn than a church; it was entered, not by a stairway, but by the help of a ladder. In spite of all this bareness, the priest thought that it could not be displeasing to the God who had been willing to be born in a stable, that His worship should be celebrated in such poor surroundings. Is there not something about all this which singularly recalls the beginnings of a mission in an infidel country?

When he came, the Abbé Soulange-Bodin could not hope to enter into relations with the grown-up people, who were hostile, or at least mistrustful, towards everything ecclesiastical; but he set himself to work to make acquaintance with some of the street boys and some of the young people. For this purpose he formed a *patron-*



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age of boys whom he gathered together on the waste grounds of the fortifications, having no other locality at his disposal. The activities of the priest very quickly spread among the population; the school-room, where Mass was said, became too small to hold all the Christians brought together by the sacerdotal apostolate. In 1887 a chapel was built; it seemed too large then, and now it would not be large enough for religious worship. As the work grew M. Soulange-Bodin thought to make an appeal for the assistance of other priests: they presented themselves in numbers, drawn by the difficulties and by the very poverty of this mission in the midst of Paris. It was the heroic epoch of Notre-Dame du Rosaire; then did the Abbé Soulange-Bodin, dressed in a blue blouse, turn himself into a carpenter, handling the saw and the hammer for the construction of the necessary shelters for his works, shelters built of old planks, not very comfortable, but which nevertheless enabled good to be done. It was still the period when priests of the Rosaire, living in community, had to take turns in sweeping, lighting the fires and lamps, being everything to all men; the furniture consisted of benches and planks on trestles, and two chairs which were carried wherever they were needed.

This poverty, which, if possible, enhanced the nobility of their sacerdotal zeal, was the origin of great and beautiful things; it contributed largely to the moral and religious restoration of the quarter; for all these wretched people, in the midst of whom the priests of the Rosaire thereafter passed their lives in labour, privation and prayer, instinctively felt that these apostles truly loved them for themselves, and were devoting themselves to them without any kind of *arrière pensée*; now love begets love, and soon enough the hatred, mistrust and indifference of the people made way for sympathy and even profound attachment. Once upon a time, the little chapel built in 1887, with room for 400 people, was not always full. Today the parish church recently built by

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public charity, and opened for worship on the 29th of June, 1911, scarcely suffices for Sunday services, although it has a capacity of 1,500, and seven or eight Masses are said there in the course of the day; this is what the Abbé Boyreau, the devoted priest who for more than twenty years has been directing the works of Notre-Dame du Rosaire, and whom the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris has chosen as rector of the new parish canonically erected in this veritable mission country, told me a few days ago.

It will be interesting to examine now the various elements of this proletariate parochial organism, which is today fully alive and in the way of constant development. The work did not attain its present state in a day; for twenty-eight years it has been going on, adding new stages little by little as its resources in men and money permitted it, perfecting and strengthening its already existing institutions, but always faithful to the religious and social ideal of its beginnings.

### II

The works for labouring people (*oeuvres ouvrières*) of Notre-Dame du Rosaire were the nucleus, as we have seen, of the perfectly new parish which has just been erected under the same title. The parish is directed and administered by seven priests, who live in community, "consecrating their lives and their efforts to bring happiness and peace to the labouring class by bringing them back to God." At the Rosaire everything in the parochial life—services, exercises and preachings—everything is organized with a view to developing among the parishioners the intensity of Christian life; thus, to give one example, the clergy tried to accustom the faithful to take part in the religious singing, a thing which is unfortunately still too uncommon among church congregations. By way of documents, here is an extract from a letter which the rector of Notre-Dame du Rosaire received recently:

"I cannot help telling you the happy impression which I derived from your Easter service. Having come into a family of friends who live in your

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quarter, I was taken by them to your graceful church, which I had thought, I confess, much too large for a new parish. Judge of my astonishment in the presence of this earnest and recollected throng. But what struck me still more was the family spirit which seems to animate your parishioners. This participation of all the faithful in the liturgical chants, this union between the chants of the clergy and of the congregation—all this moved me the more because I had not been accustomed to see it in certain parishes which I know well."

I borrow this quotation from the *Courier de Notre-Dame du Rosaire* which, as its name indicates, is the organ of the parish and its works. The Abbé Boyreau and his fellow-workers make use of this monthly publication to keep the inhabitants of the quarter informed of the life, the works, and the numerous institutions which are developing under the shadow of its steeple. I have been looking through the issues of recent years, and in some of them I find precise details of the various parochial groups. I find also articles devoted to keeping the reader *au courant* of the great facts in the life of the Catholic Church, or expounding this or that point of doctrine; this parochial journal brings to the home, then, a short, clear sermon well adapted to the popular mentality; many read it who would not have come to hear the rector's Sunday sermon. This publication, which has been appearing for more than twenty years, has been of great help to the priests of the Rosaire in their apostolate among the working people. It has enabled them to spread just and sound ideas; it has also enabled them to destroy many prejudices.

The parish of the Rosaire is an exclusively popular parish.

"We count above all," the Abbé Boyreau once wrote, "upon the apostolate of the working people, that is to say, we hope—we are convinced—that God will raise up in the working class chosen souls to snatch it from error and from evil, to deliver it from injustice and to save it . . . The facts show us that everywhere where men of initiative have studied the social problem they have seen intelligent working men coming to them, active men, devoted men, ready for sacrifice, a veritable reserve of the army of good."

This conviction and this hope are still those of the Abbé Boyreau. He has recently declared it to us, confident in

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the experience of twenty years of an apostolate in the very midst of a Parisian *faubourg*.

Moreover, what he and his ecclesiastical fellow-workers endeavour to do more and more is to form a choice body of young people who everywhere—in the workshop, in the factory, in the warehouses, in the offices—may be, under their workingman's blouse as well as under their Sunday coat, always apostles. These are the Catholics, ardent of soul, burning and picturesque in word, who will next be led into the most various works and associations and finally into public life: these young men have an influence over the population far more powerful than that of the *bourgeois* orators. The people is not mistaken in this. It recognizes them as belonging to it, as having in a sort gone forth from its own bowels. But this chosen body is not improvised in one day. A long and methodical preparation is necessary for it. This preparation is made in the bi-monthly reunions of the different *cercles* of social studies in which the members carefully examine and discuss the questions of the hour. It is in progress above all in the retreats which every month bring together, from a Saturday evening to a Monday morning, fifteen or eighteen young people at Couberon, a country house in the neighbourhood of Paris which has been dedicated to the work. There, after religious exercises in common, there are long debates in which each one freely sets forth what he thinks, and powerful Christian friendships are cemented; for the three years that they have been held these retreats have contributed powerfully to develop the intensity of Christian life in all these juvenile souls, and to constitute a solid and intimately united nucleus of Catholics living their faith. One evening every month all these "militants" meet at the presbytery, where they have tea, exchanging their ideas and, to use the expression of one of them, putting all the good they have into a common fund. This select body is the leaven which the clergy



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of Notre-Dame du Rosaire put into the dough of the different parish associations, and which makes it rise.

### III

It is time now to pass in rapid review these works and institutions, all of which have at their base the religious idea, and all of which, whether directly or indirectly, apply themselves to the development of a Christianity lived among their adherents or among their beneficiaries.

First of all there are the works of religious, moral and social education. At the head of these quite naturally come the essentially parochial institutions, like the catechisms preparatory to first Communion, which are now attended by four hundred children; or again the *oeuvre de mariage*, which brings about numerous regularizations of unions; or, once more, the *oeuvres des mères chrétiennes*, which groups together more than three hundred women, preparing them for their part in the family, and sustaining them in the accomplishment of their duties. The *patronages*, open to the pupils of all the schools of the quarter on Thursdays and Sundays, have for their object the moral and religious education of children of the working class. "We seek to fortify the will in them by personal effort," says the programme, "and to teach them to use liberty by developing among them the sense of responsibility." These *patronages* of boys and girls receive about thirteen hundred children.

For the masculine element there are two *cercles*. (1) The *Cercle des Jeunes Gens* (14 to 18 years of age), founded in 1895, is more and more frequented; (2) the *Cercle des Hommes* is at the height of prosperity; the latter receives young people of about eighteen and men who live in the quarter. Connected with the *cercles* are many institutions open to all those who wish to benefit by them—associations, syndicates, evening classes, economic works, etc.



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To keep up the family sentiment there has been organized, since 1897, in the great hall of the *cercle*, a weekly family meeting; the father, the mother, the children, the grandparents, come there and pass one or two hours together, to rest from the fatigues and the cares of the week. There is music and singing; there is a conference on hygiene or on history, travelogues, stereopticon exhibitions, and literary or dramatic readings. On the other hand, the workingmen assemble once a week in the *Cercle d'Etude Sociale* to examine in a free discussion, with the help of the priests of the Rosaire, the various questions which especially interest them—domestic life, social life, conditions of labour, etc. The young people have also a meeting of this kind. Regular classes are held every Thursday by persons of high qualifications, and are followed by a discussion. Quite recently the question of the birth rate in France has been treated there.

Out of all this, within a little more than a year past, there has issued an *union paroissiale* which now counts more than 100 fathers of families. Its object is to deal with the moral and economic interests of the quarter: notably it is engaged in organizing co-operative buying in order to obtain provisions cheaper and better; it has established an employment agency and a mutual-benefit section. This is the most recently created organization at the Rosaire, but it appears to be endowed with great vitality, and seems called to play a very efficacious part in the work of renovation of the parish.

So much for the organizations which have for their essential end the moral and social formation. Let us pass on to the teaching institutions properly so called.

For the girls they have opened an independent and gratuitous school. Here the same programme is followed as in the commercial schools of the State, only religious instruction is added. This school is entirely supported by distinguished benefactors; it counts about 600 pupils.

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In families of the working class the lack of economy, the wretchedness and poverty often result from the incapacity of the wife to conduct a household in a proper manner. The *Ecole Ménagère*, which annually brings together about fifty pupils, teaches the young girls that domestic science of which they have to apply the principles when they become wives and mothers. The *Ecole Professionnelle de Couture* (Professional Sewing School) gathers forty pupils. Its object is to give the girls of the quarter a good professional training, without their having to go to great distances for it; it defends the apprentice against all exploitation and assures her the moral protection which she needs. I must add that for young girls as well as for young men there are separate *études*, where social questions and religious history are discussed; here also the practical apostolate is initiated.

For the young men, the teaching works are equally numerous, and are highly approved. But the only teaching is professional and complementary. For those who hold salaried positions there are courses in English, shorthand and bookkeeping. For young people engaged in manual occupations there are courses in drawing from models, linear drawing and modelling, which are necessary for apprentices and workingmen to complete their technical education and to be able to aspire to the best-paying situations, and indispensable for acquiring the good taste and artistic exactitude upon which Parisian artisans pride themselves. Lastly, in spite of the heavy expenses resulting for the carrying on of the works of Notre-Dame du Rosaire, there has been organized a training school (*atelier apprentissage*) for locksmiths and mechanical repairers. This training school has three objects: (1) to give deeper and more extensive professional training than that of the private workshops; (2) to insure the apprentices a moral training of which little exists elsewhere; (3) to co-operate in maintaining the prestige of French industry by assuring, as far as lies within its

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powers, the supply of clever workmen, a supply which is indirectly compromised by the complication of the law of 1900 on the length of the working day.

Last comes a group of institutions of "providence and assistance." These are confronted by a vast field of action, by reason of the miseries of all kinds which they have to alleviate. The priests of the Rosaire have endeavoured to leave no weakness without its support, no sorrow without its consolation. And it has, perhaps, been by following the divine way of suffering that they have most surely found a road for hearts long closed to Christian hope and faith. For those families which are able, and know how, to economize, a *société de secours mutuels* has been established, which comprises three sections (men, women and children) and numbers a little more than three hundred members. These are the fortunate ones, the happy and the relatively rich of this miserable quarter: they form only a very small minority. The rest—that is to say, the very large majority—could not possibly think of laying aside a few pieces of change with an eye to the future: the present weighs upon them with a very heavy weight. Actuated by a pious sentiment of charity, the clergy of the Rosaire practise great ingenuity in assisting them.

Sickness is a visitant whose coming is particularly dreaded by the poor; when it takes up its abode in their homes, it brings with it destitution and, too often, despair. Thanks to the assistance of a lady of the Red Cross, a dispensary is opened at the Rosaire three times a week, with surgical consultations and treatments. Besides, a generous legacy secures for the quarter twice a week, at half past eight in the evening, medical consultations which are very largely attended. In addition to this the *Soeurs gardes-malades* gratuitously attend the sick poor in their homes. A country house in the neighbourhood of Paris receives every year more than 120 persons who go thither to recruit their strength. Just

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at present a convalescent home is being organized near Blois for working-women.

Among the other works of assistance which the spirit of charity has called into being at Plaisance we may mention the *Secrétariat du peuple*, the *Assistance par le travail à domicile* (aid by home work), the *vestiaire*, and the *fourneau économique*. The *secrétariat du peuple* is an office opened every Sunday to facilitate, and to give gratuitously the information necessary for, marriages, for writing letters, obtaining situations, etc. Once a week, at nine o'clock in the evening, an advocate (a Doctor of Law) gives legal consultations. The *Assistance par le travail à domicile*, by furnishing mothers of families with work to do in their own homes, aims to prevent the woman from leaving her home in order to increase the pitiful resources of her husband and children. Last year work to the amount of 25,000 francs was distributed to more than four hundred women in the making of hooks-and-eyes, scapulars, sailors' jackets and linen articles. The *vestiaire* gives out clothing, which has been made over and repaired, to the poor people, who must not be left to shiver in rags; lastly the *Fourneau économique* provides cooked food cheap for the working-men and working-women who have not the time to prepare their own food for themselves.

Such is in a brief synopsis—in which, however I am afraid I have involuntarily forgotten something—the varied and considerable sum total of works which constitute the parochial city out of which the new Parisian parish of Notre-Dame du Rosaire was to arise. To assist these works devotion is not sufficient; money is also necessary: every year more than 100,000 francs has to be found to keep them alive. Every year the necessary sum is found. And it has been the same for more than twenty years, so true is it that, according to the divine mathematical law which facts have proved to me to be exact, and which appears to be too often unknown by Chris-

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tians, God sustains us in direct proportion as we have confidence in Him. During the winter of 1885 Mlle Acher, with difficulty getting together her fifteen little girls in an abandoned drinking shop, had done an act of faith in Providence. This act of faith and those which the Abbés Soulange-Bodin and Boyreau and all their collaborators subsequently multiplied were surely blessed by God. It is no longer over a few children that the work of the Rosaire exercises its influence; but today, after twenty-seven years of labour in this same *faubourg*, a parochial school—beginning in the drinking-shop rented by Mlle Acher—radiates the Catholic Faith among thousands of fervent souls.

Once, in 1887, when the chapel was tentatively opened for a few scattered worshippers, anti-clerical hatred organized a *charivari* during the inaugural ceremonies. Two years ago the new church was consecrated by His Eminence Cardinal Amette in the presence of an immense throng gathered together from the whole quarter, and amid the joy of the whole population.

Indeed it seems to us that we were not wrong to write in the title of these pages the words *Moral and Religious Restoration*: it is in fact a veritable renovation which the priests, or rather the missionaries, of Notre-Dame du Rosaire present to us. And what increases our faith is that in most of the other *faubourgs* of Paris a like resurrection is in course of accomplishment.



# Christ's Teaching about Marriage

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The rapid increase of divorce in the last fifty years is compelling the attention of the thoughtful everywhere. Despite all efforts to check it by more rigid enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline and more stringent enactments of civil law, it continues to increase with accelerated velocity.

What is the significance of the fact, and what are we to do about it?

There is a growing group of thinkers who are asking: May not the family be falling apart because it lacks moral and spiritual cohesion, because of the loosening of many of the restraints inherent in the patriarchal theory of the family and the sacramental idea of marriage, together with the removal of some of the external props supplied by former social and economic conditions? The sociologist, whose primary interest is scientific, feels free to inquire whether this freer granting of divorces is really an evil, whether what seem to be retrograde processes are not really transitions due to progress, environmental changes caused by the effort to readjust society to the new basis of modern civilization. The family, as he sees it, is not a ready-made gift to civilization but a social product, and marriage but the legal sanction of social custom, the institutionalizing of those restricted forms of sexual intercourse which have existed everywhere in human society. .

There is nothing more encouraging to the sociologist and scientific philanthropist than the fact that society

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follows no arbitrarily formed programme for its development, but proceeds by natural laws of social evolution. If, he reasons, the family were a gift and not a growth, if it rested on the exigencies of external authority and not on the inherent necessities of human nature, it might be in danger of passing with the power that created it; but if it has existed from the first, at all times and everywhere in forms best suited to the conditions, development and needs of humanity at the time, then we need not fear that it will pass away or assume a form violative of its very nature and ultimate purpose. So we need not hesitate to bring the subject out into the open, to throw the white light of scientific criticism upon it; for the foundations are to be re-examined only that the superstructure may ultimately have the greater stability and conserve more surely the interests of all. It is conceded by this group of thinkers that monogamy has been the prevailing type of human marriage from the dawn of history, though the ideal has never been wholly and generally realized in actual experience. Struggling ever for recognition, it has everywhere gained ascendancy until today it is the only form which has universal ethical sanction among civilized peoples. Modern developments, as the historian of this type sees it, are but bringing us round to complete the circle of human experience. As in the marriage of primitive times the individual was free to enter and leave the marriage state virtually at will, or with mutual consent of the pair, so it is coming to be again in modern society; but with this difference, that the modern man and the modern woman will be guided by higher considerations and the union will be more enduring, tending ever to become life-long or permanent.

This view is one result of the recognition of the principle of evolution and the justice of the application of it to the study of human development in society, as in every other portion of the universe. It at last opens

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up the social realm to scientific investigation and offers a new basis for the study of marriage and divorce.

There can be no question of the right of such students to study these subjects in this way, to try to get the far and near historical and social background of these institutions or customs, and to give the results to the world in the interest of truth and humanity. Like all social institutions, marriage must be judged, not by its form, sanction or status at any particular time, but in the light of its history. This were a task well worth while, and amply demanded by much of the thinking of our time. But such a task is outside of and beyond the purpose of this article, which is far more specific and limited.

Moses and the prophets, no less than Jesus and His disciples, accepted marriage as an existing institution of their day which gave rise to certain practical, ethical questions, and they dealt with it accordingly. There is nothing to show that either Jesus or his Apostles gave to marriage any new social content, custom, or sanction. They simply accepted it as it existed in the conventionalized Jewish civilization of the day and used it and the customs connected with it for ethical and illustrative purposes. One notable exception, however, is to be made to this statement. Jesus did not accept or endorse the Mosaic modification of marriage so as to permit polygamy and divorce as in harmony with the divine ideal or with the institution as at first given to mankind, and, therefore, he did not regard it as final. He clearly considered such modifications as out of harmony with the divine ideal and purpose, and dealt with them accordingly.

It is conceded by all, whether favourable or unfavourable to his teaching, that the teaching of Jesus has been fundamental and vitally operative in shaping the ideas and ideals of Christendom concerning these matters, and that it is likely to be largely so in the

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future. So it is pertinent and important to inquire afresh as to just what that teaching is, and as to what are its social implications.

The keynote of Christ's teaching about marriage is struck by his action at the beginning of his ministry. The significance of his attending the marriage feast at Cana and performing his "first miracle" there can hardly be exaggerated. The act corresponds, too, with what he has to say on the subject. He, no less than Paul, emphasizes both the honourableness of the estate and the heinousness of all sins against it. Perhaps the most characteristic and far-reaching use of marriage and the family by our Lord is that in which he describes the "Kingdom of God" as a social order in which the relationship of men to God is like that of sons to a father, and their relation to each other like that between brothers. This social ideal is summed up in the phrase, "Kingdom of God," which occurs more than a hundred times in the Synoptic Gospels. His entire theology may be described as "a transfiguration of the family." This is the "Kingdom" that he has made the burden of his message and the inalienable possession of the Christian consciousness. There is in his teaching no suggestion of reflection upon the teaching about marriage found in the Hebrew Scriptures except at the one point noted, the modification of it so as to allow polygamy and divorce. Everywhere he accepts and deals with the institution as sacred and in a true sense of divine origin (Matt. 19:9, etc.).

But the question of supreme concern and practical importance to us of today, in view of the unchecked and ominous increase of divorce, is this: What was Jesus' attitude to divorce? Did he allow absolute divorce for any cause whatsoever? Or did he teach the indissolubility of the marriage bond? Upon the answer to these questions depend momentous issues, social and civic, as well as religious.

The facts and teachings bearing on the case are en-

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shrined in the New Testament, and so the inquiry may be limited to its records. Accepting with the best scholarship of the day the documents that compose the New Testament as emanating from the Apostles and disciples of Jesus in the second half of the first century, A.D., the question is: What did these writers understand Jesus to teach on the subject?

If we had only the Gospels of Mark and Luke and the epistles of Paul, there could be but one answer given: Christ did not allow absolute divorce for any cause (see Mark 10:2ff; Luke 16:18; Gal. 1:12 and I Cor. 7:10). The Mosaic permission was a concession, Christ teaches, to a low moral state and standard, and is opposed to the ideal of marriage given in Genesis 2:23. But two sayings attributed to Christ and recorded by the writer (or editor) of the first Gospel (Matt. 5:32; 19:9) seem to contravene his teaching as recorded in Mark and Luke. Here he is made to allow divorce for "fornication" ("save for fornication"), an exception that finds no place, however, in the parallels. The word "fornication" here, of course, is to be taken in its wider sense (Hos. 2:5; Amos 7:17; I Cor. 5:1). Divorce to a Jew carried with it the right of remarriage, and the words "causeth her to commit adultery" (Matt. 5:32) show that Jesus assumed that the divorced woman would marry again. Hence, if he allowed divorce, he allowed remarriage.

A most searching, critical examination of the whole passage in Matthew and in the parallels in Mark and Luke, in the light of all the facts of the case, has led many scholars to conclude that the exceptive clause is an interpolation due to the Jewish-Christian compiler or editor, through whose hands the materials passed before taking this final form. "I more than doubt," says Principal Forsyth, "if the exception is genuine. The whole tone of the Sermon on the Mount is absolute, and does not deal in exceptions." To others it betrays



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traces of having been rewritten from Mark and combined with a semi-Jewish tradition, *i.e.* the writer attempted to combine the original sayings of Jesus and his own interpretation. Honestly believing that our Lord had not come to set aside the authority of Moses, and supported, as doubtless he was, by a current Jewish-Christian tradition to the same effect, he interpreted Mark's narrative by inserting what he regarded as an integral part of the eternal enactment of Jehovah. In doing this he was unconsciously inconsistent, not only with Mark and Luke, but also with the context of the First Gospel itself, owing to his sincere but mistaken belief that this was a case in which the Law of Moses must not be broken. But Christ was speaking of his ideal "Kingdom"—he could not think of "fornication" there, and therefore could not except it.

Moses, the statesman, permitted divorce because of the "hardness" of the public heart, *i.e.* the moral backwardness, the inferior stage of moral development of the time. What may be provisionally expedient in a constitutional state, where law represents the moral average and not the moral ideal, is always behind the principle and below the ideal of the spiritual society. So long as natural egoism and self-pleasing is the accepted rule of social life, the indissolubility of marriage cannot and will not be carried out. It is a ruling principle only in a social order that is spiritual, in the region of Christian obedience and Christian power. Between two truly married people, owning and loving Christ and serving him in the Spirit, divorce is unthinkable. Where the Christian faith is, the Christian ethic is possible, not elsewhere, or otherwise.

How far the Christian ideal thus interpreted can be embodied in legislation and applied to the community as a whole, is another question. As things now are, the ethic of the Church, as Christ taught it, must always seem exacting and impracticable to the State. The

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Standard of the State is not the Standard of the Church, and neither has the right to force its Standard on the other. But the Church surely should hold up its ideal and keep it clear as the ideal and goal, if it is to educate the people and the State in such matters.

Christ did not commit himself to any programme of political or social policy, but, if the critics are right about this exceptive clause, his ideal is as clear as the sun in a cloudless sky, and toward it has been the whole trend of social evolution. He was not a legislator. We should not read his teachings as another Law. We should remember his saying, "My words are spirit and they are life." He thinks and speaks theologically, not sociologically, as expressing the will of God for his Kingdom, not as giving a piece of natural social ethic. He is not *legislating* even for his Church, and so his people have much freedom in applying his principles to a particular age and stage. Moreover, in this respect, Paul's attitude was but the continuation of Christ's own, and this has proved slowly but surely revolutionary for the world's idea of marriage. Monogamy represents the upward struggle of millenniums in the civilization of the race; but more, it rests on and represents a deep moral basis. "The ethic which sings of a Don Juan as being false to every woman but always *true to love*, is literary blackguardism"—yea, and social anarchy as well.

The Christian principle prescribes also the life-long union of man and wife. All merely temporary sexual relations defy the principle that passion is there for the uses and ideals of the moral soul and society. Such relations are a crime against an ideal Humanity no less than against a holy God. A complete Humanity rests on men and women who grow into each other in sacrifice and mutual forbearance, as only souls can. Man and wife are one, not by an outward bond or promise merely, but by each being the other's inner complement. (Compare "A help meet unto him," *lit.* "a helper over against

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him." Gen. 2:23). They make up a joint personality by the harmony of an indelible psychic difference. And this dual, or complex personality—the true family idea—is the normal base of the corporate union of Society.

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We celebrated in Paris, last April, the centenary of Ozanam's birth. French Catholics owed it to themselves not to let this anniversary pass unmarked. For at this time, when the Church of France, affected by one of the severest crises through which it has ever passed, but already triumphant over evil, appears more animated than ever; at a time when it is patiently, but vigorously, "reconstructing" its organization, so to speak, in order the better to adapt it to the needs of a new era; at a time when one of the most impressive signs of its activity is the resolute recommencement of the "positive" work of evangelization and conquest—at such a time it could not but desire to celebrate him who, side by side with such glorious rivals as Montalembert and Lacordaire, was even then one of the Christian "realisers" of whom it has the best right to be proud. Two great memories are connected with the name of Frédéric Ozanam: as a student, he brought back Catholic thought, with uplifted head, into the French University; as a man of action, he inaugurated the popular apostolate of Catholics in the nineteenth century by the foundation of the Society of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul. The latter creation has passed beyond the geographic limits of the country where it began: founded by a Frenchman, and French by their early history, by the prepon-

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derance—at least relative—of their membership, and by the residence of their management, which is still centred in Paris, the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul are international by their spread which makes them one of the most catholic—in the original sense of *universal*—of all the institutions upon earth which today witness to the vitality of Christianity. Nor is it surprising that the religious ceremonies to commemorate Ozanam have taken an international character as well as a French: they were organized in Paris, but delegates from various nations took part in them, and, by an understanding between the Pope and the French president general of the society, a cardinal legate came from Rome to preside.

But however widely the multiplication of his disciples may have extended the domain upon which Ozanam, the man of action, set his mark, we must not exaggerate its extent at the expense of that domain in which Ozanam, the man of thought, made a glorious place for himself and for the cause he represents. The two cannot be separated; for Ozanam, the writer, was essentially a social thinker, and Ozanam, the founder of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, was a student, and it was a students' gathering that gave birth to the Conferences. This intimate bond between Ozanam's intellectual and his practical work is what constantly presents itself as one follows the harmonious, but unfortunately brief, development of the life which he used to such noble purpose.

### I

Frédéric Ozanam was the fifth of a family of fourteen children, of whom, however, only three survived their parents. He was born on the 23d of April, 1813, at Milan, then the capital of the Napoleonic kingdom of Italy, and where his family had been settled for some years. The Ozanam, originally from Dombes, belonged to the best of the Lyonnese *bourgeoisie*. One of them, Jacques



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Ozanam, in the eighteenth century, was a celebrated mathematician, and Fontenelle wrote a eulogy of him. This learned man was a Christian; he has left us this neat profession of faith: "It is for the doctors of the Sorbonne to dispute, for the Pope to decide, and for mathematicians to go to heaven by the perpendicular."<sup>1</sup> His grand-nephew Frédéric, a Catholic and a man of learning, and one who upon occasion could exhibit a well sharpened wit, was to take after him somewhat. But Frédéric showed chiefly the influence of his parents. His father, Jean-Antoine, enlisted in the wars of the Revolution, five times wounded, distinguished by Napoleon, had then returned to Lyons, where he had lost his fortune in trying to save a relative from ruin and dishonour, and had settled as a physician in Milan. In that city he attended the victims of typhus during the epidemic of 1813, the year of Frédéric's birth. Returning to Lyons in 1816, he spent the remainder of his life there, treating the sick and visiting the poor; for the faith which he always kept was an active faith, and in him it was never separated from an indefatigable charity. His wife, Marie Nantas, also a Lyonnese, was a remarkable woman; she shared his ideas and imitated his good deeds. These good deeds had a sad ending, regarding it from a purely mundane point of view: descending a dark flight of stairs, after a visit to a poor man, Dr. Ozanam had such a serious fall that he survived the accident only a few hours.<sup>2</sup> It is easy to imagine what admiration a soul such as that of Frédéric Ozanam must have felt for a man like this, and it is not surprising that the son of this Christian who died in the service of the poor should have been the founder of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Ozanam owed much to his mother too. Being very well educated, she could fol-

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<sup>1</sup>Fontenelle, *Eloge de Jacques Ozanam*, in *Oeuvres diverses*, Amsterdam, 1742, III, 396.

<sup>2</sup>12 May, 1836.

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low the studies of her children a long way; she knew how to govern her household with the firmness which commands respect and the gentleness which wins love. Her son Frédéric's regard for her was a veritable cult. "I am as if the Divinity had withdrawn from about me," he wrote after her death.<sup>3</sup>

It is curious that he, who had felt and tasted the beauty revealed in a noble woman devoting herself to her home, should have remained for some time refractory to marriage. It was not for very long, since he was married at twenty-eight, but in the preceding years he manifested what seems a singularly marked shrinking from marriage. He went so far as to write: "Man abdicates much of his dignity on the day when he chains himself to a woman's arm."<sup>4</sup> But such ideas as these are not very often definitive. At bottom Ozanam's character was tender; he was not made for isolation. One year after this protestation of independence, he announced his betrothal to the daughter of the rector of his university, M. Soulacroix; six months later, 23 June, 1841, he married her, and we know by his correspondence that the remainder of his years on earth were years of happiness.

But to return to his intellectual and professional life. His father wished him to enter the magistracy, and on completing his school course he went to Paris for his legal studies. He pursued these very conscientiously; but literary studies in the larger sense—history, philosophy, literature, properly so called—always attracted him, and he allowed them a large place in his programme of work. Ozanam very soon revealed himself as essentially an intellectual. To his comrades he was the student "who does not play cards."<sup>5</sup> He never went

<sup>3</sup>Letter to Mr. Reverdy, 10 November, 1839 (*Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*, 8th ed., augmented with several newly published letters, Paris, 1912, I, 316).

<sup>4</sup>Letter to M. Lallier, 21 February, 1839 (*ibid.*, 292, 293).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. letter to his mother, 7 November, 1831 (*ibid.*, 24, 25).

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to the theatre. His social life amounted to very little, but his social relations were select: he visited Châteaubriand, frequented the salon of Montalembert, whose friend he became, and had the good fortune to be received as a permanent guest by one of the most illustrious of his compatriots, André-Marie Ampère. Of Ampère, Scherer has said that he was "one of the most universal minds of whom there is any record" (*l'un des esprits les plus universels dont on ait conservé le souvenir*);<sup>6</sup> and it is natural to wonder whether long contact with a genius of this kind did not contribute to develop in Ozanam the tendency to universality which was one of the distinctive traits of his character. We find him, at the same time that he is learning law, learning languages, or perfecting himself in them: besides French, he was to know Latin and Greek, Italian, Spanish, English, German and a little Hebrew, and thus to be specially qualified, in course of time, to occupy the chair of comparative literature at the Sorbonne. At the same time, he makes acquaintance with, or keeps up his interest in, the philosophy of the Middle Ages and the history of the same epoch. Above all, he is devoted to the study of social and religious questions; this is his true centre of attraction. Ozanam is before all things a Catholic, but a thinking and acting Catholic. We know that, just before he completed his college course, his faith passed through a brief, but very violent crisis; he felt it keenly, and he triumphed, with the help of his professor of philosophy, the Abbé Noirot, whom Victor Cousin called "the first professor of philosophy of France."<sup>7</sup>

"I have known the doubts of this century," he wrote, later on, in his *Testament*, "but all my life has convinced me that there is no rest for the mind and the heart except in the faith of the Church and under her authority."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Scherer, *Etudes sur la littérature contemporaine*, V, 31.

<sup>7</sup>Mgr Ozanam, *Vie de Frédéric Ozanam* (3d ed., Paris, 1889), 66.

<sup>8</sup>From the *Testament* published at the end of the *Lettres d'Ozanam*, II, 527.

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He wishes, too, to help others to avoid these doubts or overcome them; he aspires—even from the days of his youth—to restore their faith to those who have lost it. As a young student under the direction of the Abbé Noirot, before he left Lyons, he began his apostolate as a writer by producing, for *l'Abeille*, a little magazine for young people, some articles which evidenced, under a somewhat old-fashioned form, a lively interest in apologetics. This interest increased in Ozanam the student, and it was to make of him, as Georges Goyau expresses it, “the missionary of faith to science and society.”<sup>9</sup> A missionary without severity or intemperate zeal, having known the pain of doubt, he will always retain, in presence of those not illuminated by the same light as himself, what Lamartine calls the “charity of the mind” (*charité de l'esprit*).<sup>10</sup>

Not all of those who profess the same faith possess this charity as he did; and of this Ozanam on more than one occasion had sad experience. He experienced it for the first time during his student years in Paris, in connection with an earlier enterprise which preceded, and was as it were the preparation for, the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul. The enterprise in question was intellectual rather than social: a studious gathering of young men, of which, indeed, Ozanam was not the founder; that honour belongs to a venerable professor of philosophy, M. Bailly, to whom the idea had occurred of receiving a few young people at his house and placing at their disposal a library, a reading-room, and a room for lectures and mutually profitable consultation. This group, which already existed under the Restoration, was then known as the *Société des Bonnes Etudes*; but when Ozanam entered it, in 1833, it had hardly any

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<sup>9</sup>Goyau, *Ozanam collégien, Ozanam étudiant, son apostolat intellectuel*. (Ozanam. *Livre du centenaire*, Paris, 1913, 4).

<sup>10</sup>Lamartine, *Cours familier de littérature*, III, 389 (Paris, 1857).

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vitality left in it. With his coming everything changed: if the meeting which came to be called the *Conférence d'histoire* was not his creation, its revival, at least, was due to him. Under his influence conferences were organized; the young men gathered in greater numbers, believers and unbelievers; they argued, they tried to persuade each other, and it may be that the way was paved for conversions. Then appeared on the scene the gloomy-minded editor of a publication entitled *Ami de la Religion*, who scented heterodoxy everywhere: Ozanam, having made an address in which he endeavoured to defend the Church against the reproach of having been the constant ally of the absolute powers, was vehemently taken to task.<sup>11</sup> He replied in a very dignified manner, reminding his assailant of the duty of charity.<sup>12</sup>

Charity—he is always coming back to that idea; and it was in fact Christian charity that was to know one more victory after these attacks. The activities of the *Conférence d'histoire*, shaken, perhaps, by the attacks of the *Ami de la Religion*, slackened after the year 1834. But, as often happens, good came out of evil. Ozanam set out again by other roads to the conquest of souls. Action appeared to him to be better than speculation. He judged that the surest way to answer those adversaries who maintained that the Church had degenerated, that it was no longer able to demonstrate its spiritual power by its works, was to act, and to show one's love for one's neighbour for that very purpose. He himself has described this genesis of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in an address delivered to the members of the Florence Conference near the end of his life.

“We were,” he said, “invaded by a deluge of philosophical and heterodox doctrines which were being agitated all about us, and we felt a desire to strengthen our faith amid the assaults directed against it by the various

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<sup>11</sup>*Ami de la Religion*, 5 June, 1834; 253-56.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 10 June, 1834; 285.



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systems of false science. Some of our young fellow-students were materialists; some, Saint-Simonians; others Fourierists; others again, Deists. When we Catholics tried to recall to these wandering brethren the marvels of Christianity, they all said: 'If you speak of the past, you are right; Christianity has wrought wonders in bygone times; but today Christianity is dead. And indeed, what are you doing, you who boast of being Catholics? Where are the works which prove your faith and can make it respected and received by us?'—They were right; the reproach was only too well deserved. Then it was we said to ourselves: Well, to work! Let our actions be in accord with our faith.—But what was to be done? What could we do, to be truly Catholics, but that which is most pleasing to God? Let us succour our neighbour, then, as Jesus Christ did, and put our faith under the protection of charity."<sup>13</sup>

And so it was done: Ozanam and a little group of friends—Lallier, Lamarche, Le Taillandier, Devaux, Clavé, and, soon after, de la Noue—decided to begin the personal visits to the poor. They asked M. Bailly to preside over their efforts in the new direction, and he consented. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul was created.

The Sisters of Charity were asked to indicate the most necessitous families, and the young men went to them, bringing, together with material help, the comfort of Christian words and brotherly friendship. On a stated day the members of the society met to tell each other what they had seen and heard, and to decide what ought to be done, according to circumstances, for this or that family; the *bons* to be distributed were purchased through the Sisters, until the society had *bons* in its own name. The meeting opened and closed with prayer, and there was a collection every time, but the collections would have been insufficient if Ozanam and some other members had not, by translations and articles published in the *Tribune Catholique*, M. Bailly's journal, brought in some money to help their charity. Thus it was with the fruit of their labour that they comforted the poor. And this was quite in conformity with the idea Ozanam had formed of the work, which was to procure the spiritual good of the members who visited, as well as the good, both material and spiritual, of those

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<sup>13</sup>*Oeuvres complètes d'Ozanam*, VIII, 39.

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visited. To be sure, no such modest activity as this could solve the social question, so acute even at that early period, and with which the young student, accustomed to discuss Saint-Simonism, was so deeply interested. "But," said he, "before regenerating France, we can console some of her poor."<sup>14</sup> And indeed he very thoroughly appreciated the efficacy of these charitable practices to develop, in those who cultivated them, a sense of social wrong, and to prepare them to apply to it perhaps more energetic remedies:

"Yes, without doubt, to relieve the indigent day by day is too little; we must put our hands to the root of the evil, and lessen the cause of public misery by wise reforms. But we assert our belief that the science of beneficent reforms is taught not so much in books and on the tribunes of legislative assemblies as by climbing the stairs of the poor man's house, sitting by his bed, feeling the cold he feels, and, in the freedom of a friendly talk, drawing out the secret of his desolate heart. When one has fulfilled this ministry, not for a few months, but for long years; when one has thus studied the poor man at home, in the school, in the hospital, not in one city only, but in many, in the fields, in all the conditions in which God has placed him, then one is beginning to know the elements of the formidable problem of wretchedness; then has one the right to propose serious measures, and, instead of becoming the bugbear of society, becomes its consolation and hope."<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile the numbers of the society increased. At first it was a question whether the gathering was to be open to new recruits, or whether its intimate character was to be maintained by admitting to it only those who had belonged at the outset. Happily, the former solution prevailed, and the little society grew so well that another question was not long in presenting itself, that of organizing the society in sections. After some very warm, even stormy, debates, this system prevailed; it was the origin of the various and innumerable *conférences* (for such is the name, at first a little strange to them, which they have kept from their origin) which multiplied themselves, first all over Paris, then in the provinces, and soon after in foreign countries. To preserve the unity of the work,

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<sup>14</sup>Quoted by Lanza de Laborie, *Le fondateur de la société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul*. (Ozanam. *Livre du centenaire*, 125.)

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 141, 142.

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a general council was created, of which Ozanam would never be more than vice-president, believing that the direction of the society, in view of its development, demanded the service of a life free from any professional occupation, which was not his case. But he was to remain to the end the soul of that council, as of the whole society. He it was who urged the members to devote themselves to those *oeuvres accessoires* which were grafted on to the work of visiting the poor and widened the moral and material action of the Christian youth among the populace—visiting prisoners, teaching children confined in reformatories, the protection of adolescence in the patronages. It was he who, in the course of his journeyings, agitated the creation of new conferences, or fostered their beginnings, in the towns which he visited or through which he passed.

The Conference of Lyons, one of the oldest, was founded in this way, through his encouragement, and when he returned to Lyons, in 1836, he became its president and assured its success, in spite of the prejudices entertained in the home of his childhood against a form of apostolate which no doubt upset the routine of things. For even in the field of charitable activity Ozanam was accustomed to opposition. He wrote in 1838:

“It is not possible to be under any illusion: the society has met with mistrust everywhere. If at Lyons it has never incurred the censure of the ecclesiastical authorities, if some venerable priests have even encouraged it, it has not ceased to be the object of vexation on the part of many laymen; big wigs of orthodoxy; fathers of councils in frock coats and strapped pantaloons; doctors who deliver their pronouncements between the reading of the newspaper and a talk over the counter, between the pear and the cheese; people to whom newcomers are never welcome, for whom all that comes from Paris is presumed to be perverse, who make of their political opinion a thirteenth article of the Creed, who appropriate the works of charity as their individual affair, and, modestly setting themselves on the same plane with Our Lord, say: ‘Whosoever is not with us is against us.’”<sup>15</sup>

But Ozanam let them talk, and quietly went on with his work, trying to make Christianity popular by prac-

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<sup>15</sup>Letter to Lallier, 17 May, 1838 (*Lettres*, I, 265, 266).

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tical demonstration of its social efficacy, while at the same time he pursued his studies and prepared himself for a career which he wished to dedicate to the defence, by pen and voice, of the same cause of Christianity.

### II

Here we can sketch this career only in large outlines; but what it is important to place in a strong light is a variety of directions, corresponding to the diversity of the activities engaged in by Ozanam the student, and yet a unity of inspiration which will always lead us to find the apostle in the advocate, the professor of law, the professor of history, and the publicist.

On his return from Paris to Lyons, where we have seen him presiding over the local Conference of St. Vincent de Paul, Ozanam, provided with his diploma of Doctor of Laws, had had himself admitted to the bar. But he by no means abandoned literature and history, and he soon returned to Paris to write his theses for the *Doctorat-ès-Lettres*. He was recalled by the death of his father. If the trial was a cruel one for him, the circumstances which caused it at least brought Ozanam a lofty Christian consolation. Taking his degree some time after with two theses on Dante, his name was proposed for the chair of philosophy in the *lycée* of Orleans. But, for the sake of remaining near his mother, he did not heed his personal inclination, and accepted the chair of commercial law which the City of Lyons had just established.

This branch of learning, apparently so dry, was for him—who in his earlier days had written on Saint-Simonism, and had tried to refute it while extracting from it the “soul of truth” which it might contain—an opportunity to elaborate and set forth some social ideas current, perhaps, among a large number of Catholics since the Encyclicals of Leo XIII, but which must have seemed very novel at that period. Thus, he sketched a



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theory of salary which possesses a lively interest at the present day.

But he had not long to teach these ideas. He lost his mother the same year in which he was appointed to the Faculty of Lyons. This was perhaps the greatest grief of his life. But after that, however great his Lyonese patriotism, his attachment to the home of his fathers was no longer sufficient to keep him there, and in 1840 he decided to enter the competition for admission to the Faculties of Letters which had just been instituted by Victor Cousin. He gained the first place and, almost immediately after, was called to the chair of foreign literatures in the Sorbonne, as substitute to Fauriel, then as titular professor, after Fauriel's death.

Thenceforward his orientation is determined; he is well on his course. During the previous years his direction, owing to circumstances, may have seemed a little uncertain, and he himself may have hesitated about his vocation. We know, from his correspondence, that he debated with himself as to whether he was not called to the priesthood.<sup>16</sup> He ended by being convinced that he indeed had a vocation, that he must give testimony to Christianity, but give testimony in the world. His vocation was a lay vocation, principally intellectual and social, and more especially academic. Ozanam was made for teaching, in the lecture room and by book, by the review article and even the newspaper article, and after 1848 he was to associate himself with Père Lacordaire and the Abbé Maret to found the *Ere Nouvelle* and faithfully nourish it with his eloquent prose; but he felt himself to be more professor than journalist. His ideal, according to his own expression, was "to serve God in serving good learning" (*servir Dieu en servant les bonnes études*).<sup>17</sup> And it is easy to appreciate the apologetic

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<sup>16</sup>Letter to Lacordaire, 26 April, 1839 (*ibid.*, I, 303); letter to Pessoneaux, 13 April, 1840 (*ibid.*, 338).

<sup>17</sup>Letter to Foisset, 21 October, 1843 (*ibid.*, II, 44).



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value of such a service, when rendered in the conspicuous publicity of the Sorbonne by a Catholic contemporary of Michelet and Quinet. Higher education independent of the State did not exist in France at that time. That Ozanam was in favour of it, is sufficiently proved by his public support of the Belgian Catholics who founded the University of Louvain; but if independent education had been organized in France, would his approval have gone so far as to draw him into its service and away from that of the national university? Beyond doubt he would at least have hesitated, for he appreciated at its just value the advantage which Christian beliefs derive from counting their defenders among the representatives of public education. And even apart from what he did for those beliefs by his lectures and the books which resulted from them, it is impossible to forget the tangible proof given by him that his presence in the Faculty of Letters of Paris was useful to Christianity on that day when religious liberty was menaced in the person of his colleague Lenormant. The latter had returned to Catholicism and had made no secret of it. Michelet and Quinet thereupon fomented cabals against him among the students, and it was resolved to prevent him from speaking. Ozanam had only to attend his courses, and such was his ascendancy over the young men of the university that his mere appearance put a stop to the demonstrations which had already begun.

But his most constant apologetic was that of his teaching and the written work connected with it. He had conceived a vast project; a general history of Christian literature, and, with it, Christian civilization, from the triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire to the century which marks, as it were, the apogee of the Middle Ages, the period of Dante. He had already treated the great theme of Dante in his doctorate thesis, and he came back again to the thirteenth century in the most charming work he ever wrote, the *Poètes franciscains d'Italie*.

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To the last century of the Roman Empire he devoted his last course of lectures, published in book form after his death under the title, *La Civilisation au V<sup>e</sup> siècle*. And as the Germans, beginning from that time, installed themselves in the territories ruled until then by Rome, and a new world began with them, he wished to follow them before, during and after the invasions: hence a series of lectures forming the history of the Germans before Christianity (*Les Germains avant le christianisme*); then *La Civilisation chez les Francs*, from the fifth century to Charlemagne; and he would have gone on, had not sickness interrupted, and soon after, death closed his labours, at the age of forty.

The cause of this premature ending to his activity may, and perhaps should, be sought in that very activity. Ozanam gave himself to his professional task with a sort of passion, and with no care about fatigue; much fatigue must have resulted from those courses, in the preparation of which he worked ferociously, and then delivered them with an almost fiery eloquence that would excite astonishment nowadays. After 1848 he expended part of his strength in helping to edit the *Ere Nouvelle*. And to these two lines of activity we have to add that demanded by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. His constitution had always been frail. The malady came: space is lacking here to recount its stages—the interruptions and resumptions of his courses, the trips made by Ozanam, for his health, to Spain and to Italy, his native land which was always so dear to him, working incessantly, collecting material for new books, visiting, on his way, the conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, which had already spread outside of France, and making ardent addresses to them—all this has been sufficiently told elsewhere. It is necessary only to repeat with what serenity—not, however, without bitter pain—he saw death approach. It was hard for him not to see the accomplishment of his undertakings, to leave a wife

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whom he dearly loved, a daughter whose education was but just beginning. This grief, and his complete submission to the will of God, he has expressed in an admirable prayer, written on his fortieth birthday in 1853, the year of his death. He added it to his testament. It begins with a translation of the sacred text, "I said: In the midst of my days I will go unto the gates of death." And after transcribing some verses, he continues:

"This is the opening of the canticle of Hezekiah—I know not if God will permit me to apply its ending to myself. I know that today I complete my fortieth year, more than half of life's journey. I know that I have a young and well beloved wife, a lovely daughter, excellent brothers, a second mother, many friends, an honourable profession, labours carried to just the point where they seem to be serving as foundation for a work long dreamed of. Nevertheless, behold me stricken with a serious and obstinate illness, one all the more dangerous because complete exhaustion is probably concealed under it. Must I then, my God, leave all these good gifts which You Yourself have given me? Will You not, O Lord, be satisfied with part of the sacrifice? Which one of my ill regulated affections must I immolate to You? Will You not accept the holocaust of my literary vanity, of my academic ambitions, or even of my plans for study, wherein, it may be, there mingles more of pride than of zeal for truth? If I sold half of my books to give the price to the poor, and, confining myself to fulfilling the obligations of my employment, devoted the rest of my time to visiting the poor, and teaching apprentices and soldiers, would You be satisfied, O Lord, and leave me the sweetness of growing old beside my wife and completing my child's education? Do You not, perhaps, wish it, O my God? You do not accept these interested offerings; You reject my holocausts and sacrifices. It is myself that You demand. In the beginning of the book it is written, that I should do Your will. And I have said: I come, O Lord!"

A little farther on he adds, sending up towards God his gratitude after his resignation:

"If You should chain me to a bed for the days of life that remain to me, they would not suffice to thank You for the days I have lived. Ah, if these pages are the last I shall ever write, let them be a hymn to Your Goodness!"<sup>18</sup>

Ozanam died in the autumn, on returning to France after several months spent in Italy, where it had been thought for a time that he was recovering. This premature death invests his personality with a sort of aureole, adding to its affecting character. One cannot think without sadness of all that he might have been for the

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<sup>18</sup>Inserted in the *Lettres*, II, 498-500, and 501.

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cause of Catholicism, of "good learning," and of the popular movement, if his life had not been so abruptly ended. And yet, as it was, it was a well filled life, and Ozanam left behind him, besides an admirable charitable creation that was destined to spread over the whole world, a literary product which also was bound to be fruitful by the noble standard which it set up and the generous spirit which animated it.

Through that spirit, and through its general orientation, his literary work endures after more than sixty years, and, though out of date on many points, still remarkably actual; for the Catholics of today it retains the value of a beautiful example, both intellectual and social. It was Ozanam who, amongst others, began in France the Franciscan studies so much in favour nowadays. He loved and made beloved the Middle Ages which we, too, love, but which had so long been decried, and to which Catholic writers and artists began to come back only with Montalembert and his friend Rio, the poets and historians with the masters of romanticism; but, though himself a romantic, his well balanced mind resisted violent excesses, and he even then made reservations upon which we of today would readily insist:

"The excessive admiration that has been given to the Middle Ages," he said in his *Civilisation au V<sup>e</sup> siècle*,<sup>19</sup> "has its dangers. It will end by stirring up judicious minds against an epoch of which it is sought to justify the wrongs. Christianity will seem to be responsible for all the disorders of an age in which it is represented as the ruler of all hearts."

Lastly, beyond the Middle Ages, Ozanam was interested even in the barbarians, but what interested him in their history was their conversion, because he saw in it some image of another conversion to be effected in his own time. In an article which attracted some attention, published in *Le Correspondant* at the beginning of 1848, he explained why the popes had made alliances with the barbarians, the destroyers of the Roman Empire, but

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<sup>19</sup>Page 7.

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founders of a new order of things, and, as at that time the Papacy, with Pius IX newly elected, seemed to be taking the leadership of young Italy, liberal and democratic, in revolt against Bourbon and Hapsburg absolutism, he added:

"Let us sacrifice repugnances and old grudges, and turn to this democracy, this new people, which knows us not. Let us go over to the Barbarians, and follow Pius IX."<sup>20</sup>

This conversion of the democracy was one of Ozanam's dominant ideas, and here we find once more that social spirit with which his work as an historian is impregnated as his charitable enterprises are guided by it. It is proper in concluding to dwell upon this unity of inspiration—unity of thought and of practice—in Ozanam.

### III

Ozanam's intellectual work could almost be defined in one word by saying that it is the work of a man of science who is at the same time a man of action.

A man of action he was, we already know that, but not an agitated man. He has a horror of pure politics, because it looks to him like barren agitation. He is in no degree a party man, and even in those days used to denounce vigorously the danger there would be in creating a Catholic party in France:

"I think that we are stronger when we are more numerous, when we fight in many regiments, and at many points, at the same time. I would not wish to have any Catholic *party*, because we should, so to speak, realize the wish of Caligula, we should have only one head which they could smash at one blow."<sup>21</sup>

This does not keep him from having strongly marked preferences; he writes to a friend:

"The Republic may perish for a time through the fault of its defenders and the ability of its enemies. But the democracy is mistress, and, under all

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<sup>20</sup>*Des dangers de Rome et de ses espérances* (Correspondant, 10 February, 1848, p. 412).

<sup>21</sup>Letter to Lallier, 17 June, 1845 (*Lettres*, II, 76).



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political forms, it will continue its progress, and will end by resuming the republican form, which is the most natural and most sincere."<sup>22</sup>

But upon these political considerations he does not further insist. What concern him, and what his learned labours exhibit as his care, are social ideas. His *Passons aux barbares*, the thought of which is found again in his *V<sup>e</sup> siècle* and *Civilisation chez les Francs*, is a very typical expression of this. The same tendency reappears in his Franciscan studies, in his love for that great Order of Minors, so popular in their ways, in his attraction to Blessed Jacopone da Todi, the bold monk who, at the end of the thirteenth century, seems a precursor of Savonarola, already a tribune of the people, which on its part wears the habit of St. Francis. But Ozanam the writer is not merely a *littérateur* and historian. We must not forget his past as a jurist, and his collaboration on numerous reviews and journals. His juridical teaching as well as his articles presented so many opportunities to him to proclaim his tendencies. The theory of "fair salary" (*juste salaire*) which he sketched in his course of commercial law, is one of the most striking of these manifestations. He insisted strongly, as Leo XIII afterwards did in his Encyclicals, on the point that charity does not supply everything in social relations, that we must first have justice. "Charity is the Samaritan who pours oil upon the wounds of the waylaid traveller; it is for justice to prevent the waylaying."<sup>23</sup> In a study on church property, written in 1837, he recalled the Christian theory of property, a social theory, which, if it does not juridically subordinate the right of property to its use, justifies it morally only by that. He returned to the point in the *Ere Nouvelle*, where he maintained energetically, though not violently, the democratic

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<sup>22</sup>Letter to Dufieux, 31 May, 1848, unpublished. For this abstract I am indebted to M. Laurent Laport, Ozanam's son-in-law. Mgr. Baudrillart has cited this passage in his pamphlet, *Frédéric Ozanam* (Paris, 1912, 58).

<sup>23</sup>*Notes d'un cours de droit commercial*, in *Oeuvres*, VII-Mélanges, II, 2d ed., Paris, 1859, 513.

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ideas which were dear to him, and which brought on him more than one attack on the part of certain Catholics. He explains himself about this to a friend in a very fine letter defending the programme of the *Ere Nouvelle*:

"We are not *socialists* in this sense: that we do not desire the overthrow of society: but we do desire its free, liberal, Christian reform. We believe that it would be a strange misunderstanding if we supposed that the movement of 1848 must end only in a question of public law. We cannot escape the social question, and that precisely because it is formidable. God does not wish us to put it aside. We must lay a fearless hand upon this wound of pauperism. Among other means of more equitably repartitioning the costs and advantages of society, the progressive impost has been proposed, and I do not reject it. . . . I think, with you, that we shall at last have to consider the people, infinitely more than we have in the past. Most Christians have been mistaken in thinking themselves quit of responsibility towards their neighbour when they have taken care of the indigent, as if there were not also an immense mass who are not indigent, but are poor, who do not want alms, but institutions."<sup>24</sup>

And he makes test of an example, recommending in particular the creation of workmen's associations for obtaining fair salaries, seeking to obtain the passage of a law on the Sunday rest that should satisfy the religious needs of the people at the same time as their social needs.

But we know that these aspirations to justice did not cause the founder of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul to forget charity. If only in making known the misery which justice would wish to cure and charity can always alleviate, the visiting of the poor, as the Society practises it, is singularly effective, and this was why Ozanam never ceased to promote that practice. It may be said that this care occupied him to the very last moments of his life, since in the year in which he died, exhausted by illness, and under very little illusion as to the nearness of his end, he accepted an invitation to speak at the opening of the Florence Conference, he was to have addressed the members of that of Leghorn, and he was busy about inaugurating one at Siena.

He had the consolation of seeing the magnificent culmination of the long effort begun in his youth. He

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<sup>24</sup>See Note <sup>22</sup>, p. 636,

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could say with holy pride, in his address to the Florence Conference, on the 30th of January, 1853:

"Where there were eight, there are in Paris alone two thousand of us, and we are visiting five thousand families, that is, about twenty thousand individuals, that is, one-fourth of the poor enclosed within the walls of that immense city. The conferences, in France alone, have reached the number of five hundred, and we have them in England, Spain, Belgium, America and even in Jerusalem."<sup>25</sup>

Since then the figures have only increased. At the present day the number of the brethren of St. Vincent de Paul reaches nearly 150,000; and, if we would obtain an idea of the upward course which the forces of the society are still following, let us read this, from the *Bulletin* of October, 1912:

"Our society is daily extending its field of activity in the whole world. . . . At the beginning of the present year we have noted an increase of 278 aggregated conferences, in comparison with the beginning of the preceding year, announced by the General Council of the organization. To find a higher number, we must go back to the years of exceptional development between 1854 and 1859. Of these new conferences, scattered through 18 countries, 175 belong to Europe, 87 to America, 3 to Africa, and 13 to Oceania. . . . The 278 newly aggregated conferences are divided by countries as follows: Germany, 6; England, 26; Australasia, 13; Austria, 3; Belgium, 53; Brazil, 43; Canada, 5; Colombia, 9; Egypt, 3; Spain, 6; United States, 20; France, 56; Ireland, 12; Italy, 8; Mexico, 6; Panama, 1; Holland, 3; Portugal, 2; Argentina, 3. Besides all this, three central councils have been established at Taubate (Brazil), Montreal (Canada) and Alençon (France); and nineteen particular councils at Bremen and Hagen (Germany), Durham (England), Havelange, Rochefort, Tubize and Vивоорde (Belgium), Rangoon (Burmah), Arcapi, Tamaria, Marvine, Massane, Quixada and Sorocuba (Brazil), The Bronx and Lynn (United States), Brive, Juvisy and Dragnignan (France). As we see, France heads the list of aggregations with 56 conferences; Belgium comes next, then Brazil, Great Britain, the United States and Australasia. In France, the *Bulletin* notes, the Society's vitality is maintained in spite of the burdens which weigh upon Catholics."

It is essential to add that there have been grafted upon the main work of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul a number of others—rent funds, workingmen's gardens, secretariate of the people, above all the *patronages* for apprentices—even more useful than the visits to the poor, from a social point of view, but which, perhaps,

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<sup>25</sup>*Oeuvres complètes*, VIII, 39.

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would never have come into existence without the inspiration of the spirit that animated the Conferences which gave them birth—the spirit that was their founder's to his last breath.

This was the spirit which presided at their foundation and which we feel still living today. The Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul may seem at present a somewhat antiquated form of social activity, just as the books written by the man who instituted them have begun to be old-fashioned. But, if they are indeed a feeble remedy for the evils alms can only attenuate and soften a little, they are still necessary as a preliminary to efforts more adapted to present needs: they represent an initiative process. Teaching the knowledge of misery, they awaken, as Ozanam perceived, the desire to eliminate it, or at least to try to do so: "The same Authority," he once wrote, "Who announces that the poor will always be with us also orders us to do everything to bring it about that there may be no more poor."<sup>26</sup> And thus what makes the Society of St. Vincent de Paul as valuable at this moment as at that of its foundation is the spirit which gave it birth, and which must continually urge its members not to be contented with charitable work which is at once indispensable and insufficient.

This spirit, in which is contained all that made Ozanam's exalted merit and his moral charm, is in its definition that of an intense Christian generosity. It was because of this generosity in him that all his work as a writer and all his life point towards social good. It was this generosity in him that feared no truth, and produced the delicate scientific probity from which it was his heart's desire never to be separated, and the principle of which he once proclaimed in such exact terms, in declaring that the Catholic historian ought to make it a point of conscience "not to disguise any blemish,

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<sup>26</sup>Extracts from the *Ere Nouvelle* (*Oeuvres complètes*, VII, 262, 263.-*Mélanges*, I, Paris, 1859).

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so as to have the right to leave no glory veiled.”<sup>27</sup> It was this generosity which, in his apologetic, becomes intellectual charity (*charité de l'esprit*) towards unbelievers, as, in his daily life it becomes compassionate kindness to the unfortunate. And this spirit of generosity he instinctively exercised just where the effort of a Catholic of his century might find its best point of application, in the double field of social activity and the intellectual apostolate. It was for this that, less brilliant than Montalembert and Lacordaire, his illustrious friends, Frédéric Ozanam, professor of the Sorbonne and founder of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, is as great as they. He died too soon to leave a completed scientific achievement; but he created an apostolic and charitable institution, the rise of which was by no means checked by his death—quite the contrary, for the sacrifice bears fruit. As a thinker and realizer, he has left an enduring example, and he is still one of the purest glories of the French Catholicism of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>27</sup>*Les Germaines avant le christianisme*, 15, 16.

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### *Errata in June Number*

Page 286, line 20 for “Heraclios,” read “Heraclea.”

Page 296, line 23 should read: “which was *not* sufficiently,” etc.



# THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY

A JOURNAL OF THE FAITH, WORK  
AND THOUGHT OF CHRISTENDOM

DECEMBER, 1913

## The Witness of the Spirit A Constructive Essay in Apologetics

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Paris.*

To prove the reality of His mission, Jesus of Nazareth appealed to His Father and to the works which He did in the Father's name. These two testimonies are still valid: that of the Father through the Resurrection which, while an object of faith for the Christian, by reason of the new and glorious life into which it has introduced the Christ, is at the same time, as a fact established by history,<sup>1</sup> a solid and permanent motive of faith. The works of Jesus, on the other hand, as the Gospel documents make them known to us, or as those who speak and act in the Master's name render them present among us, are not less persuasive.

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<sup>1</sup>On this matter the reader may consult, among recent works, Prof. E. Manguet's *La Résurrection de Jésus* (Paris, 1910); Prof. H. B. Swete's little book, *The Appearances of Our Lord after the Passion* (London, 1907), and the brief, but substantial, *opusculum* of Dr. F. Loofs, *Die Auferstehung und ihr Wert* (Tübingen, 1908).

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Nevertheless Jesus appealed to still another testimony: the testimony of the Spirit:

These things have I said while I dwelt with you; but the Paraclete, the Spirit whom the Father will send in My name, He it is who shall teach you all, and shall recall to you all that I have said (John 14: 25, 26).

When the Paraclete shall have come, whom I will send from the Father, the Spirit of truth who proceedeth from the Father, He shall cause you to penetrate all truth; for He will not speak of Himself, but He will tell you all that He shall have heard, and will announce to you the things to come. He shall glorify Me, for He will take of mine and will announce it to you. (John 16: 13-15).

This testimony of the Spirit was, in primitive times, perhaps the most eloquent of all, under the form of *charismata*—the gift of tongues, the gift of miracles, the gift of prophecy and of infused knowledge, which St. Paul so repeatedly invokes to substantiate his assertions. We know that in his First Epistle to the Corinthians he goes so far as to lay down rules for the employment of these *charismata*, in order to anticipate their possible abuse. All the books of ancient Christianity, from the Acts of the Apostles to St. Irenaeus, echo the grand voice of St. Paul in this.

It will perhaps be permitted, and not opposed to traditional interpretation, to look for the testimony of the Spirit still elsewhere than in these exteriorly sensible gifts, and under a more general form. The argument, which we can here only sketch, has the advantage of presenting itself as independent in relation to all others, and as of such a nature that a religious man ought to give it his most serious attention.

Every religious man, in fact, practically admits that the human person has an end, an ultimate destination; and that the spiritual world has its orientation by reference to this end, and is provided with the means to attain it, by a divine, intelligent and beneficent power to which we are accustomed to give the name of *the Spirit*. He who refuses to admit this thesis by that very refusal

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shuts himself out from the religious field, surrendering himself to total agnosticism, to a scepticism barren and hopeless in spiritual matters. "If a divine providence does not preside over human affairs," excellently says St. Augustine, "let us say no more about religion."<sup>2</sup> Christians know that this Power is personal, and adore it, together with the Father and the Son, under the name of the Holy Ghost. But the argument, as we are about to present it here, does not demand any preliminary adhesion to the doctrine of the Trinity. It has its value for all who recognize the existence and action of the great spiritual Force described above.

### I

The least that we can say of the historic mission of Jesus Christ is, that for two thousand years it has been, to those who have known enough about it, "a sign"—an object set before men "for the downfall and the rising up of many," and calling forth among them "the revelation of their inmost thoughts" (Luke 2: 34, 35). "A savour of life for some, a savour of death for others" (II Cor. 1:16). His name, His teaching, His person, have been the pivot of the spiritual world, the critical point about which men have, as of necessity, divided into two groups. It is even today no otherwise: the fundamental religious choice, for most of our contemporaries, is between taking sides *for* and *against* Jesus. Not in the sense that only the positive enemies, the declared adversaries, of Christ (few there are, and those, religiously, almost negligible) form one of the two groups. "He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth" (Luke 20:23). One who sees in Him a wise and good man, but mistaken, out of date, important only as a symbol and an example,

<sup>2</sup>*Si enim Dei providentia non praesidet rebus humanis, nihil est de religione satagendum* [*De utilitate credendi*, n. 34, ed. I. Zycha (Vindobonæ, 1891), p. 42].

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not a man having a mission and efficacy as Mediator between God and the soul—such an one has already taken sides against Jesus. Now the Spirit could not remain indifferent as to this choice that is laid, we may say, upon every man coming into the world in a Christian country. If we believe in an intelligent and beneficent Power turning sincere souls in the direction of truth, how can we admit without contradicting ourselves that this Power is indifferent to the religious problem which, for the greater number of men, sums up in concrete form all other problems? There is, indeed, no question of this or that choice of detail or of form, such as a normal religious life could equally well put into shape for itself, whatever the answer given: a man's attitude will be profoundly modified by his choice in this matter of being (in the sense defined above) *for* or *against* Jesus.

To choose *for* is not only virtually to adhere to a positive religion represented here on earth by living functional institutions for some of which the name *catholic* is claimed; to accept a very determinate conception of the world and human life; to submit to a moral code which defines the simple morality of nature and goes beyond it in many points, while contradicting it in none; to consider, moreover, and to believe, that Jesus of Nazareth has been and still is the indispensable Witness of God on earth. It is to believe that "no one cometh to the Father but by" Him, and that he who rejects His magisterial guidance is self-condemned to wander in darkness. It is to attribute to Him an exclusive, definitive religious value of a unique order. It is, lastly, to consent to pray through Jesus and to adore Jesus, to see in Him the way, the truth and the life.

Is it probable, even conceivable, that the Spirit does not take part in a choice of this consequence; that it leaves each one to form an opinion in accordance with his own aptitudes and needs, as if *Yes* and *No* in such a matter could be practically all one, equally favourable

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to a perfect religious life?—The more closely we examine the character of an initiator and master in the sphere of religion, the less shall we be inclined to think so.

There are many ways of possessing that character, but they can all be reduced, essentially, to two. One of these two was that claimed, after the Prophets of Israel, by John the Baptist and all apostles, from Peter and Paul down to the missionaries of our own day. It shuts the man himself out of sight behind his mission, the prophet behind his message. While asserting for the preacher an indispensable authority, this kind of mastership leaves him still in his pedagogic rôle, presents him as a servant conversing on an equal footing with his human brethren. "As Peter entered, Cornelius, coming to him, fell at his feet. But Peter lifted him up, saying: I also am a man" (Acts 10:25). Thus heard, the master is a voice, a messenger, an ambassador from God. Even in the most elevated of his functions, that of a founder, he remembers, and reminds others, that his rights are strictly limited by the exigencies of his mission, and that, outside of it, he may even have his opinions and preferences: all such remain human, precarious and open to discussion. As a good professor, communicating his knowledge, should be tending towards at last rendering himself useless, and as, his pupil once sufficiently initiated, he himself has nothing to do but eliminate himself, so these religious masters do not pretend to any unlimited authority. They are "arousers from sleep" in the spiritual order. And the better they fulfil this function, the more apparent is the infinite distance which separates the servant from the one and only Master, the human initiator from Him whom he preaches. "And I fell at his feet to adore him. And he [the angel] said to me: See thou do it not. I am thy fellow-servant, and one of thy brethren who guard the testimony of Jesus. Adore God." (Rev. 19:10.)



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Another kind of magisterial authority may be conceived. It lowers, in favour of the master, that impassable barrier which separates the finite from the infinite—a barrier all the higher, the better informed the man himself is. It asserts an authority not limited to one particular message, but indefinite, unlimited. It presents the master not only as a temporary model, furnishing an example close at hand, visible, initial, but also a *universal* model, or type, to imitate which is the duty of every man. The actions of the master are considered as establishing a norm, his influence as something the place of which cannot be supplied by anything else. There does not come any moment when, the lesson sufficiently comprehended, the initiation completed, the disciple may put aside—with gratitude and respect, but, at the same time, resolutely—a magisterial authority which thenceforth has no reason for being. In short, the master is here considered not as *a* medium, but as *the* indispensable mediator, and that not because he teaches, but because he is; not by virtue of his lesson, but by virtue of his person.

A *magisterium* of this latter kind the authentic Christian religion has always claimed—whether rightly or wrongly, we are not here discussing—for Jesus of Nazareth. That being so, it is supremely important to know what orientation the Spirit has given to men of good will, to docile and candid souls, in presence of these extraordinary pretensions.

## II

The answer is not doubtful. Historically, Christianity has borne its immense fruit as a positive religion, implying the personal adoration of Jesus.<sup>3</sup> Historically, the most docile servants of the Spirit, the most indisputable heroes of religion, have admitted a divine

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<sup>3</sup>On this point see chapter 2, book III, of Professor Lebreton's *Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité* (Paris, 1910).

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*magisterium* in the Christ. All yielding, every kind of Arianism, every attempt to reduce the Person of Christ to a subordinate rôle, eminent, if you will, but after all within the human sphere—all yielding of this kind has been translated into a spiritual lowering, into a patent diminution of religious life.

Neither, in the life of the most favoured "saints," has there come any time when the personal cult of the Christ has been put aside as a useful, but outgrown, leverage-apparatus, a scaffolding thenceforward superfluous. A few examples may suffice to illustrate this position. Obviously, they are only specimens—samples,—and in presenting them one feels like a *cicerone* who has only an hour in which to guide some hurried party of tourists through the monuments and museums of an immense city.

Saul of Tarsus did not belong to the circle of the disciples of Jesus. It is a question if he ever saw Him, and the negative solution is much the more probable. At any rate Jesus never exercised over him that personal influence, that sort of magnetism which creates a group of enthusiastic friends around certain masters.

We must add that no one ever had in a higher degree than Paul the sense of God's incommunicable dignity. Everyone knows that at this period the idea of God's transcendence had become, for faithful Israelites, the fundamental dogma. Jealousy for Iahve reigned undividedly, and the veneration of His high majesty amounted to a sort of scrupulosity. They would no longer pronounce, or even write, the divine name. To indicate the Lord, they adopted equivalent concrete, or even abstract, terms which were thought more respectful.<sup>4</sup> That Paul shared these feelings before and after his conversion, we are assured by his Epistles, in which solemn and

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<sup>4</sup>On this see W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im N. T. Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1906), p. 353, ff.

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respectful doxologies accompany the indication, after the manner of a sacred shadow, of God.

Lastly, Paul was a "spiritual," a docile disciple of the Spirit of God. All his understanding of the mysteries of Christ—excepting a fund of such knowledge received by Apostolic tradition—he claims to owe to the revelations of the Spirit, not to the teaching of men. The Acts of the Apostles as well as Paul's own Epistles exhibit him to us under the conscious (I Cor. 7:40) and constant (Acts, 13:2, ff.; 16:6; 17:16; 19:21; 20:22, etc.) influence of the Spirit.

These circumstances assure an especial value to the testimony which the Spirit rendered to Jesus in the soul of Paul, after the vision on the road to Damascus had marked a turning-point in his life, a critical point, one of those moments which William James so well compares to the keen blade of a knife severing the whole of a man's past from his future. The impression, or rather caricature, previously formed in the mind of the Pharisee zealot—Jesus, the lawbreaker, innovator, blasphemer, perhaps magician, assuredly with justice condemned to death by the Sanhedrim and executed by the Roman authority—this impression was replaced, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, by another.

The Person of Jesus, closely united with, associated with, that of the Father in formulae which make them equal, became for Paul the centre and pivot of the spiritual world.

"Christ possesses all the divine attributes: He is eternal, since He is the firstborn of every creature and exists before all ages; He is unchangeable, since He is in the form of God; He is all-powerful, since He has the power to draw being from nothing; He is unmeasured, since He fills all things with His plenitude; He is infinite, since the pleroma of the Godhead dwells in him, or, to express it better, since He is the pleroma of the Godhead; all that which is the property of God belongs to Him as His own: the tribunal of God is the tribunal of Christ, the Gospel of God is the Gospel of Christ, the Church of God is the Church of Christ, the Kingdom of God is the Kingdom of Christ, the Spirit of God is the Spirit of Christ."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Ferdinand Prat, *La Théologie de Saint-Paul*, Vol. II (Paris, 1912), p. 188.—I have omitted the texts cited.

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In one word, for Paul, Jesus is the Lord! And all this is known. What has been less remarked, perhaps, is that Jesus has become, for the Apostle, the atmosphere, the ambience, the spiritual medium in which he breathes, lives and moves. "In Christ Jesus"—that is an habitual, constant expression for Paul: one hundred and sixty-four instances of that formula or its equivalents have been found in his Epistles.<sup>6</sup> And in this formula we perceive an echo of the great saying in the Discourse on the Areopagus: "In Him [God] we live, and move and have our being" (Acts 17:28). This life "in Christ Jesus," this profound sentiment of participating, through Jesus and in Him, in a better, a higher, a divine life, is for Paul already a reality: "I live, but no longer I: Christ lives in me" (Gal. 2:20).

A reality still imperfect here below, it prevents neither suffering, nor tribulation, nor the possibility of sin, nor the languors of exile (II Cor. 5:6-8). But that is only an affair of time. Paul belongs to Christ body and soul: for Him he has despised all things. Privileges of race and of education, knowledge of the Law, the righteousness of the Pharisees—he has treated all great things as a dunghill, that he might gain Christ (Phil. 3:4-8). He knows nothing but Jesus—Jesus crucified—whose stigmata he bears; and in a magnificent flight he defies death and life, angels and powers, heaven and earth to separate him from his Master. These passages—which I apologize for recalling—and a hundred others, of equally incontestable clearness and authenticity, translate in burning words the testimony rendered to Jesus by the Spirit in the heart of this man.

Never did an hour come when Paul, however conscious of divine visions, judged that he must at last fly directly to God, and leave the Mastership of the Crucified to find the Father without any intermediary. Even to the

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<sup>6</sup>A. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu"* (Marburg, 1892), p. 1.



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end, Paul judged him separated from God (ἄθεος) who should be separated from Christ (χωρίς Χριστοῦ).

After St. Paul there has appeared hardly any more unquestioned spiritual master than St. Francis of Assisi. He was neither a learned man, nor a theologian, nor even a priest; his short life did not permit him to accomplish in person the immense apostolic works which rendered illustrious the lives of a Bernard of Clairvaux or a Francis Xavier. Humbly submitting to the dogmas, the regulations, the rites of the Catholic Church, he never aspired to the name of reformer. And yet religious souls, Catholic or non-Catholic, have unanimously recognized, and salute, in him an incomparable hero of the Spirit. His religious ascendancy was and still is one of the most considerable which the history of mankind presents. For all these reasons, and more because of what he was not than because of what he was, the *Poverello* is one of the major examples, a spiritual man in the most exalted and most exclusive sense of the word.

Now this man, meek and humble of heart, altogether occupied with the things of the Father, detached from all that was not God—this magnificent instrument of the Spirit—was such as he was because he was a disciple of Jesus, because he was in a true sense another Jesus, able to say: "I live, but no longer I: Christ lives in me."

Jesus Christ was for Francis not only an initiator, an "arouser," a model. Consciously, continuously, Francis wished to live like his Master, with his Master, of his Master. He pushes the Gospel spirit even to a sort of uncompromising literalism. His *Rule*, such as he at first conceived it, is only the Gospel in action: it is almost entirely made up of verses borrowed from St. Matthew and St. Luke. And when the increasing number of the Friars, and apostolic necessities, and human miseries had imposed a whole series of additions, definitions,



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explanations, it is still the letter of the Gospel, the Gospel forms of expression, that dominate it. At every moment, and even in the sublime effusion which closes the *Regula prima*, an attentive eye still discerns, under images and passionate appeals, the letter of the Gospel cropping out everywhere, like the rock in a mountain meadow.

But what shall we say of the life and conversation of the *Poverello*? What of his prayers and aspirations?—

“Who art Thou, my dear Lord and God, and who am I, the humblest worm of the earth among thy servants? My well beloved Lord, how I would love Thee! My Lord and God, I give Thee my heart and my body; but with what joy would I do more, through love of Thee, if I knew how!”<sup>7</sup>

Never does Francis separate the Son from the Father; and I know not that any commentary more striking than the life of Francis exists upon those words of the Discourse after the Supper:—“Philip, he that hath seen Me hath seen the Father. How sayest thou: Show us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me?” (John 14:9, 10.) At the culminating moment of this short existence, on the Mountain of the Stigmata<sup>8</sup> it is still Jesus, and Jesus crucified, who introduces him into “the Secret of the King” and the great divine joy. Even to the end this illustrious friend of God remains the servant and ecstatic adorer of the Master of Nazareth.

If we come down to more recent times, times posterior to the problems and the disquiet stirred up by the Reformation of the sixteenth century, we are embarrassed by the width of the choice offered to us. Purposely leaving aside the canonized saints, I recall here only two men in whom unquestionable genius has been united with a marked spiritual insight: Blaise Pascal and John Henry Newman.

<sup>7</sup>The version here cited is that of Joh. Joergensen, French translation by T. de Wyzewa, *Saint François d'Assise*. The whole work ought to be transcribed.

<sup>8</sup>On this, L. Roure, *Figures franciscaines* (Paris, 1913), pp. 70-107.

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Let us here leave aside the scientific work—that of course—and also the polemical work of Pascal. Was he, at the end of his life, detached from the peculiar opinions of Jansenism, which he had so keenly defended and served? Without absolutely establishing the fact, recent discoveries and investigations have rendered it very probable. It is of little importance in what we are dealing with. What is certain is that the thinker and the religious man, that Pascal was, owed his incomparable ascendancy to the personal religion of Jesus. The brief pages of the “Mystery of Jesus” (in the *Pensées*) are at once the highest peak, perhaps, of French literature and one of the most touching testimonies that have ever been rendered to the Christ. The unfathomable problems of destiny and of human history upon which his penetrating eye rested, the uncertainties of all human knowledge and science which he had placed in unheard-of relief—for Pascal, all this is explained and illumined by Jesus, by Him alone:

“The knowledge of God without the knowledge of one’s own wretchedness causes pride. The knowledge of one’s own wretchedness without the knowledge of God causes despair. The knowledge of Jesus Christ leads to the mean, because in it we find both God and our own wretchedness. We know God only by Jesus Christ. Without this Mediator all communication with God is taken away; by Jesus Christ we know God. All those who have pretended to know God and to prove Him without Jesus Christ had but impotent proofs. . . . But by Jesus Christ, and in Jesus Christ, we prove God, and teach morality and doctrine. Jesus Christ, therefore, is verily the God of men. Not only do we not know God except by Jesus Christ, but we know not ourselves except by Jesus Christ; we know not life, death, except by Jesus Christ. Apart from Jesus Christ we know not either what our life is or our death, either what God is or what we ourselves are.”<sup>9</sup>

“Be comforted, thou wouldst not be seeking Me, if thou hadst not found Me.

I thought of thee in My Agony, I have shed such drops of blood for thee. . . .

Leave thyself to My rules to lead thee; see how I have led the Virgin and the saints, who left me to act in them.

The Father loveth all that I do. . . .

I am present with thee by My word in the Scriptures; by My Spirit, in the Church and in inspirations; by My power, in priests; by My prayer, in the faithful.

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<sup>9</sup>*Pensées*, ed. L. Brunschvicg major (Paris, 1904), n. 527, 547, 548.

## THE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT

The physicians shall not heal thee, for thou shalt die at last.—But it is I that heal thee and make thy body immortal.

I am more a friend to thee than this or that one, for I have done for thee more than they, and they would not endure what I have endured of thee, and would not die for thee in the time of thy infidelities and cruelties. . . .

If thou knewest thy sins, thou wouldst lose heart.

—I shall lose heart, then, O Lord, for I believe their malice upon Thine assurance.

—No, for I, through whom thou learnest it, can heal thee of them; and that I tell thee of it, is a sign that I wish to heal thee. In like measure as thou shalt expiate them, so shalt thou know them, and it shall be said to thee Behold what sins are forgiven thee. . . .

—Lord, I give Thee all."<sup>10</sup>

And lastly, nearer to us, the man, admirable for his sincerity, the least given to becoming the liegeman of any school, the seer for whom the existence of God and of spiritual beings was more clear than that of the external world, John Henry Newman was, in the same sense as Pascal, a faithful disciple of Jesus.

I will not make myself ridiculous, writing in a Review published in the English language, by proving this assertion. The whole of Newman's works would have to be cited, from the familiar, almost infantile, prayers collected and published after the great Cardinal's death to the subtle analyses and profound views. Let anyone read over the famous sermons, *Watching* (December, 1837), *Waiting for Christ* (November, 1856), and so many others, not forgetting the intimate correspondence.

He, who in immortal verses implored the illuminating *magisterium* of the Spirit, received in answer to his prayer the decisive illumination. If, at the period of his full maturity, he left a Church to which he was attached by all the fibres of his heart, it was, in becoming Roman Catholic, to be more sure of keeping and possessing Jesus. Newman was, more than any man, the constant and implacable enemy of that enfeebled, discrowned, emptied Christianity which sees in Christ only a sage, a martyr, a prophet. He was the far-seeing adversary of that vain "Liberal" theology which refuses to recognize

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid. 553.

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God in Jesus, and oscillates between an inconsequent rationalism and a vague hero-worship. His great historical studies on the Fourth Century had taught Newman that in this modern Arianism we should find all the weaknesses and all the shortcomings of the ancient Arianism.

These few examples, chosen almost at random, can only suggest the answer to the question put above. Behind these witnesses we know all the witnesses that there are, like a cloud, like an army, coming from the east and from the west, from the south and from the north. In these souls so diverse, souls of learned men and ignorant, simple souls and refined, from the moment when they have been sincere the Spirit has made the same testimony heard. It has set all these pilgrims of eternity upon the same road. It has brought them to Jesus, not as to an initiator and a master for one hour, but as to Him who keeps the words of life; not as to the water that quenches thirst for a time, but as to the running fountain.

For those who believe that human destiny is not left to the forces of chance, but directed to the Good by a spiritual and beneficent Power, there is here a precious indication independent of every system of philosophy and of minute studies of texts. This is our justification for submitting it to the readers of **THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY**, leaving to their individual reflections what it has been only possible to sketch or suggest in the brief limits of this article.

# The Church and World Brotherhood

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There are two sovereign problems before the world—the first, How to federate the nations, and the second, How to unite the churches. Both are questions of unification, phases of the vast social problem to which our generation feels specially called.

Which of these two questions should Christian men consider first? Many say: "Let us first of all unite the churches. Church division is the scandal of Christendom. It is the source of our weakness, and many a humiliating woe. Let us consolidate the broken forces of the Captain of our Salvation, before we go out to another battle. Let us establish unity in the household of faith before we make further efforts to teach non-Christian nations the beauty of harmony and love. When the church is once united, we can assail with vim and hope the task of training the nations to live together in one world-community."

But at this point daunting difficulties meet us. The churches are not together, nor is the way yet discovered by which their union may be brought about. Even the Protestant churches are in certain instances far from one another, and as for the Greek and Roman and Protestant Communions, while their union is a consummation devoutly to be wished, the boldest advocate of unity would not dare assert that it is at the door.

In the meantime the nations are coming all the while



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into closer political and commercial contact, and the problem is urgent, How shall they live together in concord and good will? Possibly it may be wise to attack the problem of a united humanity first. Who knows but that this may prove to be heaven's way along which we are to move to a reunited Christendom? It may be that the cohorts of Christ's army by engaging in a common task of gigantic proportions can be welded into a compact and conquering whole. Service is a sacrament no less truly than Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and since we cannot at present agree either on the number or the significance of the sacraments which we have already used, we might receive an unprecedented blessing through the sacrament of devotion to a great humanitarian cause.

The uniting power of work is not a speculation, but a demonstrated fact. When all other means have failed, a common labour has often been sufficient to bring estranged bodies of men together. A common baptism of pain works even more mightily toward the same result. War, however horrible, often brings forth by-products which become assets of the race. After decades of struggle to bring petty principalities together, a single war even of short duration has sometimes so fused the minds and hearts of men, that no subsequent strain or shock has been able to break the union. The jarring chords of hostile kingdoms were blended in one symphony of heroic effort to overthrow a common foe and the music of that effort lives on in the joy and power of the new national life. Even those disastrous campaigns known as the Crusades, achieved certain beneficent results which abide to the present hour. The nations which marched together in fiery determination to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Turk communicated to one another ideas and impulses which resulted in the substantial enrichment of all. What the church most needs today is a holy war, a war great

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enough to inflame her heart, and desperate enough to tax her utmost resources: not a war after the fashion of the Crusades, for the church has now learned what spirit she is of. She realizes that the weapons of her warfare are not carnal. We fight henceforth solely with the sword of the spirit, under the leadership of a General whose sword goes out of his mouth. But future wars will be no less tremendous because they are to be fought not with bullets but with ideas, and they will be none the less expensive, for they will cost not the blood of the veins but the blood of the soul. The warriors of all coming campaigns, like the soldiers of the conflicts already fought, must drink deep of the cup of sacrifice. In every age the truth abides that only by the cross we conquer.

A distinguished philosopher of the nineteenth century went about with his philosophic lantern in search of a moral equivalent of war. He felt the necessity of disciplining and utilizing the rough raw energy of the young men of a nation. He saw that the military virtues no longer called forth on the battlefield must be developed in some other way, and he suggested a strenuous programme of nationalized industry. The difficulty in all such speculations has been to find a cause which will appeal to the imagination and stir the heart. Young men will never willingly submit themselves to protracted courses of discipline, unless there is something genuinely magnificent to call out their enthusiasm and sustain their will. It is the protection of the Fatherland, the safeguarding of the flag, which stirs thousands of young men every year to enter the army and navy. No amount of drill is counted a burden too heavy to bear, when it is prosecuted for the purpose of perfecting them in the high work of defending their country against its foes. Patriotism, or love of country, has always made good soldiers; religion, or love of God and humanity, ought to make still better ones. If a cause sufficiently

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great can be put into the eye of the Christian people of all lands we shall have taken a long step toward a united Christendom.

Men are saved from many a littleness and traditional slavery by looking away from themselves. So long as they fix their attention on themselves, they accentuate the distempers from which they suffer. If two men are estranged, the surest road to reconciliation is not through a patient investigation of all the quarrels of the past, but along the highway of a common enterprise which lays hold on the future. The binding power of responsibility is one of the factors ordained of God in the development of human-kind. Getting under a common load is a sure way of keeping step with those who carry it. It is this principle which the Almighty uses in the building of the home. The training and education of the children is a mighty force in holding husband and wife together, and keeping the home from possible disintegration under the strain of clashing opinions or divergent feelings. Every movement for sound reform illustrates afresh the consolidating power of common activities carried on for the accomplishment of common ends. When organizations which have for years been hostile or indifferent to one another join forces in a common cause, they discover at the end of the campaign, that mutual sympathies have been awakened, and that native affinities exist which had hitherto been unsuspected. Every municipal campaign illustrates the same important principle. That politics makes strange bedfellows is an ancient adage, and so does every movement which enlists earnest minds in a common undertaking. In seasons when no great issues are at stake, societies and institutions have time to contemplate their differences and to magnify the points on which they disagree. But in the vigorous forthputting of power to attain high and ardently desired ends, men of necessity come closer together, and

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every fresh point of contact becomes an added channel of grace for the increased inflow of the uniting spirit of God.

Why should we not expect just such results if the various branches of the universal church should some day agree to enter upon a world-wide campaign for the overthrow of some one colossal world-evil, or for the coronation of some particular Christian principle in the policies of the nations of the world? We never see the church truly unless we see it large. The church is never faithful to her calling unless she has her hands upon a task too great for human strength to accomplish. Already the experiment is in progress on a small scale both in the home and foreign fields. The modern emphasis on social service is a mighty forwarder of Christian union. It is a striking fact that men will work together long before they are willing to worship together. Right here lies a ray of light which may point the way to the solution of the vexing age-long problem of church unity. Men who refuse to partake under the same roof of the bread and the wine, do not hesitate to unite in taking the basin and towel and in imitating the Saviour in his acts of lowly service. It is not uncommon in many American communities to see the leaders of half a dozen or even a dozen religious bodies seated on the same platform, or addressing a meeting called for the purpose of creating public opinion on some important social or civic question. Here, then, Christian union has begun. Hearts are being knit together in Christian love by the benignant pressure of a common task. The attitude of one man to another is never likely to be quite the same after they have worked side by side to procure a blessing for their city. They may have been baptized after different fashions and been reared in widely separated communions, and may have entertained distorted notions of each other before they worked together, but the common labour finished, the heart of each is sweeter



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not only to his fellow worker, but to the whole Christian communion which that fellow worker represents.

The reason why church union is progressing more rapidly on the foreign field than at home, is because of the heavier burden borne by Christian workers in non-Christian lands. The work there is vaster, the problems are more urgent and discomfiting, the foes to be met and vanquished are more numerous and formidable, the result being that the representatives of different communions are forced into co-operative enterprises and forms of fellowship from which they would have shrunk in a Christian land. The non-Christian vineyard is so vast and the labourers are so few, that instinctively men draw together in spite of the barriers which logically ought to keep them apart. The power of arduous work for God to knit together separated hearts is nowhere so magnificently exhibited as in the foreign field, and they are no doubt true prophets who declare that it is the foreign missionary who is to teach the churches at home the blessedness and power of a united church.

Now if the members of diverse communions are all the while growing in the grace of sympathy, and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ under the discipline of a common task, may we not expect that the same method if adopted in a wider field will work on even a grander scale and with augmented celerity and effectiveness? In many localities Romanists and Greeks and Protestants are already standing side by side in the great fight against moral evils, and while the official fellowship of these three communions is a blessing yet to be attained, it is not utopian to hope that the unauthorized and spontaneous comradeship of today will prepare the way for a fuller toned fellowship tomorrow, and that out of the kindliness of feeling engendered by this united work will come in God's good time a union of hearts and lives which will make glad the nations of the earth.



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Thus far all steps looking toward ecclesiastical union have ended in disappointment, because of apparently insurmountable obstacles encountered at the very start. By laying hold of the most inflaming topics first, the way has been blocked to a consideration of those subjects upon which immediate agreement could reasonably be looked for. Gathering together the distinctive traditions of each Christian body and trying to ascertain just how many of these, if any, can be modified or surrendered, is not likely to lead us into the promised land. Clerical orders and church sacraments and ecclesiastical authority will always seem of paramount and overshadowing importance until Christian leaders get their eyes on something larger. It is not through a paring down of the letter so much as through the enlargement of the spirit that a united church is coming. We have all sinned and fallen short of the promised glory. There is none of us righteous, no, not one. It is futile to blame one another for the calamities and tragedies of the past. It is equally foolish to ask one another to surrender that which is just at present immeasurably precious and seemingly indispensable. The need of the hour is less a new creed than a new disposition. When our temper is nobler, our outlook will be broader, and when our spirit is sweeter our insight will be deeper. Temper and spirit are cleansed by obedience. It is when we obey that we get on. Only as we carry the burden which Christ bore, is it possible for us to understand God's will. The supreme desideratum of the church in the twentieth century is a world-task, a task difficult enough to tax the entire strength of the whole Christian assembly, and so clearly impossible as to force upon us a supreme venture of faith. Things that are possible are not the legitimate field of the followers of Jesus. It is the things which cannot be done which Christians must endeavour to do. Easy and commonplace duties may be left for those who have never caught a glimpse of

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the Man whose words filled men's minds with astonishment, and whose deeds flooded the world with wonder. A church which works no miracles can never hope to win and retain the allegiance of mankind.

Is there, then, a task at hand vast and difficult enough, and one whose performance is clearly according to the will of Christ, in which the churches of the twentieth century can unitedly engage? The evolution of mankind within the last hundred years has presented such a task. The church finds at its feet today an international world. There is such a thing at last as internationalism. It did not exist yesterday. Under the magic touch of steam and electricity a new world has been created, and darkness still broods upon the face of it. The continents were once separated by vast oceans, the oceans have dwindled to brooks. Nations once lived isolated lives, they now touch elbows along all the highways of thought and action. The solidarity of mankind was once a phrase in the books, it is now a concrete reality with which we are bound to deal. The ancient world of vast distances, and Chinese walls, and parochial conceptions has passed away, and in its place we have a world-city, a sort of Venice in which nations live side by side, and steer their gondolas day and night up and down its ocean avenues. The interests of Empires and Republics are strangely interlaced, and the lives of races are more and more intertwined and blended. It is an age of romance. Space is no more, and time is set at naught. Nations, separated from each other by the diameter of the earth, speak to one another as near neighbours. The estranging walls have fallen. The closed doors are open. The sky bends for the first time over a race that is indisputably one. Up out of this vast seething ocean of life perplexing problems emerge. The multiplied points of contact have created new perils. The threads of life get easily tangled, and nations as well as men lose their temper.

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International blunders are as scarlet, and international sins are red like crimson. Ambition and greed and cruelty and insolence and selfishness, the old sins of individuals, take corporate shape and manifest themselves in the realm of international conduct. There are international problems, but not a sufficient number of international minds to deal with them; there are international sins, but no developed international conscience to condemn them. There are international disputes, but only a meager arbitral machinery to settle them. There is an international commonwealth, but no international constitution. In this vast international realm it is only dawn, and the shadows lie heavy across the plains. There is much bullying and bluster, scramble and confusion, and as in all primitive stages of civilization each nation does that which is right in its own eyes. Ethical standards are low or non-existent, and the forces of man's animal nature are too often in the ascendant. The atheism of force is the creed of thousands, and men settle down in the shallow and brutalizing conviction that God is on the side of the strongest battalions, and that the basis of national greatness is naval tonnage. Even Christian men in large numbers do not see clearly that nations as well as individuals are under the law of God, that rewards and retributions are in store for them no less than for the individual soul which does well or evil. Sins which are heinous in private life are winked at in the intercourse of governments, and methods and practices which belong to the age of the cave dwellers are extolled and defended by Christian gentlemen. Dispositions and attitudes which we have banished from our hearts in dealing with our own countrymen are considered legitimate and even praiseworthy in our thoughts of foreign peoples. We have become Christian in the home, semi-Christian in our business, but remain largely barbaric in the realm of international feeling and conduct.

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This low-toned international life is reacting on life in all its departments. In many quarters of Christendom, Christian ideals are growing dim and Christian principles are openly repudiated. Nations cannot dress like barbarians and treat one another as though they were barbarians, and expect their citizens to retain permanently Christian principles and feelings in the ordering of their personal life. Life is of one piece. If justice is right anywhere it is right everywhere. If patience and forbearance and gentleness and compassion are wholesome in the home and the school, they are wholesome in the chambers of diplomacy. If it is godlike for a man to sacrifice himself for the sake of his brethren, it can be no less divine for a nation to make sacrifices for the advancement of the world. Compassion for the weak and forgiveness for the erring—this is heaven's law both for men and for nations. Modern statesmanship must then be dominated by the spirit of the Golden Rule, and modern diplomacy must be baptized into the spirit of the Son of God. Christian ideals must be planted along the frontiers of nations, and public opinion in every land must be moulded after the mind of Christ. Nations as well as Sunday School boys and girls need to be taught to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God. Science has done a great work: she has made all nations neighbours. Religion must do a greater work: she must make all nations brethren. This is the new piece of work carved out as it were by the hand of God, and laid before the eyes of the present generation.

It is an appalling sight, this world of ours, when one's eyes rest squarely on it, and one which must compel the Christian mind to pause and wonder. There is a sharp contrast between the Christian and the non-Christian worlds, and one discovers in Christian lands many evidences of progress and proofs that the Prophet of Nazareth has indeed the words of life. Christian civilization



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produces certain institutions which cannot be matched in the Orient, and performs gracious miracles wrought nowhere else. There are shining features of the Christian world which catch and hold the eye of every non-Christian observer. These, he says, I have never seen before, and he studies them with curiosity and enthusiasm.

Of all the striking features which Christendom presents today to the student of the non-Christian world, none perhaps is so conspicuous and surprising as its enormous and glittering display of naval and military apparatus. Europe is sown with Cathedrals, and from end to end she is a vast military camp. She bristles with church spires, and also with bayonets. Her priests are numbered by the tens of thousands, her soldiers by the millions. Around all her coasts play constantly huge ships of war. On land and water is heard incessantly the boom of guns engaged in target practice. Through the streets of her capitals there march daily battalions of armed men. The insignia of force are everywhere before the eye. The latest instruments of destruction are pictured from week to week in pictorial magazines, and skilful writers thrill their readers by vivid descriptions of the appalling havoc which these instruments can work. The minds of men, to an amazing extent, are kept on wars past or wars to come, and the air is darkened again and again by sombre and terrifying rumours.

The effect of all this is felt everywhere. National treasure is pitilessly consumed. The burden of taxation is year by year increased. Gold flows in a swelling stream into unproductive investments, and whole nations are systematically impoverished. In many lands there is just now a desperate effort to ascertain and stop the streams of national waste, but, strange to say, the largest of all the streams, militarism, flows on with undiminished tide.



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But the moral effects are more lamentable than the economic. A nation's life does not consist in the abundance of money it possesses. Its richest treasures are contentment and righteousness and joy and peace. Militarism is a thorn in the flesh, a disquieter of the mind. It fills the world with mistrust and suspicion, and darkens men's hearts with dismal forebodings, and glooms the days with fears. Rumours of wars sit like harpies at all the feasts, and scenes of imaginary national overthrow prey upon the fevered imagination.

Not only are mutual trust and confidence broken down, but the sense of justice and right becomes dulled. The diplomacy of Christendom is a tragedy. The manner in which Christian nations often deal with non-Christian peoples is a disgrace on the Christian name. When the history of our time is written there will be no more stained or damning pages than those which tell the story of how Christian nations dealt with Africa and Asia. The tone of Christian diplomacy is barbaric, because pagan ideals are enthroned in the national mind. Diplomats can hardly be expected to rise in conception and conclusion above the level of barbarians when they go to the council chamber ranking in influence according to the size and number of the guns which their respective nations display. It was the custom of the American Indians to carry clubs, and it was the chiefs with the heaviest clubs who were allowed to have their way. Reason is sadly handicapped in circles in which it is agreed that force shall speak the final word. Justice is with difficulty arrived at when men study international differences through the bore of a cannon. Armour plate disturbs the normal movement of the delicate needle of the conscience. Christendom is so loaded with armour plate that its treatment of non-Christian peoples is a byword and a hissing up and down the world.

The spiritual effects are more direful still. The ideals of the camp of Caesar are not the ideals of the

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upper chamber in Jerusalem. Christian nations cannot go on investing treasure in superdreadnoughts without finding that where their treasure is, there will their hearts be also. "These are lean years for religion," writes a religious editor in one Christian empire, and "vital religion is ebbing from us," writes a Christian leader in another. What hope can the church entertain of arresting the attention of young men to the tenderness and compassion of the Son of God on the cross, when Christian rulers and statesmen are all the while extolling and perfecting the enginery of force? The streams of influence which flow from the barracks of the world have never in any age been streams of a spiritual quickening.

But it is in her foreign missionary work that the church is especially embarrassed by the militarism of Christendom. Her message of peace on earth and good-will toward men falls on ears which cannot understand why such a message has not produced a different sort of fruit at home. It is not so much a divided church as an impotent church which brings the name of Christ into disrepute in non-Christian lands. Our ecclesiastical divisions are lamentable and to be repented of, but the feature of the Occident which has most deeply impressed the imagination of the Orient is not that Christian men prefer to carry on their work in different organizations, but that Christian nations are so afraid of one another that they encase themselves in armour at an expense which cripples all their philanthropic enterprises, and threatens to land not a few of them in ultimate bankruptcy. That the gospel of love should blossom so luxuriantly in Mauser rifles and lyddite shells, that the constant preaching of the gospel of forgiveness and love should hearten nations to beat their plows into swords and their pruning hooks into spears, this to a non-Christian is a mystery which overwhelms. In his heart he says to the Missionary: "What your nation

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is doing speaks so loud I cannot hear what you say." That the ruling classes in the countries which have sworn allegiance to the Prince of Peace should count it not only necessary but glorious to train at enormous expense their ablest-bodied young men in the art of killing human beings, this is the one greatest obstacle which lies in the way of the conversion of the non-Christian world. We have put an ironclad into the Oriental's eye, and it is difficult to get him now to see the Man of Galilee. When a Japanese General won a famous victory, he telegraphed at once to the German expert who had taught him the art of waging war: "We hope you are proud of your pupils." It is a sad spectacle, the disciples of Confucius and Buddha sitting at the feet of the disciples of Jesus, taking lessons in the art of firing guns which will kill a thousand men at once! A noted writer has recently said in words that scorch and sting: "If one were to dramatize the world movement of the struggle between Christ and Mars, Christ is down and out; despised and rejected of men; spat upon; nailed up and laughed to scorn; not even allowed the right not to be kicked when he is down."

Here then we are face to face with the most infamous scandal of Christendom. This is the running sore of the world. It is more heart breaking than African slavery, or any other tragedy which the non-christian world can show. It is not a tragedy which is decreasing, but running from bad to worse. Militarism grows by what it feeds on. Six Christian nations have within the last five years increased their military and naval budgets by over half a billion dollars, so that their annual expenditure is now over two billions. And the end is not yet. The present military and naval establishments are according to the experts quite too limited. The present apparatus is indeed extensive but it is far from adequate. The Empire which has the largest number of fighting ships finds she must increase the number of

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her squadrons, and the Empire which has the largest army is constrained to add to the number of her battalions. Militarism like other plagues is contagious. It spreads. It leaps across oceans, and infects the blood of nations heretofore immune. What the Christian nations of Europe have been long doing, the United States is now doing too. And what the United States is doing, Brazil is doing, and Argentina, and possibly Canada will do later on. Australia being also a Christian nation, has taken a proud place in the procession, so that round the world there is now a belt of Christian nations worshipping at the shrine of Armed Peace.

This is the situation, and the question is what shall the church do with it? Is she to be the deliverer which was promised for this and all other scourges, or must the nations look for another? The world's political leaders confess themselves baffled. They have searched in every quarter for a way of deliverance, but no way has been found. The political economists have presented their figures and arguments but all in vain! Peace Congresses have suggested one panacea after another, but all alike have been rejected. Men say, "if only six nations would agree, if only three nations would come to a friendly understanding!" but alas, that is the very thing which cannot be brought about. No nation will walk alone, nor are the nations willing to walk together. They have gotten themselves into an *impasse*. They move in a vicious circle. All the doctors see that the disease is dangerous, but no one of them can prescribe a remedy. The nations are stricken with impotency. They are slaves of a policy they cannot throw off. They are helpless in the grip of forces which are driving them on they know not whither. That naval rivalry among Christian nations entrusted with the leadership of the world is folly and insanity and wickedness, is evident to every sane Christian man. And yet what can be done? It is not a question which any one nation can



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settle—it must be settled by a higher than national power. Who in the great crisis is to be the saviour? “The banker,” says one. “He holds the money bags. War is a business which involves money. The first question in every war is how can it be financed? If the banker will not open his safe, then war shall be no more.” “The merchant,” says another. “His desire is to make money. War disturbs the machinery of trade. Commerce is ruined by armed strife. The future belongs to the merchant, and this is our hope for world-wide peace.” “No, it is the teacher,” cries still another. “In him lies the hope of the future. Let the text books of history be written by the friends of good will, and let the teacher instruct boys and girls in the horrors of war. This in time will deliver us out of our distresses.” Occasionally the editor is held up as the Messiah. Lord Rosebery recently told the Press Club of London that more than any other body of men, the men of the press have the power to promote or avert the horrors of war. But probably the man most generally picked out as the strongest force working today for world peace is the Socialist. With apostolic fervour he preaches the doctrine of human brotherhood. With the heroism of the ancient prophets he stands up and denounces the wickedness of war. With the confidence of Moses he faces the Pharaoh who today impoverishes all wage-earners, and says: “In the name of humanity, let my people go!” It is a noteworthy fact that the man in the street searching for a Deliverer does not look in the direction of the Christian church. It does not seem to occur to him that in these high and difficult matters the church can be of service. In his dreams of emancipation from the slavery of Armed Peace, he does not put his trust in Pope or Cardinals, in Patriarchs, Archbishops or Bishops, in Pastors and Teachers or Elders. The whole organized body of those who have been baptized into the name of Jesus are brushed aside



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as a negligible force in humanity's greatest struggle. That the church of Jesus Christ is not ordinarily taken into account by those who are most earnestly seeking deliverance from the weight of armaments which lies like a vast incubus on the hearts of the nations, is the severest arraignment of the church leaders of Christendom which has been made in the present generation.

Yet why should not the world look confidently to the church as the mightiest of all the forces to be invoked for assistance in ending the galling thralldom of armed peace? Christians are by the terms of their calling peacemakers. They are the confessed champions of a leader whose proudest title is "Prince of Peace." They are pledged exponents of sympathy and good-will. They are under vows to work for human brotherhood. The Book which they call holy cries out trumpet-tongued against enmity and bloodshed. It pleads from first to last for tenderness and mercy. One of its most piercing voices declares that nations shall some day beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks and that they will not learn war any more. In a vivid picture it shows us an enormous bonfire in which the boots of war and garments rolled in blood are consumed. All Christians have consented to sit at the feet of a race whose most gifted seers saw clearly that the pomp and pageantry of war are things in which the Creator of the world takes no delight, and that those who take the sword must ultimately perish by the sword. Not daunted by the military prestige and boastings of Assyria or Babylon or Egypt, the Hebrew prophets steadfastly declared that the ideal leader of men is not a warrior, and that when the redeemer of nations should finally appear, he would not come riding in a war chariot, but seated on the back of an ass. All this is written large in the book which all Christians of every name count sacred. The agreements of Christians are far more numerous and vital than their differences, and one of

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the points on which they all agree is that in the Holy Scriptures God spoke and speaks by divers portions and in divers manners to the human race. Moreover all Christians bend the knee to Jesus, and confess that he is King of kings and Lord of lords. Through him they hear the Eternal speaking unto men. His words are the words of God, and will outlast the stars. Among his words are these: "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the Sons of God." "Love your enemies, pray for them that persecute you, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use you and persecute you." On sundry sentences of Scripture Christians place different interpretations, but they all agree in believing that God is love, and that to know him is life eternal. The great commandment, and the new commandment, and the Golden Rule, and the Lord's Prayer are all combined in the platform on which all Christians stand. All Christians accept Paul's great declaration that God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and they believe with him that men of every race and nation are one in Christ Jesus.

With such a creed and marching under such a Leader, what hinders the church from throwing itself into the great world struggle for international brotherhood? This is the day of her opportunity. There is a tide in the affairs of institutions, which, taken at the flood, leads on to glory. No such opportunity for needed service has come to the church in a thousand years. The door is wide, and there are many adversaries. Mischief makers are abroad. Into the wide and fascinating realm of international life venturers of many stripes have hastened, and by their words and deeds they wound the cause of brotherhood. The newspaper reporter is there, reporting the things always which irritate, and which fan the fires of suspicion. The cocky commodore and admiral are there, snobbish custodians of their nation's honour, ever alert for insults, and always dis-

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cussing imaginary wars, and writing articles which set the gossips in national capitals chattering. The promoter is there, the salaried agent of gun-making firms, the brisk exploiter of the interests of selfish corporations, the pushing seeker after concessions and privileges backed up by powerful syndicates at home, all these are the embroilers of nations, and the fomenters of world-wide ill-will. Because the enemies of peace are numerous is an added reason why the Christian church must not be recreant to her trust.

What then can the church do? It is not for her to chide because of bygone transgressions, nor to sit in judgment, apportioning among the nations praise and blame. Who made her a judge or a divider over the nations of the earth? It is not her province to make programmes, or to determine the size of military and naval budgets, but rather to create the atmosphere in which all such budgets shall shrink, and public officials shall find it easier to lay out programmes which merit Christ's approbation. Militarism will be overthrown not by the smashing of its armaments, but by the growth of a fraternal spirit. The armour of Goliath came down only when the giant fell. It was not his armour which made him fall, but the death-wound in his forehead. Militarism is the Goliath of our modern world, and no man can touch his armour until his spirit has been weakened. We are not fighting against flesh and blood, but against spiritual principalities and powers. No nation will allow itself to be stripped of its armour either by the mailed fist of a neighbour or the persuasions of reason. The armour must be melted by hearts which have been baptized into the spirit of brotherly kindness. The world's climate must be changed before the flowers of Paradise can blossom. Summer will come only when the universal church is aflame. Armaments are the creation of a materialistic age to which science has given miracle-working powers. Dreadnoughts are the glaciers

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of an age of ice. They can no more be broken by arguments than icebergs can be pulverized by the blows of mallets in the hands of children. Icebergs melt under the kiss of the sun, and so will armour plate melt under the touch of a spirit made kindlier by a fuller knowledge of God in Christ.

Here then is a call for the full-toned proclamation of the Christian gospel by the entire company of Christian believers. To scatter the clouds of misunderstanding and break down the barriers of distrust, and stem the flow of the currents of ill-will, to widen the national sympathies, and sweeten the national temper, and make sensitive the national conscience, so that every Christian nation shall stretch out friendly hands of fellowship to the whole world, this is a work worthy of archangels, and it is the work to which the church of Christ is irrevocably committed. If war is hell, then armed peace is purgatory, and it is the mission of the church to save the world from both.

That is a thrilling cry of Karl Marx: "Proletarians of all lands unite!" But this is a cry more thrilling still: "Christians of all lands unite! Unite in abolishing the appeal to arms! Unite in stopping the wasting of the people's treasure on instruments of blood! Unite in extending in public thought and feeling the boundaries of mutual appreciation and good-will!" Nothing is too good or great to hope for if the gospel of Christ is true. God loves and reigns. Christ is his eternal Son. His kingdom shall surely be established on this earth. The church exists to bring humanity to God. It is a heavy load, and the united strengths of the entire apostolic company are needed. We cannot agree yet on many points in doctrine and practice, but if we are willing to toil and sacrifice in delivering the world from humanity's most conspicuous and devastating scourge, we shall find at the end of the day that in our efforts to build up in the hearts of nations the ideals of brotherhood, our

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own hearts have been wondrously sweetened and enlarged, and that we have brought the great day nearer when around the earth there shall be one flock under one Shepherd.



# Love in the Churches

BY PERCY DEARMER, D.D.

We are divided at the present day, not because we love schism, but because our forefathers were half barbarous. From the first great separation between East and West to the subdivision of the West at the Reformation, the story is the same. Men acted with the petulance of children, with the unreasoning hate of savages. They made the worst of everything; they hugged their prejudices, glorified their ignorances, made no attempt to understand their opponents, and turned small differences into vital dogmas. There were doubtless saints in plenty at all times; but the saints were seldom public men; and it must be confessed that even the saints were not always untainted by the belligerent atmosphere of society. Christendom as a whole went cheerfully on in an unchristian manner; for Christendom was but partially christianized—less Christian than it is now, and less civilized. The child and the savage quarrel at the least provocation, and quarrel bitterly. Society showed this characteristic because it had not reached maturity and was very far short of the measure of the stature of that manhood which is in Christ.

It does not matter to us what our own particular Church did at any particular period. We may be pretty certain that if our predecessors did not persecute, it was because they had not the chance. We need not “bow our heads in shame” (as some people are fond of doing, or of saying they do) because two or three centuries ago the authorities of our Church did something disgraceful. We had better keep our shame for our own sins,

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negligencies, and ignorances; and find out how far it lies in our power to undo the evils we have inherited. We need not be ashamed of our ancestors, nor blame them, because they had not emerged further out of the cruel childhood of our race. That we have emerged further than they is due to the fact that they went before us, and that among them were saints and seers who were slowly educating the world out of the evils which they had inherited from primitive man, and which primitive man had inherited from the beasts.

Neither let us any longer make party capital out of the past sins of any other Church. The dead past may bury its dead; and the lesson of it all is that Christianity is far above the natural bent of man, and that it takes humanity long to become Christian, so that the religion of Jesus is still today far in advance of us, and is still the goal of human progress. Our task is to recognize that we still inherit the evil, in less brutal but in very real forms—the evil of the past. Now this evil is precisely as our Lord said, that the natural man loves his friends and hates his enemies. He exaggerates the virtues of his own party or his own Church; he exaggerates the faults of other parties or other Churches; and thus he puts the gospel of hate in the place of the gospel of love. This was almost taken for granted until a few years ago. It is still common enough.

Now certain profound intellectual changes in our own time have put mankind in the way of accepting the gospel of love. The superficial effects of these changes in upsetting many people's beliefs are small compared with the fact that they are bringing mankind as a whole a great stage towards the fulness of Christ. They are: *first*, the creation of the historic sense (both in history proper and in the doctrine of development), which is probably the greatest achievement of the nineteenth century; and, *secondly*, the growth of the scientific habit of mind, which is spreading in ever wider circles a new

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sense of the inviolability of truth. Largely as a result of this modern *praeparatio evangelica*, we all find ourselves drifting from the partisanship of yesterday into the growing charity of tomorrow. THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY is a sign indeed of the new spirit.

It will be noticed that the same spirit is at work in the still more difficult sphere of Nationalism. Here, surely, more than anywhere else, to love your friends and hate your enemies, used to be a generally accepted principle. Yet here too we are learning that *you can love your friends without hating your enemies*. It has quietly become a commonplace that you can love Englishmen without hating Frenchmen (a state of mind almost inconceivable to the John Bull of a few years ago); it has become vulgar to decry other nations, and natural to admire them; and yet we English love better than ever our little island in the sea; and we love its inhabitants also better than we did, are less indifferent to their miseries, their poverty, diseases, oppressions and afflictions. To patriotism we have added *internationalism*, which is so modern an idea that the very need of the word was not felt till Jeremy Bentham coined it a century ago. A handful of people had then begun to realize that nations have rights and duties like individuals; that there are other possible relations between them besides those of ambition and war; that nations can be made amenable, like individuals, to law, and like individuals can consider questions of equity and honour without necessarily resorting to the duel. In quite recent years this has become a commonplace. We now understand patriotism not only as love of one's own country, but also as including respect for the patriotism of others.

Churches may continue schismatic; but if they do, they will be the only schismatic element left in Christendom. Legislation, statesmanship, capital, labour, science, art, and every form of social well-doing, from education to garden-cities, are becoming more and more international.

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Well, are the Churches going to remain as the surviving apostles of negation, prejudice, ignorance, exclusiveness, partisanship, enmity—in a word, of Schism? If they are, there is the end of the Churches. Baron von Hügel has recently deplored, and rightly deplored, the decline of Institutional Christianity. But does not the cause lie precisely in the faults of the Churches, in their want of Christianity—in their outward Schism (a scandal which puts the killing weapon of contempt into the hand of the unbeliever), and in the results of their Schism? In their inability, for instance, to remove abuses which have been intensified by the withdrawal of counteracting elements (as Anglicanism became reactionary because of the loss of the democratic element in Puritanism), and which they have hugged because of opposition; their one-sidedness, in their exaggeration of their own distinctive tenets, and their ignoring of the experience of other Christian bodies; their inability to improve by mutual and international conference (as medicine, and all departments of science habitually do), and their consequent obscurantism. Liberal theologians are apt to imagine that they at least are free from this last defect; yet how many are guilty of it in their prevalent insensibility to devotion, beauty, fellowship, to those essential elements, indeed, in religion, Cultus and Communion. The Churches are in fact blinkered by Schism; they can only see their own well-worn bit of track which is immediately before their eyes. So one talks about our great Big-ender principles, another, about the Little-ender faith for which his fathers lived or died. We so often ask, Is this true to Big or Little-end principles?—and thus we forget to ask, Is this true to the truth? It is extremely difficult to remember in an age of separation that the egg has two ends.

But above all we are weakened by the want of charity consequent on schism. The deepest moral sense of mankind is revolted by it, quietly but profoundly

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revolted. Men turn away from Institutional Religion; they turn elsewhere for consolation. And indeed they turn elsewhere in vain, which makes our failure the more pathetic.

Now the remedy for all ills is to be more Christian. And the remedy in this case is so simple, that but for the lingering power of the ape and tiger in our hearts it could never surely have been missed. We have only to practise the gospel of love.

We do not need to practise argument, or to perpetuate the complaining in our streets; we do not need might or power, but only the spirit of Christ. We do not need to quarrel with our friends and leave our own Church: we only need not to quarrel with anybody. We need to love our friends without hating our enemies. And, one step more, we need to love our enemies. How different would Church history have been if the Churches had even tried to act on the principle, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you." It is so simple! But it is also so difficult, because it is a reversal of the instinctive habits of man. The ape and the tiger outhowl it in our hearts.

If to love our enemies is a practicable Christian duty, to love those who are only alienated from us by belonging to another Church ought to be at this period of the World's history by comparison easy. But it involves certain acts and qualities which are not always easy—prayer, study, imagination, the quality of friendship, the practise of courtesy, and a certain boldness. To love another Church involves taking the trouble to understand it—involves the question, "Millions (or thousands) of people love that Church. Why do they love it? What is there that they find in it to love? This something must at least be worthy of my apprehension." Now to answer that question requires some consistent



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effort: many never even ask it: many will only apply such a principle of intelligent charity to a Church with which they already have much in common. We all know, for instance, the type of Anglican who gains himself a reputation for broad-mindedness by fraternizing with the Free Churches, and attacking Roman Catholics and those who rejoice in the name of Catholic within his own Communion. We know the type of "reunion" gathering which assumes Christianity to be commensurate with Protestantism, and ignores the Church of Rome. And in England, where the Eastern Church is so little in evidence, we find it extremely difficult to overcome the tendency to think of the problems of reunion as if they concerned only the Church of England, the Free Churches, and the Church of Rome—forgetting that vast Eastern Church, so deeply rooted in the lives of its people, and destined, unless some cataclysm intervene, to be by far the largest as well as the most consistent Church in Christendom before the end of the present century. The Eastern Church, even in these days of travel, is so remote from us; in the Middle Ages it was ignored altogether; and Western Europe still inherits that habit.

There remains a yet more difficult case, that of "un-orthodox" Christians. The Nonconformists who left the Church of England carried with them the faith of the General Councils. That amount of common Christianity seemed to be secured. But it is no longer so. One of those Nonconformist Churches became Unitarian; and today schools of "heterodox" theologians are immensely powerful everywhere—and are beginning to spread even among Eastern Orthodoxy. At the present moment many High Church Anglicans are holding out the hand of friendship to their whilom opponents of the Low Church party, with a view to joining forces against Liberalism. It may well be in the future that the whole of Christendom will have moved in the same way, and that there will be two camps—the Orthodox

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and the Liberal. The result would, I fear, be disastrous to Christianity; and the fruits of victory would probably be reaped by some new power from outside. What can we do to prevent it? To my mind the law of Charity still applies. We cannot, we dare not, we must not, allow the name of Christian to be denied to those who cannot accept the Deity of Christ. This is the difficulty that led to the recent *impasse* over the Divinity Degrees at Oxford. The position of the Professors was that they wished to throw the degrees open to Nonconformists, but that it was impossible to define a Christian, and that therefore the degrees must be thrown open to men of every religion and of no religion. They thought that there was no danger of the opponents of Christianity taking advantage of this. Personally, I believe that this is the first thing an Indian Mohammedan or Buddhist student would do, if he determined to devote his life to a war against Christianity. He would go to England, and return to his own country with an Oxford D.D. degree—or perhaps he would remain as a teacher in England. But the point we are immediately concerned with is this,—it was thought impossible to define a Christian, because of the degrees of unbelief in dogma which exist among Christians.

But *is* it impossible to define a Christian? Our Lord has surely answered that difficulty also for us. He accepted all who followed Him, all who acted in His Name. He did not set up dogma as a standard: He set up love. Above all He accepted and rejoiced in the personal devotion of a handful of men, none of whom believed in His Divinity at first, and all of whom in the hour of failure lost what little faith they had acquired. Surely, it is our duty, in this age especially when our traditions and our thoughts are in chaos, when men cannot think alike if they would, to accept as Christians all who proclaim themselves such, all who use the name of Christ, who love Him and try to follow Him. Men like Al-

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bert Schweitzer not Christians! Heterodox they may well be—bold, destructive, brilliant, exaggerated. But Schweitzer himself has answered the question by giving up his great positions in Europe to go out as a simple medical missionary among the heathen.

It is, then, our duty to practise the art of loving those who are furthest removed from us in their form of Christianity,—of appreciating them and reverencing them, to begin with. Doing this, we shall grow also in appreciation of the fellowship to which they belong. For it is true that to love the men of a particular society is also to grow in loving appreciation of the society itself to which they owe their characteristics. To like Germans is to like Germany; to foregather with Nonconformists is to get respect and admiration for the special virtues of Nonconformity. We cannot love the members and hate the body. The whole history of nationalities shows us this: When Englishmen hated France, they hated Frenchmen; when they came to admire Frenchmen they admired France. The hatred in Christendom of one Church for the other would not have been possible if the hatred of individuals had not been so bitter. There would still have been differences, but the differences would not have become unmanageable; and time would have solved them.

Thus, the duty of loving those who differ from us means the duty of loving them in the plural, and of loving them in their corporate capacity. The duty of the Churches, in a word, is to make friends, and that of the individual to seek always for grounds of friendship, to look for excellencies, to practise admiration, and to shun contempt as the very spirit of evil. And this we have to practise where it is least easy. Doubtless it is better to make friends with those Churches that we have most in common with, than to remain in stiff-necked isolation; but there may be an admixture of mere strategical motives in this—the desire to strengthen our group as a

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weapon of offence against another—and the Christian spirit requires of us precisely the attempt to appreciate those forms of Christianity against which we are tempted to combine.

The world is learning Internationalism. The Church has to learn Interdenominationalism. That is a much more recent word—is it more than ten or twenty years old?—because the phenomenon is so recent. It is quite an ugly word, because it is so very modern. But it expresses a valuable definition of the word Catholic, which will perhaps in time replace it.

Now Interdenominationalism means a recovery of that lost article of the Creed, “I believe in the holy Catholic Church.” These individual Christians whom we have to love—and not to love merely as human beings, with the love we ought to bear to all heathens and non-Christians, but with the special “love of the brethren”—these individual Christians whom we have to love as the partakers with us of Christ, in their collective millions form His mystical body, the holy and catholic Church. This is the Jerusalem which is the Mother of us all, the fellowship to which our fullest and highest love belongs—every Christian in the Church, and the Church in every Christian, and all in Christ, the head of all. Here we have the final reason for our love of all the Churches, as well as a regulation of that love. We are to love other Churches, not only because we are to love the members which they contain, but also because we are to love the Catholic Church in which they are contained. It is not into our own Denomination that we baptize our children, but into the Catholic Church: in this at least we have remained faithful to Christ. That many of us should still think that our own Denomination *is* the one and only Church may be dealt with gently, as an inheritance from past ages. It was common once to argue thus; it was a natural result of the



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ancient combative atmosphere. But this disposition cannot survive for ever, since it is not in accordance with facts. The stiffest Churches will insensibly modify the idea, as the Eastern Orthodox Church is doing today. The idea, too, that one particular bishop, or metropolitan, or communion, has jurisdiction over one particular portion of the earth's surface, has been destroyed by modern conditions of life. It is difficult to maintain seriously that all the Christian inhabitants of New York owe their allegiance to the Church of A, or of B, or of C, and that those who have been so unfortunate as to prefer A to B, or C to both, are in the sin of schism. As a matter of fact we do not so argue nowadays; we soften whatever doctrine our predecessors committed themselves to by counteracting theories; we use a little charity and common sense. We unite to write articles for *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY*, and commit ourselves to the principle that there is such a thing as "the Faith, Work, and Thought of Christendom."

America is, of course, the country where Free Churchmen, Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and the Eastern Churches have learnt most by the hard logic of actuality to modify their inherited ideas in a Christian direction. Every race and every Church has its representatives, and to refuse some mutual recognition becomes an affectation. In England one learns the new spirit most from Interdenominational Conferences, and especially from the ever growing necessity of acting together on social questions. Facts and personalities make their inevitable impression on those who come, so that people become ashamed of any prejudices or suspicions they formerly entertained; the moral element grows from knowledge, and inherited ideas are quickly modified. Just so it is that foreign travel removes the absurd ideas which the peoples of different nations used to have about one another. One remarkable example of charity through mutual intercourse and admiration is, I think, the village



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of Ober Ammergau. There, thanks to the drama, exists a Roman Catholic population, which is especially well versed in the Gospels, of a simple Evangelical spirit, and in relations of friendship with Christians of all sorts in almost every part of the world. And there one seems to be a century ahead in the spirit of Christian charity. Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Protestants, renew their friendship every year, admire, respect one another, and are good friends. The visitors recognize the excellence of the religion to which the good and talented villagers belong; the villagers respect the religion of the visitors, and appreciate the common devotion to the Master whose earthly life they dedicate themselves to represent.

Two other ways in which the frank recognition of Denominations is brought about must here be mentioned, though their vast importance is too obvious to need insistence. The fellowship of scholars is a real precursor, profoundly strong, of the coming fellowship of Christendom. The library and the encyclopaedia are really doing what the General Councils did in early times; there is no favour in the world of scholarship, no denominational exclusiveness in the co-operation of students; there is an increasing mutual respect and searching after truth even in polemical writings. How far are we removed from the bitter, brilliant, and abusive pamphleteering of the seventeenth century! Even more far-reaching, perhaps, in its ultimate results will be the work of the Mission Field. That work is still in its youth; but already how much charity has been learnt by those whose work compels them to put Christ before all else! And when great national Churches arise in China, India, Japan, they will surely refuse to take over with our gold the dross of our inherited enmities.

So the logic of facts is compelling us to take our stand on the frank recognition of Denominations. There they are. It is useless to pretend that they do not exist.

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We have to accept them lovingly, through our love of their members and through our love of the Catholic Church to which their members belong. There are many knots to be untied—perhaps some to be cut, as the State has cut the worst already by insisting on mutual toleration, on common rights of worship and of citizenship.

Our method of dealing with the situation will be based upon the great working principle that *Men are generally right when they affirm, and wrong when they deny*—which is partly because they generally know something about what they affirm, and little about what they deny; and partly because the spirit of denial is intrinsically evil—or, as Mr. W. B. Yeats has put it, “Hell is the place of those that deny.”

That working principle need not be emphasized here, since it is the rule of this QUARTERLY that its contributors must write positively and constructively. We have abjured house-breaking. We are to build the walls of Jerusalem. Of course we shall have difficulties. We shall be confronted with facts or principles which to the mind of one or other of us seem really to require violent dealing, as being themselves fatal to the cause of Christian charity that we are trying to further. But even then the principle of affirmation will help us, and, though it may divert our action, it may divert it to something better. We can always do as Montesquieu said St. Louis of France always did—“*Il ôta le mal en faisant sentir le meilleur.*”

Two practical lines of policy seem to me urgent, in addition to prayer and love which must be the source of all that is to be rightly done.

The first is that we must work for a general abandonment of proselytism—shall I call it a general disarmament? I am quite sure that the principle remaining cause of disunion and uncharity, now that persecution is gone, is the spirit of proselytism. Let every one

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examine his own mind, and he will see that his like or dislike for other Churches is largely influenced by the extent to which they mind their own business and leave his own Church alone. In the common arena of ordinary public life this feeling is predominant. Indeed, if another Church is attempting the loyalty of your own members, you cannot avoid marshalling forces in your own defence: you cannot avoid, in fact, a state of war, with all the bitterness and prejudice that warfare involves. An Anglican is perhaps better able to appreciate this from both sides than most other Christians. He knows the force of the argument, "Why did these men leave us, and fill the country with sects? Let us entice back their members and destroy the sects." But he has learnt, if he is wise, that the separations of the past were not more due to those who seceded than to those who were left, and that in any case the living are not responsible for the sins of the dead. The fact of many Churches remains. It is a fact of the present day. It is no use blaming people for it. It is also no use (and this we are just beginning to learn) trying to remove it by attempts at proselytization. *Proselytizing Churches do not increase.* We are just learning this from that modern department of knowledge—statistics. And we find our breath taken away by the discovery. Whether we have tried to proselytize or not in the past, the discovery must profoundly affect our view of the problem.

It may indeed be that some Churches will disappear, but that will never be due to efforts at their destruction from the outside; such efforts would give them a new lease of life. It may also well be that some Churches will grow much larger; but such growth will not be due to any hunting for converts from other Churches, but to their winning a general love through their very lack of the proselytizing spirit, and through the quiet concentration of their members on worship and good works. This may well be the reason why proselytism fails. It

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is at least a law of God that it does always fail ultimately. Here too we have our Lord's own words to guide us: there was that in the proselytizing habit which excited His deep scorn, which roused Him to one of His most biting ironies, when He denounced the Pharisees who compassed sea and land to make one proselyte.

We have then to resist the very human temptation of the natural man (who is a hunting man) to make captures. We then find that we begin to make friends. Again, we Anglicans have cause to know this. Nothing is so remote from us as the Eastern Church—language, customs, distance, ways of thought, all should keep us alien. Yet our friendship grows. And in no case could any Englishman of whatever creed look with anything but friendliness upon the Greek and Russian Churches in England; the stiffest Anglican would not dream of thinking them schismatic, and even though he held the most geographical theory of the powers of the Bishop of London over that city, he would regard the Greek Church in the Moscow Road as legitimate. The Eastern congregations in England bring no complications, effect no possible kind of schism, secure universal good will. And why? Because their priests confine themselves to their own people. Yet the formulas of the Eastern Orthodox are at least as stiff as those of any other Church.

The other line of practical policy that I would suggest is that we should all increase the occasions of worshipping together, and of interdenominational sermons and addresses. Many acts of this kind are prevented by actual laws or rules; but so far we have done far less than these rules allow. Let me refer only to a few ways in which Anglicans could hold fellowship with other Churches, without any sacrifice of principle. We could occasionally attend the worship of other Churches, and thus learn something of them. This has commonly been stigmatized as schismatic; but we have to recognize that, with the



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removal of the geographical idea, and with the growth of the frank and friendly recognition of other Churches, it is the reverse of schismatic—it is charitable. Similarly, our priests could occasionally preach in the churches of other religious bodies—a custom I believe less uncommon in America than in England. There is no law, either of our Church or nation, to prevent it; and though Bishops have often disliked the attempt of an Anglican priest to preach in a Nonconformist church, they have been powerless to prevent such an act. Or why should not Nonconformists sometimes preach in our Anglican churches? It would often be a great spiritual blessing, and it would remove a host of misunderstandings. Laymen can preach with the Bishop's licence. Why should not his licence be given sometimes to Nonconformist ministers? The idea arouses the anger of a powerful section of the Church press. But is not this just one of those unchristian states of mind which we have inherited from a more barbarous past, and which we have to overcome? No principle is involved in it—except the principle of Christian charity. A principle would indeed be involved in any proposal for corporate communions in the Eucharist; and well intended actions like that of the Bishop of Hereford may stir up more uncharity than they settle. But even here something may be done in the way of non-communicating attendance. Years ago I was staying with a college friend who had become a Congregationalist minister; and we went together before breakfast and “heard Mass” at the Anglican parish church; it was a “ritualistic” service, and we enjoyed it very much. It is surely a good thing sometimes to make a spiritual communion at a Eucharist where yet we should not wish otherwise to participate, because we respect the laws of our own Church and of the Church whose temporary guest we are. The strongest doctrines about Apostolic succession or the Real Presence do not in themselves prevent such acts of fellowship as I have



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suggested. It is not so much doctrines that stand in the way as the spirit in which they have been used.

Why, again, should not members of other Churches be asked to speak at Church Congresses, or for that matter at smaller gatherings, such as Diocesan Conferences, also? Here no principle is at stake, only we allow ourselves to be ruled by the rather stockish traditions of past times. The great Edinburgh Missionary Conference was a wonderful revelation of what can already be done. We have now to grasp the principle that we should join together as much, instead of as little, as possible, and to guide our future policy on those lines.

I have suggested enough, and perhaps more than enough. Christendom will surely use the new charity which is pouring into our hearts, the new wisdom which modern science and statesmanship have taught us, to make atonement for the ancient sins, to undo the long-established wrongs, to set up the banner once more of peace and good-will, to unravel the desperate tangle of Christendom, to lead the world in love and guide it along the ways of peace. And we, joyful to be alive in a time so rich in opportunity, will keep our hearts quick, our minds imaginative and alert, to hear and to apply the oft-repeated words of the aged Apostle, "Little children, love one another."

# Protestantism and Catholicism

## Two Methods Even More Than Two Religions

BY JAMES LINDSAY, D.D., F.R.S.E.

The title of this Paper contains the thesis that I am now concerned to maintain. Endless confusion has existed, and still exists, for lack of recognition of the distinction here emphasized. By theological and other writers, Protestantism and Catholicism are almost invariably treated, and contrasted, as two systems of religion, and the prior and deeper problem of their methods is either unperceived, or, at least, neglected. Hence we have treatments of Protestantism and Catholicism in which no perception is shown of the genius displayed by Catholicism, as compared with Protestantism, for translating its ideas into institutions, or of the strength it borrowed from the realm of moral and historical fact, and not merely from that of doctrine. Protestantism, it should always be remembered, is, strictly viewed, not a religion; religion is a life, rather than a method; Protestantism is a method, before, and even more than, it is a religion. Liberty is its philosophical principle; only when it has taken form as a religion does Protestantism consist of the two indispensable factors, the authority of Scripture and the right of free inquiry. But it is not correct to say, as is often done, that the Reformation sought to furbish up Scripture, instead of the infallible Church and its dogma, for even Luther practised criticism on the Scriptures. The right of the individual is to be free—the freedom of a Christian man being Luther's last principle—but it is the duty of the Church

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or institutional Protestantism to stand for definite belief. The great Reforming spirits—Luther, Zwingli, Melancthon, Calvin—sought to give a new knowledge of the truth in a free but methodical manner.

With far more insight than the dogmatic fixtures that had gone before it, such knowledge had yet to give expression to a complete world-view in at least its main features. Catholicism, as a whole, or in its institutional aspect, denied to individual members the immediacy of relation to God, which it yet claimed for itself. Catholicism in this institutional sense was quite incapable of giving human personality its true, supreme place, and equally impotent to recognize duly human responsibility, through its keeping the individual conscience in a vassal condition. The method of claiming freedom, self-guidance, the right to judge, is one; the method of consenting to be minors in perpetuity, and to yield a docile obedience to priestly interpretation and authoritative command, is another; and the resultant religions will be no more than their diverse principles and methods allow. For the principle, so often overlooked, has here to be kept in mind, *omne majus continet in se minus*. Religious liberty and the right of private judgment are, of course, not to be thought of as immediately compassed by the Reformational movement, which rather brought about a new set of social and political conditions, under which these would at length be fully secured. The desire for liberty was as yet too much subordinated to the quest for truth, which latter meant regard for a particular set of doctrines. Mainly in an indirect and involuntary fashion was the cause of liberty, in the broad outer sense, furthered; and the Reformers were too much inclined to reserve the right of private judgment, or the principle of religious liberty, for their own use only. The Protestant absorption with the subjective interests of Christianity was excessive, to the neglect of those that were objective.

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Only on the slow subsidence of the Reformational movement did the Protestant principle emerge from the influence of hard and confessional orthodoxies, and from pietism, illuminism, and romanticism, to become at last a constructive spirit of our own and recent times. Protestantism, grown more ideal, has still to seek the courage, and secure the consciousness, of its own principles, and enter more fully into the largeness of reason. Protestantism and Catholicism alike regard the authority of Christ as supreme; they rank derivative authority according to the trustworthiness with which it presents His teaching. They would both do well to remember that even His authority is rooted in the Ground of all authority: "the word which ye hear is not Mine, but the Father's Who sent Me." They can very well join hands, in view of their agreement on the doctrine of Deity and other matters, in combined efforts to lift the heavy and oppressive weight of the Naturalism of our time, which owns no revealed authority or supernatural intuition whatsoever. But when a distinguished French representative of the Roman standpoint, wrote, some years ago, amid some generous Protestant references, of a reunion on the basis of the complete acceptance of the principle of authority (*l'acceptation complète du principe d'autorité*), he overlooked, in a strange manner, the invincible objections of the Protestant conscience to such a course. To him the Protestant Church cannot have an objective rule of faith, for, in his view, it has not the Holy Spirit preserving it infallibly from error. In such proposals for the return of Protestants, there is no constructive endeavour whatever to reconcile freedom with authority, modern science with ancient dogma, and progress with permanence.

In the matter of authority, the formal principle of Catholicism is that of dependence upon the joint authority of Church and Scripture, putting aside for the present any effects of the decree of Papal infallibility. But,

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from the Protestant standpoint, the rationality of any dependence upon authority is to be insisted upon: authority must commend itself as valid on grounds of reason, and not without such justification may reason own or acknowledge it. This is not saying that it has no validity apart from reason's acknowledgment of it. But it is to be affirmed that any authority must be rejected which would subvert, crush, or stultify, the exercise of reason. There does not seem, however, to be any reasonable room to deny a place and function for authority, even external authority. That function is initial and important, albeit it is by no means exclusive. Authority, in the sense now spoken of, is objective, and its recognition of necessity subjective. The acceptance of authority is rooted in social relations, or what Sabatier calls the "organic conditions of the life of the species." Authority may thus be taken as a social-psychic problem. It is, in fact, the central problem of social psychology. The problem of authority is no mere theological one, in which the Divine authority is announced for dogma ready for acceptance. The problem is one which admits of philosophical handling, wherein authority is seen to be a psychological category, and not a mere historical one. Not but what the social differentiations, under the principle of authority, have been impressive enough, as running back to the beginnings of history, in the case of every nation and people. The forces of authority are historically necessary, but the principle of authority is a psychological necessity.

In a logical sense, authority may be regarded as the German philosophic writer, Jerusalem, views it—the unproved holding of a strange or foreign judgment as true (*ungeprüfte Fürwahrhalten eines fremden Urteils*). Be the bearer of authority for us person, book, or institution, our actions as ordered or prescribed by it are, as Kant and Fichte insisted, heteronomous and not autonomous. The rules, norms, and laws of thought are fixed



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by authority: it creates universal values. Protestantism is free to hold with Höffding in his treatment of the *Problems of Philosophy*, that "all worth rests on the relation of events and of conditions to life at its different stages, to the existence and evolution of life." In full and ideal psychical working, the communications that come to us from higher authority become, no doubt, "transferred," as Martineau said, "from external attestation to self-evidence." But the growth of knowledge and perception of truth is not always ideal in this empirical, work-a-day world: the educative processes of life require that the world's accumulated treasures of knowledge come to us in authoritative guise, to be seen with our own eyes, and verified by our own minds, as insight and knowledge develop within us. Nowhere is this place of authority better seen than in science, where we receive—before we are in a position to verify them as truth—on scientific authority or attestation, such incomprehensible things as ether, atoms, electrons, and a thousand other incredible announcements. There is no room or reason to exclude a like preliminary and provisional place and process of authority in the spiritualizing of the mind, to what we have seen in its rationalizing. Some authoritative presentation of the truth must precede deep and full spiritual insight.

We have no right to put away from us incomprehensible religious symbols, such as Deity, Trinity, Eternal Life, and many another, because we have as yet not fully and intuitively discerned their truth for ourselves. They are no more incredible than those accepted in the scientific realm, which is to put the matter at a good deal less than its philosophic strength. But the whole authoritative process already described proceeds in a manner conformable to reason, and is to be confirmed by the insights of reason in its slow and gradual developments. Reason is in us that which makes us likest God, Who is the Absolute Reason. The presentations or

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propositions of authority are no more than a foundational basis, on which reason may critically and securely build. Reason receives from authority data, whereby individual experience is extended and enlarged, and progress is made. But reason also certifies the validity and utility of any such authority. It is the repressive treatment, the subjugation, of reason by Catholicism's use of the principle and method of authority, that calls forth the protest of Protestantism. It was, as Guizot plainly pointed out, the stationary character of the Roman dogmas that provoked the insurrection of the human mind. Catholicism has only been able to say that truth is invariable—in its immobility, one. It can only point to the constancy and continuity of its doctrine, system, government, plan, and make the immobility, and the stationariness, of it all a cause of glorying. Quite intelligibly, for many religious spirits, a potent and seductive charm attaches to this Catholic ideal, whereby security and freedom from incertitudes and weaknesses are provided for individuals, but it might very well be a part of their self-questioning whether assurance of infallible direction is at all likely to be favourable to the development of spiritual personality. Quite naturally, much is made of the Catholic lack of discontinuity, and it is claimed that, without the authority of the Church, nothing would be assured to faith. Very contrastive to this doctrine of the Church is Protestantism, which, alike in its Lutheran and its Calvinistic aspects, regards the Church as in essence simply a spiritual body of believers, visible in organization, no doubt, but only in a secondary way an institution of salvation.

Protestantism held to liberty as its centre of gravity, while the centre was, in Catholicism, authority. But there was in Protestantism not only a fundamental impulse or moving force of a critico-negative character, but also a positive and conserving element in developing Protestantism, as may be seen in the earnestness and

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inwardness of its faith. It did not seek merely to prove all things, but to hold fast that which is good. The injustice to reason in such an external and imperious authority as is found in Catholicism, is feebly, but yet partially, imitated by Protestant writers who fail to realize that, while Reason gives no rule of faith, it is unpsychological, and theologically unscientific, to fail of giving reason its proper, recognized place in this connection. Is there no authority, other than the *en bloc* sort, inherent in the Evangel? Can the truth *not* "make us free"? Has truth no power of self-preservation, nor any virtue whereby it legitimatizes itself to the reason and the conscience of man? As if one could not have living truth—truth which saves—without infallibility. "If any man willeth to do His Will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God." Fidelity, not infallibility, is the need: to him that hath shall be given. If we claim its proper place for reason, we have not the least intention to forget that, as Inge has remarked, "religious belief is largely affected by psychic processes other than reasoning."

There need certainly be no spirit of depreciation, either of Church or of dogma, whether Protestant or Catholic, in the preference now made to dwell more fundamentally on their methods rather than their developed religious systems. The various forms of universal authority, such as those of reason, of fact, and of moral obligation, are not to be denied, but we are here, in Catholicism, concerned with the authority of the Church. Now, it must be said that if the truth has need of Churchly guarantee before I can confide in it, if I must believe in authority because it is authority, I am really in a very sceptical attitude and relation to it, however submissive I may appear. It is to be guaranteed to me, precisely because it does not appear to me, or is not perceived and apprehended by me, as truth. But, if it could be so guaranteed, what a robbing of reason to pay authority

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would be involved in the intellectual impotence and moral sloth engendered in the process. Most perilous indeed it were to confound reason with religion, in the fashion of Catholicism, for if such authority fails in one point, it fails in all—infallibility is gone. But the greatest peril of all, to the moral life, is just the absence of risk or peril, when and where trust in authority is most secure. Not thus have the heroic ventures of faith been made and justified.

Protestantism believes that the faith, by which the just man lives, is an energy of the soul, and not the pale formalism which consists in authoritative believing without believing. Of the manifold claims of authority, all of which contain some truth, one must yield to each its own, and overpass them all in search of a higher synthesis, in which they will all find due place. For "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in a Son." God hath spoken: that is the fontal Authority. To this one and supreme symbol of authority are we borne, as of psychological necessity, by the function of unity in our consciousness.

It has been charged as a capital defect of Protestantism, in the eyes of more than one distinguished philosophic thinker of our time, that it has lived in its protest, and been too well content to remain there. That, no doubt, has too often been the case, and yet the criticism seems a rather idle and obvious one. It may, however, serve to explain in some degree why one has for years so seldom read anything, in the English tongue, with any glow or inspiration concerning the Protestant principle. But it is not just to blame the principle for the defects of some of its professors. For it is precisely my contention that it would be difficult to find any more inspiring principle than that of Protestantism, or one which has had a more splendid vindication in its positive and



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fruitful results. So far one may agree with Froude, who says that "as a spiritual force there has been nothing equal to it since the growth of Christianity." It was the creed of Cromwell, Bacon, Newton, Berkeley; it was the power, as he remarks, "that shattered the Spanish Empire," that "fused the united provinces into an empire," that "created in its modern aspect the nationality of Scotland"; and, we may add, that did much more in the spheres of thought and civilization than Froude saw or mentioned. For the new spirit of faith then begotten could not but, as Döllinger declared, purify the European atmosphere, impel the mind forward to new courses, and promote a rich scientific and literary life. There is no need to be troubled when it is said that the secret of the strength of Protestantism lies in its name. For Protestantism, however it may be said to live in its protest, can be no failure in that whereto it aspires. That, properly speaking, is the simple assertion of the principle of true individuality—the self-activity of the individual—or the *right* to fulfil the *duty* which God has laid on individual man. This advantage of Protestantism has not escaped one of the ablest of Continental defenders of the Roman standpoint, who says Protestantism is invulnerable, for the reason that it has no body which one can strike.

Protestantism is, one may say, an attitude or a standpoint, before it passes into a method, and, as an attitude or standpoint, it was content to cry, "*Prepare ye the way of the Lord.*" For all that, the Protestant theology was strong, free, noble, independent. The really great spirits of Protestantism have never been content to protest, without going on to affirm; their claim of freedom, I hold, proved a will for truth. Had it been otherwise, they would have been choosing the means instead of the end. But when the end goes, the means soon vanish. Hence they claimed not merely the freedom to think, but the right to believe. Of what



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use would it have been for them, negatively, to cut themselves off from the Roman Church, if they had had no positive principle to unite them? And what is this positive principle, but something which is tantamount to a common belief? Precisely by this did they escape the folly of the so-called freethinkers. Protestantism was more ideal in its basis than Catholicism, which latter depended on common sense, or, better, good sense; but this was not open to Protestantism, which, in its dim and perilous way, could find a haven only within the heavenlies. The sublimity of its genius was that it must so go forward. This is not to forget or to deny that Catholicism has had psychological grounds to justify the strength it has drawn, in its own way, from the mysterious, the miraculous, and the incomprehensible. But it has elected really to usurp the place of the revelation alike of history and of conscience.

In this methodological inquiry, it must be regarded as a groundless notion that Protestantism is anti-dogmatic in principle, as though the reserved right of perpetual investigation were a denial that there is anything positive and ascertainable to investigate. Certainly Protestantism, as individualistic in thought, lies apart from dogma, in its assertion of the independence of conscience; but what has just been said must be taken as true of Protestantism, regarded as principle, and not in its worked out or methodized forms. Catholicism avers that there is no constitutive principle in Protestantism but the principle of examination. Protestantism, has not, however, set the seal of its consecration on the principle of individuality without knowing that the liberty it inaugurated is liberty to make for religious truth, order, and progress, in making for which true liberty alone can live. So little, indeed, has it been empty protest, on which might be inscribed—*Viduitas et Sterilitas*.

The principles and methods of two such contrastive systems as those of Protestantism and Catholicism need

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some historical illustration and support, beyond the grounds of mere abstract discussion. These we shall now, in some brief sort, supply. Not from the scientific, but from the religious conscience in Luther, did the Reformational movement of the sixteenth century proceed. Protestantism is therefore to us, as it was to Kahnis, an essentially religious development, and, as such, to be measured by the law of its own territory of life. For Protestantism, in the palmy regions of poetry and art, was the precursor of Protestantism in the realm of reason, and also in that of religion. The form it took in Luther was due, as Köstlin declares, to his direct and mighty grasp, his intuition, and his unifying view of truth. Luther is for modern thought the representative of Protestantism, of large ideas and of individual freedom—of what Isaac Taylor styled an uncompelled, undamaged service of the man to God. If liberty was no perfect or immediate result of Luther's work, that is not to be wondered at, for, as Lord Acton has expressed it, "achieved liberty is the one ethical result that rests on the converging and combined conditions of advancing civilization." Luther's attitude on the servitude of the will was very different from the ethical freedom of Kant and Schiller, and his attitude to the liberalism which Lessing and Goethe represent was far other than theirs, but none the less there are true senses in which Luther was precursor of Schiller and of Kant, of Lessing and of Goethe. Melanchthon, pre-eminently the theologian of the Lutheran Church, besides being the worthy lieutenant of the mighty-souled Luther, constructively opened up a new world for thought, in the way he passed beyond the former dualism of nature and grace to recognize the unity behind them, and clung to the possibility of nature knowledge being harmoniously linked to knowledge that was ethical and religious. He marks, in fact, a new epoch in dogmatic thought.

This is not to say that the Reformation, in its specu-

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lative connections, was not a very mixed result. For, after all, Christianity was left too much a thing of dogma, and too little a thing of faith and love and character, under the free impulse of a true idealism. As to the great question of method, the Protestant Reformation taught the world—even the religious world—that the service which can be rendered by life and literature, by science and art, by politics and philosophy, must be a service of perfect freedom—organic freedom of adjustment. Despite the lack at times of the philosophy of what it was doing, it must be claimed, on the question of method, that all that was richest in subsequent culture is due to Protestantism having never relinquished this principle of freedom of investigation. Yet Catholicism has been able to see in the Protestant movement only a discord introduced into European civilization, whereby the influence of Europe on the rest of the world was enfeebled. Protestantism, on the other hand, has claimed to have given that civilization a new direction, and to have brought many a stimulation, scientific and other, to the Roman Church itself. Certainly Protestantism has been what Hagenbach calls it, a preponderatingly wholesome influence (*einen überwiegend heilsamen Einfluss*), after all shortcomings through not being sufficiently true to its own principle. For Protestantism certainly failed at times of what was due to free inquiry, no less than Catholicism, but the former did so against its own principle.

It may be hardly possible to speak of a development of Catholic doctrine, in any proper sense, after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), but there has at least, thanks to Reformational influence, been a gradual deliverance from leaden uniformity. It was just against the Trent overvaluing of tradition, as the Reformers supposed, that their protest was directed. It found clear expression in Calvin, who spoke of this worship of Deity "*traditionum humanarum legibus*," as most serious—

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*"quod gravissimum semper fuit crimen."* But one cannot doubt that not a little ignorance of the real place and value of tradition, and no small lack of constructive power, marked the contentions of what may be termed ultra-Protestant spirit, on the subject. Hence it is not surprising to find Calixtus, and, later, Lessing, claiming some greater justice for tradition. Ottley and Sabatier are among the recent contenders for the worth of tradition, the latter holding that, without tradition, the Scriptures are without external support, and cannot become crystallized into dogma, but remain merely historical documents. The Reformational Protestantism was, for all that, a living thing, and commanded, as Froude remarks, "the allegiance of statesmen, soldiers, philosophers, and men of science": conscience or the moral element was the reforming power. The reconstructive powers of the movement were far less conspicuous than its restorative energies, but it proved the underlying spring whence have flowed all subsequent efforts to realize a true, because spiritual, universality, in the higher unity of a system whose centre of gravity moves not from the freedom of the Christian spirit. The theology of the Reformation was creative, albeit legalism and traditionalism were besetting evils of the century that immediately followed. Froude is certainly right in thinking it a tribute to religion—both Catholic and Protestant—that it then dominated the life of the State, whereas to-day statesmen keep close to "the experienced facts of the world," without troubling greatly about the will of the Almighty, or the interpretative wisdom of clergy or priesthood.

The seventeenth century was an intercalated period of comparative repose, wherein freedom from the yoke of authority was asserted for scientific intellect, and the constructive spirit was actively at work. An affirmative century, it was the logical issue and the natural outcome of the century that had gone before, with its



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spirit of questioning and denial. Bacon and Descartes now made their protest against the principle of authority, while Hobbes proclaimed against the "ghostly authority" of the Church, in favour of State despotism. But the outstanding character of the century was just the impress it bore of authority; and so great were the spirits, on the side of Catholicism, that the hold of the principle was unshaken by the powerful Jansenist movement within its pale. Jansenism, which may be taken as moderate Calvinism, unconsciously produced a certain reaction in favour of freedom of thought as against the constraint of laws and institutions, but it left the majestic unity of Catholicism unshaken.

Despite the age being one of authority, philosophic thinking—as in Descartes, Malebranche, and Bossuet—enjoyed no small measure of freedom under the aegis of orthodox Catholicism. Leibniz had a lively sympathy with the Catholic claims. Calvinism had bounds now set to it, and the unbelief of the time took an atheistic character, in its rejection of the orthodox Catholicism. Not against this, however, but against Protestantism, and other doctrines, did the Catholicism of the brilliant Bossuet set itself in the *History of the Variations of the Protestant Church*. He at least succeeded in giving a work which, in the esteem of Catholicism, left room for nothing in the way of answer or addition. Its very title, *History of Variations*, the Roman defenders say, should make Protestantism tremble, for the history of variations means the history of error. Since the variations, they contend, are of its essence, Protestantism cannot be in possession of the truth, and its principle cannot be a principle of life, but an element of dissolution. Now, what they say of the protest of Protestantism, that in it is nothing great or universal, is precisely what I should affirm of Bossuet's work. It is a valuable *répertoire* of the facts of that controversial time; it is a wholesome tonic for any who would be carried away



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into excessive laudation of the Reformers; but there is a polemical and partisan strain, which, streaked through the whole, robs it of the character of anything great or universal. It is merely clever, uncompromising controversy. In his work, *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, Bossuet showed no lack of skill in idealizing Catholicism. In both works, Bossuet demands submission in full to the decrees of Trent; this he hopes to secure by exhibiting the incertitude and fallibility of human reason. But it were easy to show that Bossuet himself was far more of a Rationalist than he dreamed. Bossuet's grounds are similar to those of the acute Bellarmine, who had been even more definite than Trent, in the distinctions he drew as to traditions, Divine, apostolical, and ecclesiastical. When Bellarmine laid down fifteen criteria for a true Church, his method was obviously no better than that of taking the existing Roman Church, and extracting, in a valueless way, requirements from her as actual, not ideal. Bossuet, however, was head and front of all the consolidating and perfecting of the religion of the theocracy, whereby the Catholic Church should more fitly subordinate all things human to the empire of its religious tradition, and pursue the general direction of society. But such rectifications or reforms were effected without Catholicism ceasing to be itself, and without relinquishment of its principles. For it was the century of Catholicism, and the constructive genius of Bossuet, taken in whole, was great. Towards its close, the bold and pure Fénelon had, not without exaggeration, put forth his doctrine of pure love, which was bitterly opposed by Bossuet, who tried to crush both the Quietists and the Jansenists, among the latter the mighty, liberating genius of Pascal. Meanwhile, it was upon the infusion of the moral element into religion that Protestantism depended, but after the middle of the seventeenth century Protestantism ceased to be aggressive; it

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became more established, and grew less potent in influence.

The eighteenth century, as the age of humanity, was reactionary, but yet in some respects developmental. Marked it was by the arid deism of the brilliant and flexible Voltaire, who, for good sense, was, in some sort, the Bossuet of his age. Neither the philosophy nor the morality of the century had anything profound in them; they both treated God as an abstract Being. The deistic rationalism of the time was the direct outcome of the Protestant rationalism of writers like Chillingworth, that bulwark of Protestantism. In the middle of the century, Rousseau, more constructive than Voltaire, replaced the dull and artificial deism of Voltaire by a deism more sentimental and affective. Rousseau set himself against authority in every sphere. It was, of course, to this deistic and rationalistic age that Butler addressed himself.

I pass on to remark, on broader grounds, that the greater freedom of the mind, under Protestantism, has caused the Protestant nations to evince more energy than those which are Catholic. For on the mental equipment of the latter, the authoritative inculcation of principles, unfavourable to individual freedom and initiative, has had a numbing effect. The historic vindication of this daring Protestant principle of the unfettered freedom of individual power or genius, as the only condition of victoriously progressive scientific and aesthetic susceptibility, has, in spite of occasional iconoclasms, been ample. Of course, the principle has been persistently opposed, from the side of the Jesuits, in the strained interests of authority. Nothing has more need to be eliminated from the religious life than mechanical obedience. Hence the importance of the Reformational effect in fundamentally limiting the significance of the Church for the religious life, by the new thought-world which it introduced. Even today,

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Protestantism is, on the question of method, less consciously an end than a means towards freedom that shall be full, rounded, and complete, but it is, as means, of quite inestimable value. The stale objection against what is termed the empty and barren individualism of Protestantism is perfectly meaningless, or even unintelligent, for it ought always to have been clearly perceived that true individualism, when it shall be attained, is beginning rather than end. Its claim is made in order that it may freely and ethically place itself at service of the social whole. It needs no vision to see that a bare and isolated individualism is absurd and impossible. Not all the writing there has been about the diversities and the multiplicity of Protestant sects must blind us, as it has so persistently done, to the grand simplification of doctrine effected by the significant deepening of Protestant thought since Kant's time. Not a manifold of dogmas, but the root of the religious life itself—the essence of Christianity—has been sought as the measure and touchstone of all dogmas.

This quest for a reasonable ideal of religion, as found in the principle of Christianity, animated Kant in his treatment of religion within the limits of mere reason; it inspired Fichte in his notable guidance to the blessed life; it pervaded Hegel's philosophy of religion, and was present in that of Schelling; it had place, too, in Schleiermacher's treatment of doctrine. Such a constructive tendency, so variously pursued, towards unifying God and man, by a method so diverse from that of Catholicism, is surely significant enough of Protestant method and result. For it was the method of recognizing man to be a free, independent, ethical personality, in virtue of the Spirit of God dwelling within him. Protestantism clearly and distinctively recognizes that only in this free way can truth be known as truth. Not as forming the basis of the Church as organized, but as based on Divine revelation, does it freely accept truth or doctrine as valid.

## PROTESTANTISM AND CATHOLICISM

It owns no need of help, in its truth-seeking, from the Churchly organ, as Catholicism does. Catholicism, whose official theology founds on the great Aquinas—on whose work I have elsewhere bestowed unstinted praise—takes the Church to be the divinely-appointed teacher of the truth, without whose authentic interpretation the truth cannot be rightly known. This supernatural teaching function of the Church is the formal principle of Catholicism, and the teaching is met by *fides implicita* or passive obedience. The dominion of the Church over the religious life—nay, over the mental and spiritual life of Christendom—that is the claim of Catholicism. The supposed reason is that the truth, which is man's supreme good, quite transcends the finite spirit, and can only be received through the teaching of the Church. Nothing could be more contrastive to this than Protestant method, which demands personal faith and knowledge, inward personal appropriation and assurance.

This deep divergence in the matter of basal principle or method largely disappears, when we pass upward to Protestantism and Catholicism as two systems or religions, for the reason that Protestantism has too often blindly invested the Scriptures with the character of infallible authority, in place of the authority of the Roman Church. But a mere faith in authority is an imperfect enough form of knowledge, which, however, Catholicism has been able to regard as meritorious. But the whole Reformational discussion, on this platform of truth as resident in a particular form of authority—whether Roman Church or Protestant Bible—became deadening in its effect, and the same effect, I will add, often ensues still.

If there is any blessedness in the Protestantism which is highest, and knows no need of visible authority or Churchly sign or exterior support for its faith, that blessedness can be no other than that which has been

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spoken in the words:—"Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." The truth, in Protestantism, calls for the exercise of the whole psychical nature—the obedience of the whole man—so that the notion of a bare intellectualism is a totally inadequate conception. The free movement of the spirit is what Protestantism must still preserve, for it is, in principle and method, truly progressive. The unprogressive types of Calvinism, the reactionary ecclesiasticism, and the stagnant forms of thought, still so often met within the pale of Protestantism, are to be sloughed off, as thoroughly repugnant to its true character and genius.



# Religion and the Labour Movement

BY J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

In Great Britain the Churches and the Labour Movement have never been in violent conflict. There have been sections of the Church whose economic interests have ranged them with the possessing rich, with monopoly and with the exploitation of labour; the Established Church has, on the whole, stood by vested interests and the political officialism of the aristocracy, but the exceptions have been conspicuous and important; latterly, Roman Catholic sections have been showing evil designs upon organized labour under various pretexts and pretences and have sent out popular preachers to proclaim the hoary commonplace errors about Socialism being secularism, and so on; the wealthier branches of Nonconformity have neither welcomed nor aided us. But whatever may be in store for us in the future, the British Labour Movement has not yet been compelled to attack the Church on account of the Church having gone over to the reaction, as it has in some continental countries. In our movement today we have men of all sects and creeds, and our bands of devoted workers include priests and parsons, ministers and lay preachers. To maintain this "co-operation of moral forces" has been the decided policy of our leaders, and they will not be to blame if hostility is to take the place of assistance.

For some time, however, there have been indications that the intelligent workman is getting impatient with the Churches. He is demanding a consistency between precept and example, between faith and action, which he used not to seek. The reason is that morality is

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becoming more and more the motive of his politics, and as he goes deeper towards the religious sources of social thought and activity he will become increasingly impatient with those who say: "Lord! Lord!" but who are apparently, if works are to count for anything, not to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. A secular programme vitalized by religious sentiment—like the Labour Programme—must put a great strain upon the Churches. It shows up their weaknesses and threatens to strip them rather bare of worldly compromise. It seems such an obvious consequence of the Christian ethic that those who have adopted it cannot see why every Christian who remains consistent has not done the same. Thus enmity arises on the demand: Be what you preach.

But the opposition between the Church and Labour which may come in this way cannot be final. A negative expression of religion, or a merely critical attitude to disappointing Churches, will never satisfy a human movement like that of ours. "I believe" must be its keynote, not: "They do not believe." Hence it is that the spirit of the Labour Movement does not merely leave one set of altars which it deserts; it lights its candles in front of new ones. As a matter of historical fact, it has been the most potent influence in reviving spiritual aspirations amongst our people. In this country the Socialist movement killed Bradlaughism and the National Secular Society. It has supported the new Brotherhoods, the Adult Schools, and similar manifestations of the Christian spirit outside the Churches. Whilst it was doing this, it was also forcing the Churches to revise their attitude to life. It has been showering upon them problems relating to the coming of the Kingdom of which they had no knowledge but a short time ago. For if the Kingdom is not to come by a miracle of Heaven or like an Apocalyptic pageant, but is to be established through a conflict of the spirit with the flesh on the same world stage as that upon which political

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strife is fought out, if it is to be the goal of peace and harmony to which all political and economic clashing tends, then the Church must come from its calm seclusion, from its cloisters, from its pulpits, and become the Church militant, once more fearlessly proclaiming the will as well as the word of God. That at any rate is the view of the Labour Movement, and so true is this that when the Church is faced with it, it has to agree. Thus a social reforming Christianity grows up.

When so much has been said, the Church as a rule defends itself by proceeding straightway to misunderstand what is wanted of it by the Labour Movement, so it may be not without profit if I make this point clear. Nobody wants the Church to become a political or a Socialist organization, to fly a red flag and haul down the crosses of the Saints. All we say is that it is the duty of the Church to stir up the souls of men so that they are perturbed by the insistency of the question: "What ought I to do?" And when that agitation comes, the Church must help to an answer which will not be determined merely by opportunism or by the pressure of the world, but by the desire to seek first the Kingdom of Heaven and its righteousness. The duty of the Christian to his fellows must be preached from pulpits in terms, the meaning of which is precise. In its relation to the world, the Church must never subordinate its essentially spiritual being and function to the essentially materialist being and function of the world. There ought to be no money-changers in the courts of the temple—to say nothing of its pulpits. When they find their footing there, a Church ceases to be a Church in spite of Apostolic successions and communions, and has forfeited its claim to be the interpreter of God to men. All our social and political agitations of today are against the money-changers and the society which is of their mind—in other words, against materialism—and the test which we rightly impose upon the Church is: Do

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you so enlighten men's souls that their hands involuntarily twist the thongs which are to beat those money-changers? We do not want politics in the pulpit. We do not want even the strong personal denunciations which flared up in Christ's soul when the loathsomeness of the Pharisee and the criminality of the idle rich oppressed him and challenged him. The political pulpit is a poor, uninspiring, earthy thing of the passions and the appetites. But we do expect the Church to keep pure and fresh the spiritual wells from which the political rivers flow, so that the idealism which guides civic conduct may be clear, and the morality which challenges iniquity may be unpolluted. The Church is the soul of the world, not its body. In a chief sense the soul is everything, but if it forgets that it has to create a body which is to be its temple, it will be baffled, it will be sterile, it will be unhappy, it will never find its way to the transcending Being of whom it is but an emotion. And the body is not merely the individual human frame. It is a society, an order, a human relationship of law and habit—in a word, The Kingdom. From the point of view of the Labour Movement it is the duty of the Church to teach the social ethics of the soul. In this, there must be none of the common attempts to serve God and Mammon at the same time and to find excuses why the worshipper cannot do as he ought. That is not the business of the Church. The world is capable of finding its excuses for itself. Let the Church see to it that the soul seeks its own path and its own goal. Let it take care that whatever compromise is forced upon the individual he knows that it is a compromise and what is being compromised. If the Church does that, we ask no more of it. The spiritual intelligence thus enlivened will not tolerate a Society dominated by materialism and will not be misled by false economic and social doctrines.

Moreover, there is another aspect of this from the point

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of view of the Labour Party itself. The Party depends for its success on the moral intelligence of the people. It draws its support from the steady, careful, sober and thinking sections of the working class. If the nurture of that class be neglected, social stagnation follows and the working class ideals are lowered. This is the great danger which besets a Party whose chief purpose is social improvement. It may become animated solely by self-regarding motives, and nothing that it can do can protect itself from this calamity. That protection comes from the state of the public mind outside it. The idler should be cut short, but there is all the moral and practical difference in the world between cutting him short because your soul abhors him, and doing it because your palms itch for his riches. The Church is the custodian of the qualities of human motive, and the Labour Movement in a peculiarly special way feels the effect of its neglect of this part of its duty. Thus intimately are the Church and the working class movement bound up together.

I am most anxious that the Church should win the right by its own life to criticize the Labour Movement. When the workman tries to increase his wages, his liberty, his leisure; when he enters into battles with his employers, with other sections of labour, with "the classes"; when he strikes to procure some alterations in workshop management, the Church, if it had his confidence, would often condemn him because he is often wrong. But if the Church forfeits its right to criticize and advise labour in its great decisions, it has surely ceased to be capable of performing its function as the guide of man's soul. The Church has hardly that right at present. I must confess that nothing has filled me with greater combativeness than some of the attempts made by Churches and their leaders during recent labour troubles to advise men how they should act. They often did not understand the points in dispute, they did not know



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what the men were enduring or what they had done before they struck, they brought no distinctive spirit into the controversy, they were worldly of the world just like an antagonistic employer of labour who talked meaningless fine words. Their interference was a sad revelation of the impotence of the uninspired. Everyone felt it; everyone was uncomfortable under it. That the Church should be a mere obscure and unheeded spectator on the edge of the crowd, or that its opinions should be resented, when it should be clothed in power and be giving counsel which is listened to, is surely one of the great calamities that has befallen us; that its actions on such occasions as a rule condemn the best of the workmen and show sympathy only for the poorer minded who have no vision, is a great menace to the very qualities for which it is supposed to stand.<sup>1</sup>

But the appeal of Labour to the Church to understand it has another and a more imperative justification. The Labour Movement can claim a common origin with the Church. There is no movement which lays down with such uncompromising fidelity in secular affairs the creed that it profits a man nothing to gain the whole world if he lose his own soul. In its championship of the poor, in the challenge it throws out to wealth and possession to justify their claim to rule society and to determine what the rewards of life are to be, in its denial that men can ever be regarded as nothing but items in productions and wages nothing but remnants left to human beings after rent and interest have been paid and all capital's charges satisfied—in this, the Labour Movement not only lays it down that spiritual values should rule the world, but that materialism has to be

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<sup>1</sup>I wish to put it down so that there will be no doubt in the minds of my readers, that this does not apply to one or two well known Christian leaders in Great Britain. By their singleness of purpose and fulness of knowledge they have won the confidence of the workers and their opinions are always considered with respect. But it is true of organized Christianity taken as a whole.

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fought in the interest of both soul and body. Even when, like the Church, the Labour Movement is misled by its circumstances into language and action which belie itself, its motive is moral and spiritual. It begins with a hungering and a thirsting after righteousness, after a wider liberty for the mind, after a more absolute moral order. The Labour Movement at its best—and it must be judged at its best—is the revolt of the human order against the economic order. It is not always educated even in its spirit; it is largely instinctive, and the very best of instincts when leading in action tend to be confused by passion and appetite. But when all is said and done, the Labour Movement is the movement through which humanity is striving to realize itself, and humanity is nothing without a belief that the world is good and that right is foreordained in the nature of things to triumph over wrong. Hence it has always been that when Labour is astir and when the doors of the Churches have been closed upon it, it found its own way to worship, and the smoke of its sacrifices continued to go up to heaven through new forms of homage. So it is today. If the Labour Movement is not filling Church pews, that is not because it has abandoned Christianity but because it has turned away from the Church for its worship—two totally different things.

The conclusion to which I therefore come is that, if, on the one hand, the Church cannot retain the confidence of the active spirits in the Labour and Socialist movement it will cut itself off more and more from the spiritual life of the people; it will become more and more the barren fig tree which cumbers the ground; outside its walls and in places not blessed by it the Gospel will be preached. On the other hand, should anything happen which will alienate the Labour Movement from religious faith, it will become more and more destructive and negative in its outlook, harder and more economic in its inspiration, with the result that it will

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fall into the hands of men who will use it for their own ends and will not give it faithful and self-sacrificing service. For the personal character on which the success of the Labour Movement depends is of that kind which believes and so can labour and wait. It is the pettifogging man of no faith who is always pulling things up by the roots to see how they are getting on and who needs intoxicating action to keep him going. And that is the man who, under the impression that he is creating revolutions, is retarding progress.

Let the Church and Labour understand each other and co-operate with each other and the future will belong to both.

# Brotherhood Through Business

BY T. A. FINLAY, S.J.,

*Vice-President, Irish Agricultural Organization Society.*

Concern for the poor is a fundamental duty of Christian Ethics. The equality of all men before God, and the consequent brotherhood of men in the social organization were proclaimed by Christianity in its earliest teaching, and at once differentiated the new Faith from the paganism which it aimed at supplanting. The duty involved in this conception of human relations is fulfilled in part by the direct relief of the destitution or distress with which we are brought in contact,—by the feeding of the hungry, the clothing of the naked, the visitation of the sick, ministrations which Christ made obligatory on His followers under the most impressive sanctions. The obligation thus imposed has been recognized by every association which has borne the Christian name, and, in the institutions of beneficence which it has called forth, noble lives in numbers beyond reckoning have been consecrated to the service of poverty and pain. This form of service will be demanded from us as long as Christian society endures. The suffering poor we shall always have with us; it is the dream of enthusiasts that poverty and its attendant helplessness can be eliminated from this fallen world.

There are, however, other forms of Christian service to the poor which have their merit, hardly less than that attaching to the relief of sickness and destitution. In the modern economic order the poor man is at a sad disadvantage in his struggle with the powerful interests that hold sway in the fields of industry, commerce and

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finance. In his humble sphere of production and consumption he is too often oppressed by the ruthless forces which compete for the wealth which the toiling poor create. To protect his industry, to secure to him the full fruits of his labour, is an undertaking which Christian philanthropy must commend, and for which abundant warrant will be found in the Christian Gospel of social duty.

Rural Ireland, for centuries, cried aloud for help of this kind. In no other portion of the British Empire was the lot of the tiller of the soil more abject, or the fruits of his industry more insecure. The system of land-tenure which prevailed up to 1881, left him absolutely at the mercy of the legal owner of the land on which he toiled. He was liable to be driven from holding and home when it suited the interests or the whims of his landlord to exercise the right of eviction. If he spent his labour in reclaiming the plot of ground let to him, or otherwise adding to its fertility, his rent might be, and too often actually was, increased in proportion to the increase of productivity. His methods of cultivation were primitive, the appliances which science had put at the service of agriculture were beyond his reach. His standard of living was deplorably low. Prudence, as well as necessity, forced him to make a show of poverty; a coat of whitewash to his dwelling or decent garments for himself, would be taken to indicate growing prosperity, and would furnish ground for a rise in his rent. In these conditions his industry was beyond possibility of relief. Till he was rescued from this paralyzing enslavement no devices of philanthropy could avail to lift him to a higher economic plane.

With the legislation of 1881, which guaranteed him fixity of tenure, and a fair rent determined by a Government tribunal, the worst features of his subjection disappeared. He could now count as his own any increase of fertility which his labour added to the soil, and the



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consequent increase in produce could not be confiscated by the landlord. His position was still further relieved by the subsequent Land Purchase Acts which enabled him to become owner of his holding, subject to the payment of a terminable annuity, some thirty per cent. less in amount than his previous rent.

The path of progress was now open to him, but he was weighted by burdens inherited from his previous condition which effectively hindered his advance. In the first place, he was sadly ignorant of the better methods which had been introduced into agriculture during the period of his debasement. In the next, had he possessed the newer knowledge he was without the means of applying it in his industry. Further, he was in many cases loaded with debt, held in the toils in which every impoverished peasantry becomes enmeshed. His supreme need at this turn in his fortunes was a man, or body of men, who would discover to him a way out of these difficulties, and who would instruct him in the methods by which the progressive rural communities of other countries had attained to prosperity. Fortunately for him, and for Ireland, the need called forth the man.

Towards the close of the eighties, the Honourable Horace (now Sir Horace) Plunkett was led into a study of the problems of Irish rural economy; and from study he promptly passed to action. He was not a man of the people, though he speedily became the people's man. Neither by training nor experience had he been prepared for the career of a social reformer. By birth he belonged to the landed aristocracy, though not himself a landlord; he was the third son of the sixteenth Lord Dunsany. His family name is associated with many of the important events of Irish history; one of its representatives, Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, is venerated as a martyr of the Catholic Faith, others hold notable places in the civil and military annals of the country. He had received his education at Eton, and subsequently

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at Oxford. From the University he had passed to a Wyoming ranch, in search, not of fortune, but of health. There he had spent ten years, at the end of which he had returned to Ireland with a naturally frail constitution somewhat fortified, and with a rich store of cowboy experience.

How he came to select as his life work the regeneration of industry and life in rural Ireland, he might perhaps himself find it difficult to explain. He had made acquaintance with co-operation as applied by the working classes of the English manufacturing towns, and, brought in contact with the melancholy conditions of peasant life in his own country, he conceived the idea of employing the principles which underlay the system to quicken the industry and elevate the domestic and social standards of the Irish farmer. At the time he was not conversant with the history of the agricultural co-operative movement in Germany and other continental countries, and it was not thence he drew his inspiration, nor there he sought his models. It was only later, when he had evolved his own scheme, that he learned how largely he had been anticipated by other reformers; from them, when he came to know them, he derived no more than confirmation of his own projects, and suggestions on points of detail.

The propaganda which he undertook was, in essence, strictly educational. He proposed to teach the Irish farmer the efficacy of combination in industry, and to instruct him in co-operative methods. There was to be no question of doles or subsidies. The farmers' best resources he held to be in themselves, in their own intelligence, self-reliance, and mutual trust, and these resources it was his purpose to develop. Judged by the canons of commonplace prudence his task had small prospect of success. The people to whom he would address himself were benumbed and dispirited by the long oppression from which they had but recently es-

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caped. By natural disposition they were intensely conservative; novel methods of industry they were sure to resist; what was good enough for their fathers and grandfathers was good enough for them. And then, the preacher of the new economic gospel: who was he? If not a landlord, at least a member of the landlord class, of the class which the bitter conflict that had been the prelude to the Land Acts had brought them to regard as their natural enemy. In religion he was a Protestant, and his appeal would be to a people predominantly Catholic, in a country where religious antagonisms pervade every sphere of social life. In politics—so far as he was a politician—he was a Unionist, and the men whom he proposed to influence were Nationalists by a vast majority, keenly suspicious of any policy which threatened to divert the mind of the nation from the political aims on which it was passionately bent.

Under these disabilities, Sir Horace Plunkett began his campaign. His first essay was made among the dairy farmers of Munster—Catholics and Nationalists almost to a man. Their industry was carried on by methods which had become obsolete in more progressive communities. Cream was ripened by allowing the milk to stand in pails or basins, the farmer's butter was made by hand in his own dairy, and was then taken to market by himself or his wife, and sold to dealers who regulated prices by agreement amongst themselves. It was easy to demonstrate what, in these circumstances, they could gain by co-operation. Combining their resources of Capital and Credit they could establish a creamery, where a moderate head of steam would do the mechanical work which exhausted the muscles of a whole parish; where centrifugal separators would in a few minutes of the early hours of the day extract the cream from the morning's milk, where highly trained hands would ensure a butter product of the first quality, and from which the butter of a whole district would be despatched in one

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consignment, with consequent reduction of transport charges, to the market in which the best price of the day could be obtained. The sum of these advantages would, it was shown, be equivalent to an increase of at least thirty per cent in the value of the farmer's milk supply; to say nothing of the labour saved in the dairy and left free for other occupations. This reasoning was without flaw, but for long it was addressed to deaf ears. It was only after a year of strenuous effort and after fifty meetings had been held, that, in 1889, a body of Limerick farmers were persuaded to establish a co-operative creamery. This first venture provoked no imitation in the year that followed; at the end of 1890 no second society had been set up. But the new ideas were spreading and taking root. Before the close of 1891 seventeen co-operative creameries were at work; at the end of 1892 the number had grown to twenty-five, and at the end of 1893 to thirty.

Meantime Sir Horace Plunkett had gathered round him a few colleagues and helpers, imbued with his own faith in the system he advocated, and willing to give their services in establishing it. Among these were Catholic priests, and laymen of well known Nationalist sympathies, as well as members of the other Churches, and adherents of the other political parties. There was now no room for the suggestion that the new movement had a one-sided religious or political character. The rules of the societies forbade the introduction at their meetings of questions of religion or party politics; the interests which all had in common and which all could unite to promote, must form the only subjects of discussion. This exclusion of extraneous matters of controversy was enforced rigorously, and to this discipline is largely due the harmony and fraternal feeling which pervades the ranks of the co-operators. A co-operative meeting is an unique phenomenon in Irish life. There the militant Ulsterman sits down with the



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Irish Leaguer of the South or West, the Chaplain of an Orange Lodge with the Munster or Leinster Parish priest; and the only rivalry between these strangely assorted colleagues is in the effort to do most for the common cause. The friendliness generated in the parties to these deliberations necessarily reacts upon their social relations in other spheres. It is beyond question that in the districts where co-operation has been introduced into rural industry the traditional animosities of Irish public life have lost much of their rancour and party strife much of its bitterness. You cannot today meet a neighbour in friendly conference as your ally and your adviser in your most important material concerns, and tomorrow denounce him as an unscrupulous knave. You may differ from him profoundly in matters non-industrial, but you must at least respect his character, and give him credit for honesty of purpose. When these allowances have been made, party controversy is reduced to rational argument, and can be conducted without exciting personal enmities.

By the end of 1893 the agricultural co-operative movement had attained dimensions with which a small body of volunteer propagandists were no longer able to deal. The time had come to give it organic form. In 1894 the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, popularly known as the I.A.O.S., was founded to meet the need. Individuals and Societies were eligible for membership, and thus the I.A.O.S. was at once a centre of propagandist action to which the individual might contribute money or service, and an unifying agency which co-ordinated the work of the several societies and added to their efficiency by combination for common ends. This development gave a new impetus to the spread of the societies. In 1894 their number was 33; in 1896 it had risen to 104; in 1900 to 477; and so onward to the present time when they have reached a total of 980.

With the foundation of the I.A.O.S. further applica-



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tions of co-operative principles were introduced in our rural economy. Most important amongst these was the institution of a system of credit which enabled the man of small means to obtain the modest capital necessary in his industry. Capital is as much a need on the tiny farm as in the gigantic factory. Seeds, manures, implements are as essential to the profitable cultivation of a ten-acre holding as machinery and raw material to a cotton mill. In the larger enterprise the combination of resources supplies the capital of the Joint Stock Company; in the humbler undertaking cannot the same means effect the same end? The problem had been solved in Germany by Friederich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, a man to whom humanity owes much more than to other Friederich Wilhelms who have a more prominent place in history. His method is at variance with the canons of sound banking as understood by the high authorities on finance. A society of poor men combine to borrow from the public by receiving deposits, or from a Joint Stock Bank by effecting a loan. They pledge as security the whole of their united assets—the liability of the society is unlimited—and when they have obtained the money they lend to their members on personal security, that is, on the security of the known character for honesty and industry of the borrowers. The system has provided the use of hundreds of millions of marks for the peasant farmers of Germany and that without any loss to the lenders; in Ireland, on a smaller scale, it has proved equally safe and equally beneficent.

To give the small farmer the use of capital is, however, only a first step in the improvement of his condition; it is comparatively ineffectual unless he is also furnished with the means of expending to the greatest advantage the capital provided. In Ireland this further requirement was specially urgent. The farmers purchased their agricultural supplies—seeds, manure, feeding-stuffs and implements—from the traders in the villages or

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small country towns; they had no access to the wholesale markets. The petty traders had not an expert's knowledge of the goods they handled, and could not guarantee their quality. It not unfrequently happened that the farmer after laboriously tilling his patch of land found that the seeds he had bought either did not germinate or gave him a crop of weeds. A return lately issued by the Department of Agriculture shows that of 1,500 samples of seeds obtained from country traders and duly tested sixty per cent were bad, and ten per cent wholly worthless. Further, the prices charged for these defective farm supplies were much above what healthy trade would have justified had they been genuine. This was due, not so much to an abnormal greed on the part of the traders as to the excess of their numbers. Any increase in the distributing classes above what is needed for the efficient service of the consuming community constitutes a tax upon the latter; a tax which is levied either by depreciating the quality of the goods supplied, or by unduly raising their price, or in both ways at once. In Ireland, while the general population has been steadily declining, and the producing classes more rapidly than any others, the distributors have been multiplying at a portentous rate. In 1881 our population stood at 5,174,000, the distributing class at 72,245; in 1911 the population had fallen to 4,381,000, while the distributing class had increased to 111,143. We need not stay to seek the causes of this phenomenon; the point of present importance is that the burden of supporting this increased number of non-producers falls mainly on the farmer—the chief producer of our wealth—and accounts largely for the adverse conditions of the retail market in which he has had to deal. From this burden the Co-operative Agricultural Society avails to deliver him. The members of the society combine their orders for agricultural requirements, and the societies again combine to purchase through their central agency.

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Manufacturers gladly tender for the large order which the agency is in a position to place, and goods of guaranteed quality and at bed-rock prices are furnished to the humblest purchaser. On the first purchase made on these lines—2,000 tons of artificial manures guaranteed and tested before delivery—a reduction of £6,000 in the hitherto customary cost was secured to the associated farmers.

Needless to say, these methods of business have called forth unstinted denunciation from the parasitic dealers, from the press in which they advertise, and from certain politicians whom they support. But the farmer is not impressed by these invectives; and his advisers, knowing that no oppression can be relieved except at some cost to those who profit by it, endure the abuse composedly.

I pass over the other applications of co-operation to the agricultural industry which have been introduced in Ireland—poultry societies for the marketing of eggs and fowl; societies for the preparation and sale of flax; societies for the purchase and use in common of costly farm machines; societies for bacon-curing, and for the slaughter of cattle and sheep and the marketing of beef and mutton. There is, in fact, no branch of the farmer's industry to which co-operation may not be applied, and to all branches we are progressively applying it in Ireland. The movement has been materially aided by the establishment of a Government Department of Agriculture charged with the instruction of the farmer in the methods which will enable him to obtain the largest returns from his land. This benefit also we owe to Sir Horace Plunkett. During the Parliamentary recess of 1895 he succeeded in bringing together a Committee of representative men of various parties and creeds, to discuss the need for State assistance in the technical education of the Irish farmers. His views were unanimously endorsed by the Committee—which is known as the Recess Committee—and a petition was presented to the Government praying for the institution of a State

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Department which would fulfil the functions of a Ministry of Agriculture for Ireland. Fortunately we had at the time a Chief Secretary whose sympathy with any feasible scheme for the genuine welfare of the country was assured—Mr. Gerald Balfour. Mr. Balfour cordially adopted the proposals of the Committee, embodied them in a Bill which he carried through Parliament in 1899, and in due course the Department of Agriculture, with Sir Horace Plunkett at its head, began its career of beneficence. How much it has achieved, how fully it has realized the anticipations of those who planned it, I may not here stay to estimate.

I am concerned only with the co-operative movement in Irish Agriculture and the manner in which it has affected the fortunes of our small farmers. That it has been productive of much material good to those who employed its methods with intelligence and energy is beyond question; that it has been barren of useful results where those qualities were wanting is equally undeniable. But valuable as have been its achievements and wide as has been its range, it is, nevertheless, in the minds of its promoters only a part of a greater programme. The larger aim is nothing less than the reconstruction of rural life as a whole, the building up of a rural civilization which shall counteract the forces that are everywhere drawing the best elements of the rural population to the towns, and which shall check the evils to which this drain is giving rise in town and country alike. The means by which all this may be accomplished are summed up by Sir Horace Plunkett in a formula of which he makes constant use—"better farming, better business, and better living." For the first of these three reforms our Department of Agriculture is providing efficiently, the second our co-operative societies are successfully promoting, for the third other agencies allied with the societies are at work. At an early stage of the movement a scheme of what was called "home-brightening" was put



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in operation in certain selected centres where successful co-operative societies had been established. Educated ladies who had experience of peasant life in the more advanced rural communities of the continent were settled in model cottages, where they received the women and girls of the locality and taught them such elements of housekeeping as would enable them to turn the resources of house and garden and farmyard to the best account. When the confidence of the pupils had been gained the instructress was invited to give her lessons in their homes. Here she advised and assisted in the preparation of the family dinner with results that surprised the household; suggested reforms in the matter of cleanliness and order and helped in carrying them out; counselled a larger use of garden fruit and vegetables and taught the methods of preserving them. The men of the family soon came to appreciate these changes, and gave their assistance with a will. Floors were laid down, simple carpentering executed as required, whitewash liberally applied, the garden enriched with fruit trees and flowers and hitherto unheard of vegetables, the approach to the dwelling house gravelled or sanded and roses trained against the walls. No results of their work were more gratifying to the promoters of agricultural co-operation than these, for here they were in touch with the ultimate human interests which all the rest was meant to serve, and saw realized the final results to which their efforts in other fields led up.

The cost of the scheme was defrayed by Sir Horace Plunkett; to it he devoted the salary attached to his office of Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture. But neither he nor the men who were his first helpers were satisfied of their competence to administer it satisfactorily. It was essentially woman's work, and should be in women's hands. Into those hands it has now passed. An Association of women, who, as a symbol of their union for a purpose for which all parties may combine



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have adopted the designation "United Irishwomen," has been formed in alliance with the I.A.O.S. They have taken over the "home-brightening" scheme and have considerably enlarged its scope. To them its further development may confidently be left.

So far, I have not exemplified the principles of our movement by any concrete instance of their application. Before concluding I may cite one case which will serve as representative of many others. I take it from a typical congested District on the seaboard of County Donegal. A vast tract of spongy moor, broken here and there by protruding rocks stretches inland from the rugged Ocean Coast. Grey stony hills bound the dreary expanse on the East, forming a watershed from which sudden floods pour down into the lowlands. The land of this unpromising tract furnishes the main subsistence of an abounding population. Fishing along the coast, knitting and various kinds of needlework in the cottages, and the earnings of the men and boys who migrate annually to Scotland for spring and harvest work, add substantially to the incomes of many families. But the products of the land—the patches of oats and potatoes cultivated upon spots specially favoured by nature, or reclaimed with infinite labour from the waste, together with the hardy cattle and sheep that browse upon the rocky slopes—are their mainstay. The natural resources of their holdings may be estimated when I mention that in one case into which I inquired, I found that the valuation for rating purposes of a holding of six hundred acres, was two pounds, two shillings; that of another of four hundred acres, fourteen shillings and sixpence. In the latter instance, the "farm" had been purchased under the Land Act of 1903, and the annuity payable to the Estate Commissioners was nine shillings and one penny. A population struggling for subsistence in these conditions was the natural prey of the gombeen-man; and he flourished exceedingly among them. He

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held them tightly in the bonds of debt, commanded their votes for his election to the County and District Councils, administered justice in the Petty Sessions Court; in fact, dominated public and private life throughout the district.

The outlook for co-operation in such a community was by no means promising. It was preached none the less; its advantages expounded, and its methods explained. Then there appeared a factor in the situation on which no one had counted—the capacities and character of the people. They were all of pure Celtic strain—Gallaghers, O'Donnells, O'Dohertys—and we had been taught to look for business ability in Ulster only to the descendants of the Scotch and English Planters. These mere Irishmen received the co-operative gospel willingly, and soon showed that they had intelligence, loyalty to one another and steadfastness of purpose amply sufficient to reduce it to practice. A Credit Society—a harmless form of co-operation in the eyes of the gombeen-man—was established, and managed with conspicuous ability. Then the bolder spirits passed on to an Agricultural Society and a store. The Store was at first a very modest emporium, located in a hill-side cottage. Its significance was, however, at once appreciated by the gombeen fraternity, and they combined their forces to crush it. The free men among its supporters held fast to their purpose; of the bondsmen many supported it surreptitiously; and it was maintained in spite of the fierce opposition. After a time, its increase of business warranted the Committee in moving from the hill-side to a vacant house in the neighbouring village. Only the independent supporters of the enterprise dared venture into the new premises by day, but the tied and the timid came through the back door by night. In this way such progress was made, that when the best store in the village was put up for sale, on the death of the owner, it was purchased by the Society, and the co-operative business had room for new and important developments.

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The last yearly balance-sheet submitted to the general meeting of the Society, showed a turn-over of £12,000; out of the profits on which a bonus of 10 per cent on his purchases was paid to each member. Every requirement of home and farm is provided for by the Society. Its vans deliver goods within a radius of ten miles from the village, thus saving the house-holders weary journeys over bleak and difficult roads. Eggs and butter are collected and sold at the best current prices. Contracts are made for knitting, embroidery, and other household industries, and the necessary materials supplied. Cattle and sheep are slaughtered, and beef and mutton—hitherto unknown luxuries—distributed at prices which the humblest can afford. Meantime social work is not neglected. A hall has been built in which the Society holds its meetings, lectures are delivered, instruction in housewifery imparted, dances, concerts and other entertainments held. In short, it may be said that co-operation has changed the whole outlook of life for this community. To what extent it gives like results elsewhere, is determined by the degree in which the people concerned possess the virtues of intelligence and character with which the Donegal community is so richly dowered.

Last month we were honoured by the visit of an American Commission which had come to Europe to study the co-operative methods employed in the Old World to solve the problems of rural life. What Ireland has taught them, how much they have learned from our successes and failures, we must wait for their Report to know. Of one truth, however, we may feel assured we have convinced them: that the agricultural co-operative society offers to men of good will, whatever their differences of creed or class or party, a field in which all may unite to make lighter the burdens of the tiller of the soil, and give him a larger share in that civilization of which his labour is the basis.

# The Gospel and Asceticism

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## I

### AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

"Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people." Luke 2:10.

"And even now is the axe also laid unto the root of the trees; every tree, therefore, that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." Luke 3:9.

So the prelude of the Gospel sounded in the mouths of angels and of the Baptist; a sound of wonderful contrast. The sweet tones of the shepherd's pipe and the crashing trumpet of judgment.

And it is the same with the words of Jesus.

"Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see." Luke 10:23.

"Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they would have repented long ago. Howbeit it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the judgment than for you." Luke 10:13f.

"Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls; for my yoke is easy and my burden is light." Matthew 11:28-30.

"For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees,

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ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." Matthew 5:20.

Persuasion and warning, blessing and woe! And an echo is found in St. Paul:

"Who shall separate us from the love of God . . . I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Jesus Christ our Lord." Rom. 8:35, 38.

"Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." Phil. 2:12.

It seems to be contradictory, and yet the one note can not stand without the other. Through the whole history of the Christian Church sounds this two-fold note. Now one, now the other, is predominant. One can observe that both notes periodically vary in Christian piety. The joyousness of the primitive assurance of salvation is succeeded in Gnosticism by a tendency to rigorous asceticism. Though there were some lax groups among these freethinkers of ancient Christianity, on the whole the Gnostics were worthy of respect because of their deeply moral seriousness. The Church was victorious over these internal as well as over its external foes, but in the moment of its victory a strong ascetical current invaded the best and most spiritually advanced circle within it; monasticism came to be the exponent of Christian devotion. In the Middle Ages appears St. Francis, happy in his pursuit of the poverty of the life of Jesus, and contemporaneously with him comes the darker fanaticism of the Spanish Dominic. Along with the friends of God, blissfully happy in the love of God, there are the Flagellants with their rods, raging through the country, bent on averting God's fearful retribution. Luther preaches with the happy belief of the child (one need only recall his letter to his son Hans) the Gos-



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pel of the newly discovered grace of God. Calvin seeks in Geneva to actualize the City of God in all the rigour of Holiness. A. H. Francke's insistence on repentance gives way to Zinzendorf's passionate love of Jesus with its emphasis on the grace welling forth from the wounds in the side of the Lamb of God. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries much was made in sermon and hymn of God's love and His goodness. If signs are not deceptive they indicate in our day the rising of another note. Things look serious, very serious, in the world about us and men's feelings are keyed to a serious pitch.

But let us make no mistake; this change has causes other than religious. Certain as it is that the stronger predominance at one time of the earnest, at another time of the joyful tone in Christianity is based on profound religious motives, so just as certainly are purely cultural motives at work producing these changes. Religion is not only the intercourse of the soul with God and of God with the soul; it is not a line but a sphere. Such a surface must be determined by at least three points. To God and the Ego must assuredly be added the world. Man's religious character is altogether determined by the relation which exists between God and the world; yet I can not come into the right relation to God without the world, or to the world without God, although there is certainly an opposition between God and the world. In impulse and counter impulse, the drawing towards and drawing away from constitute a kind of pendulum motion; world-empire, world-renunciation, joy in the gifts of civilized life, and enmity to them. In antiquity asceticism was an evidence of decadence; even in Christianity, if we compare Jesus, the apostles, and the post-apostolic times; Jesus in contrast to the Baptist almost a worldling, his disciples, Paul, himself alien to the world, their followers denouncing the world. If later on, in contrast to the ostensible denial of the world by the majority of Christians, we find the great

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Christian teachers of Alexandria (St. Clement of Alexandria with his tract, "Can a rich man be saved?") striving to effect a compromise between Christianity and culture, this attempt is, despite its appeal to the Gospel, something different. This compromise with culture reaches its zenith in the great theologians of the fourth century. It is the Christian Church which preserves culture through the storms of the Barbarian invasions, but the same Church presents the ideal of Renunciation, the monastery. The knightly troubadour and singer of love lyrics is balanced by the crusader. In the cities, ever reaching a higher degree of prosperity and artistic dexterity, whose citizens erected stately cathedrals and excellent schools, were found the settlements of the mendicant friars. The brilliant epoch of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts is followed by that of the Puritans. To the artificial civilization of the dazzling French monarchy succeeds the cry of J. J. Rousseau, "Back to Nature"—a cry which the Revolution degrades into "Back to the Brute." Germany suffered long from the results of the Thirty Years' War; then came the period of French domination. The glorious victories that led to the refounding of the Empire brought us into a period of Liberalism which rejoiced in the salvation offered by culture until the intoxication point was reached. Now again the pendulum swings back, and from all sides, not solely from those under Christian influence, comes the new visitant, weariness with culture, disgust of the world; an impetus towards asceticism.

Religion and civilization, bound inseparably in reciprocal action, work together in the loom of time. In the light of these ascetic tendencies of our day, undeniably present, an unprejudiced observer may ask with due regard to prudence, "How far have these changes their sources in altogether different tendencies which have nothing to do with the Gospel?"

Before we follow this line of thought further in a prac-

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tical direction, it is necessary to set in a positive and clear light the two conceptions: Gospel and Asceticism.

### II

#### AN EXAMINATION OF PRINCIPLES

What is the Gospel? What is asceticism? Both conceptions are capable of widely different meanings. About each history must speak the decisive word. The Gospel emerged as an opposing element, not to polytheism, not to pagan natural religion, not to the dualism of the Persian morality of conflict, not to the speculative redemption scheme of Indian Buddhism; it was an outgrowth of Judaism and in this sphere it appears in opposition to the religion of the law. Israel has a divine covenant, it has promises from God, but their fulfilment was dependent upon acts done by the people, by each individual. There was a longing for the messianic age. But no matter what was the degree of effort, what the measure of fulfilment of the law, the conditions of attainment to the messianic age could not be fulfilled. Large masses of the people were excluded just because of their social status from the paralysing legalism that was put into practice by the group of Pharisees who numbered about six thousand all told. The former were the despised people of the country. Then Jesus came with the message—God's Kingdom, God's rule comes. Not that he taught a morality differing from the experts in the law, not that he preached the father love of God that claims unlimited trust in him, a trust not dependent on priest and offering—this is not the new or decisive factor, but that he announces the approach of God's kingdom. This is a message from God; God therefore sends his salvation without waiting for man's act to deserve it by observance of the law; God has sent Jesus, not simply as a prophetic messenger, rather as one who brings the kingdom of God. If he does not

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so appear in his words, yet the presence of the Kingdom of God appears in all its holiness in the whole activity that irradiates from the person of Jesus. The sick are made well, sinners repent, the disciples become possessed of holiness. It is true the Master's road leads through suffering to death and even to his disciples he announces suffering. They must bear their cross after him, and as he is assured not only of the victory of his cause but also of his person, he speaks to them, not of losing life, but of winning it.

No matter how many imperative commands are found in the Gospel, we misunderstand it if we construct out of it a new law. It is a message of salvation; it begins with the affirmations of blessedness. It is not found in a consolation based upon an uncertain future; no, Jesus brings what he promises. The Gospel is the message of a saving act done by God, it speaks of God's determination to bring man to blessedness, a decision that has been actualized in the sending of Jesus. Whence Jesus has this message, what this involves in relation to the person of Jesus, all this we need not here investigate. Sufficient for us is the definiteness with which he speaks of God and God's will, the immediacy which marks his relation to God. God is for him the all determining reality; he knows him, he brings him to mankind.

This God is the creator of heaven and earth, who has to all, great and small, an immediate positive relation, who feeds the birds and clothes the flowers as he too numbers the hairs of man's head. He has created the holy ordinance of marriage, he creates the meat and drink, from him man receives what he possesses. All this is simply a matter of course with Jesus; he causes his disciples to pray not less for their daily bread than for forgiveness of sins; he eats and drinks with the publicans and sinners, undisturbed by the prejudices of the devotees who fear contamination. All this he does as the Son of God who knows the Father wholly as no one else does.



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The gospels give the completion of the development of the idea of God which has been prepared through the prophets. All the remnants, even all the shackles of national limitation in this conception of God are done away; pure ethical monotheism stands out by itself. This was only possible on the foundation of Judaism. The New Testament presupposes the existence of the Old. This is one of the most important historical facts to keep in mind. In terms of religious faith we may say: we believe that God has chosen for himself a people in order to reveal himself through them and in them and thus make possible his supreme self-revelation in Jesus Christ.

This is the Gospel presented as Jesus' message, and that it is this is proved when we consider it as the message of the apostles about Jesus Christ. What else after all is the Pauline Gospel of God's grace? Man's action is not involved but God's mercy. He has sent his Son into the world, he has imposed on the apostles the word of reconciliation, he calls them, he gives his Holy Spirit. By him is the Christian what he is, by him is he in Christ and this the sum of salvation. Man has only to lay hold on faith, he who believes is right with God. But this God in whose grace and love the Christian abides, the Father of Jesus Christ, is the God who has created the world, whose spirit hallows all nature. So we read: "The old has passed away, see all has become new" (II Cor. 5:17), and yet, "Let every man abide in the state in which he was called" (I Cor. 7:20). The principle of renewal remains: to this form all the warnings of the Apostles can be reduced (especially I Thess. 4:3ff); and yet humanity is not disclaimed: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things" (Phil. 4:8). The Gospel of grace brings as "fruit of the Spirit love,



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joy, peace, long suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance" (Gal. 5:22).

Asceticism is not simply to be determined by the actual meaning of the word: practice, practice of virtue. It is true this construction is possible; for example Philo so construes it, finding its type in Jacob—Israel (*De Joseph*. I). Today we understand by asceticism a quite distinct form of morality which has as its goal abstinence from all kinds of things otherwise allowed, *i.e.*, renunciation. One can deny oneself from very different motives. The heathen avoids certain foods because he regards them as consecrated, *i.e.*, filled with the divinity; the Jew, others because they are unclean, *i.e.*, for him they appear associated with demons. In its fullest meaning asceticism always assumes a dualistic view of the world. Spirit and matter appear to be incompatible. This combination in man is not willed by God but is the result of the Fall. Marriage regarded solely from the point of view of sexual impulse was the result and expression of this unholy association, and generation only a means of creating other creatures of this mixed origin. Consequently all sexual intercourse in marriage as well as out of marriage was to be avoided. The taking of food served only to give additional power to matter, to increase sensuousness, especially the consumption of flesh and the drinking of wine. In this latter case, correct physiological observations in regard to the stimulating effect of these kinds of nourishment were combined with others that were half religious or superstitious (transmigration of souls). Possessions, property, money, provoke covetousness, tie men down to sensual enjoyment, introduce inequality among them. Therefore to make the soul free and to unite it with God from which it comes, emancipated from its unholy entanglement with matter, asceticism was practiced in regard to marriage, food, possessions. To these the East added not only asceticism of thought, feeling, desire, but also acts of all kinds

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to nullify sensuousness. The Indian fakir, or Dschogi, who swallows fire or who dislocates his body in various ways is the true type of this kind of asceticism. The Indian gymnosophists, known to the Greek world from the time of Alexander, were taken as models in this sphere. When Christianity appeared, the world was full of such ascetics—Palestine, where Josephus received instruction from a hermit, Banus; Rome, where young Seneca took up vegetarianism for a while. The Cynics taught that all property should be abandoned, that civilized life should be renounced. This asceticism had nothing to do with the Gospel, it came into Christianity from the outside. The first and most intense impact comes through Gnosticism with its speculations about aeons that clearly show its naturally dualistic background. The apostles of this gnostic Christianity instruct wives to separate from their husbands, they require abstinence from flesh and wine, and preach against property. It is remarkable to observe the attitude taken by Christianity to this propaganda of asceticism. It was strongly impressed by the moral earnestness it contained; in contrast with the enormous immorality of the world at that date, it seemed to offer a rigid boundary. Not all agreed with Paul in labeling the ascetics weak and in calling those who claimed to use their freedom strong. The will power of the ascetics made a deep impression. Hence the great sympathy which such teaching met. The transformation of life which the apostles had emphasized appeared to find here its purest expression, the severity of Christianity seemed recognized in it.

Yet the leaders of Christianity opposed the gnostic movement and rightly so. Paul clearly sees that speculations as to aeons contradict the central position of Christ as completely as the asceticism bound up with them is contrary to the Gospel. He puts his views paradoxically, speaking of a self-chosen worship of God for the satisfaction of the flesh (Col. 2:23). Celibate as

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he is, he champions the divine right of marriage (I Cor. 7), the moral justification of all kinds of food. In opposition to such ascetic inclinations the Pastoral Letters (I Tim. 5:3) present the use of wine as good for the health. Though Christian writers, especially in the post-apostolic age, declaim against the intoxication of wealth, yet even the apocryphal literature holds up as the Christian ideal, in contrast to the simple abandonment of property taught by the Cynics, the useful employment of earthly possessions. The attack of dualistic asceticism was beaten off but the movement continued. It penetrated into Catholicism only in its weakened form of a double moral standard. The right of so-called positive morality was recognized. It is St. Paul's splendid merit, in which, too, many nameless leaders of the community in the first and second century share, that this positive morality was kept as the inalienable possession of Christianity. Yet it was only as a lower level. Even within the Catholic Church the higher ideal was found in the negative morality of the ascetic. Above the Christian in the world stands the monk; nay, sometimes it appears as if (just as in Buddhism), only the monk is the perfect Christian. Dualistic asceticism which in the eastern monastic life produces so many wild developments (as in the redemption religions of India) strives to triumph over the Gospel. It is to the credit of the Church that this point was never reached. All attempts to raise asceticism into the position of a law in Christianity were vigorously withstood. Paradoxically enough, asceticism was only practised as an "evangelic counsel."

The Reformation broke with this position. It allows the addition of no standard of morality above the ordinary Christian standard. It acknowledges no caste differences among Christian people. Is this the Gospel, or is it rather humanism, an acceptance of the renaissance attitude, as opposed to the medieval renunciation of

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the world? Is it a renewal of heathenism in opposition to the more spiritually Christian ideal of surrender to God? I answer with full assurance: *It is* the Gospel. It is the clear recognition that the Father of Jesus Christ is God and Lord of the World, that he conditions his grace on man's performances and that he wills to know nothing of works of supererogation.

An ancient apologist called the soul of man Christian by birth. In the light of the history of Catholicism we know that it is by nature heathen and Jewish. It is not free from a natural dualism and from the effort to achieve works of merit. To have driven this tendency out is the greatest service of the Reformation, or, should we not rather say, to drive this out still remains the great task of the Evangelical Churches? Even among the Reformation Churches the ascetic spirit has attained great activity, and at present it is particularly vigorous. My honoured friend, the late historian of Jena, Gelzer, a Protestant through and through, wrote an apology for monasticism; and from student circles I have heard arise a longing complaint, "Oh, if we only had monasteries where one could live simply and could study quietly." A man like F. W. Förster preaches asceticism and there are other voices heard beside his. What is the explanation of this? This brings us to the third question, that of practical criticism.

### III

#### PRACTICAL CRITICISM

The Gospel seems, in spite of all objections, to require asceticism. Certainly not a violently dualistic kind. Such, of course, is altogether excluded by the conception of God held by Jesus, but self-denial, a surrender of one's rights, which, after all, means asceticism. When we hear of those who are eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake (Matt. 19:12), when we are told that a



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camel can go through the eye of a needle easier than a rich man can enter the Kingdom of God (Matt. 19:24), that to the man who gives up houses or brothers or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children, for the name of Jesus, is promised a hundred-fold reward and everlasting life—does not this mean that a Christian must abstain from marriage, possessions, family and home? Is not the passage in Luke 14:26 superlatively severe? “If any man cometh unto me that hateth not his own father and mother, his wife and children and brethren and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.” Then we must add the words about smiting the cheek, the coat which is given away, the plucking out of the eye, the cutting off of the hand. Does not this mean the end of all personal honour, all rights, all that is natural? The Gospel has often enough in later days been condemned because of these its ascetic tendencies. It is curious, however, that his contemporaries were unable to discover any traces of this ascetic tendency in Jesus, and also that he places himself in conscious opposition to the ascetic John. As Buddhism, which in its influences seems in many ways to us the quintessence of asceticism, presents itself to the specialist rather as a reaction against the exaggerated asceticism of the Indian penitential system, in the same way Jesus stands as opposed to the Baptist in his freedom from asceticism. The words noted above were not intended to be severe ascetic demands and they were not understood in this sense. They are an expression of a feeling of complete surrender to God and to Christ. They imply an understanding of the immeasurable greatness of the salvation that is given in Jesus.

Let us not confuse Christian seriousness and asceticism, since for no consideration would we be willing to weaken the serious note in the Gospel for the sake of accepting the existing standards of civilization or to encourage enthusiasm for the level of worldly life, but neither



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do we desire to weaken the Gospel down to a contempt of the world, or to a disgust of civilization. I am bold enough to state the case as a paradox: Asceticism implies less than the demands made upon us by the Gospel. Asceticism moreover means a sum of renunciations—it requires only a sum of performances that are meritorious. But the Gospel requires the full surrender of the whole man to God and to the Lord. The Gospel requires, no, rather it creates this surrender. We need but take with full seriousness the thought of the greatness of the salvation conferred upon us, and the faith involved with it. If ancient Christians did not regard as severe the demands that we look askance at, this was not because of their inclination to asceticism but because of a faith that took the kingdom of heaven by violence. He who is certain of the heavenly kingdom, of a share in God's government of the world, of the coming judgment of the world, of what significance to him is hunger and thirst, nakedness, even scourgings and the sword of the executioner? "For thy sake we are killed all the day long . . . in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us." (Rom. 8:36f.) There is nothing more hallowed than a mother's love, and it is a denial of nature when it expires in a mother's heart. But if a Christian martyr deserts a child for the sake of confessing her Lord, if a Christian widow at the death of her only child says with steadfast mind, "The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord," in order afterwards to live for charity and to show to hundreds of children the love which she would have shown to her own child, this is really faith, not asceticism.

This brings me to a final practical and essential consideration. We find that it is in the most deeply Christian circles that the thought of sacrifice holds a primary place. The individual must offer a sacrifice for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven. I do not regard this as the

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supremely Christian attitude, although certainly many words of the Lord seem to point to this conclusion. Entirely apart from the fact that it is easily brought to involve the thought of merit—all these great sacrifices have I made, what is to be my gain?—even as a thank-offering I cannot allow it to be valid. I do not mean that I reject the expression of thanks for grace that has been shown in the form of extraordinary acts, especially when it takes the form of generous offerings for missions or other causes; quite the contrary; but I do not want it to be considered a sacrifice. In such a conception there is concealed according to customary use always a form of denial that is treated as more or less hard to bear. As long as it is considered to be a sacrifice it is not what it should be, because God loveth a cheerful giver. Jesus did not speak against alms, prayers, and fasting, but against blowing a trumpet, the parading of prayers and sad countenances. Luther also preserves something of the idea of the gladsomeness of fasting, but he was disgusted with everything that might have the show of good works. So when he says in his hymns, "Take from us our life, our goods, our honour, our child and wife; let them all go, there is no profit in them, the Kingdom still abide for us," these words have nothing to do with ascetic sacrifices. They are war cries and songs of triumph. They appear again in Tersteegen as voluntary renunciation. "We gladly give up all vanities, all lusts of the earth and its joys. Our will, soul, life and body are surrendered into thy hands; to thee alone it appertaineth, our God and Lord, to thee belongeth the honour." Such trustful surrender to the majesty of God the Father is so powerfully expressed that this denial or renunciation becomes something altogether plain and simple. The Christian who knows his God cannot possibly be anything different. Therefore, not sacrifice but self-surrender. Not renunciation but faith. Not asceticism but the Gospel.

# The Heart of the Gospel and the Preacher

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At the present time it is frequently assumed that experience has, upon the whole, passed sentence on the custom of doctrinal preaching. Sermons bearing a close resemblance to chapters out of a dogmatic text-book may have been effective in a past generation, but their day, it is said, is over; the modern congregation wishes something brighter, simpler, more humane. People have now less faith in the speculative insight of the pulpit; they suspect that theology, as a constructive system, has broken down in discredit; the majority come to church to feel merely, not think. The preacher's function is to touch the heart and imagination, and most of all to inspire conscience with zeal for that service of God which consists mainly in promoting social welfare.

This is curiously out of relation to facts of recent history. The greatest preachers of the nineteenth century were also great teachers of doctrine, who influenced profoundly the course of theological thought in English-speaking lands. Newman and Dale in England, Bushnell and Brooks in America, were able from the pulpit to disseminate fresh and suggestive ideas which, caught up by receptive minds, passed out into general currency and enriched the common mind. They deliberately chose to expound Christian truth in the majesty of its fulness. Doctrinal preaching is therefore by no means a phrase in which noun and adjective are at war. In

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well-known cases we see it to have been a practical reality.

Further, the idea that the people will not stand doctrinal preaching is a presumption widely current which may well be reconsidered in the light of facts. It seems unquestionable only as long as no one questions it. Too often it has been forgotten that the ministry may be obliged to bring first to full consciousness a need which it then satisfies; but, apart from this, three considerations suggest that the longing for an ample presentation of Christian truth may be more broadly diffused than we care to think. In the first place, it has been the experience of many preachers to receive more earnest thanks for sermons on great Christian doctrines than at any other time; second, it is noticeable that in churches where the pastor believes in preaching of this sort, and does his best to furnish it, the proportion of men in the audience is larger than usual; thirdly, it is quite certain that young men and women who have been reaching after faith are at present specially anxious to have Christian truth put before them worthily and intelligibly. They have a rough notion that within the past half-century the structure of belief has been in a large degree remodelled, and they wish to learn how things now stand and whether the newer views have a real meaning for their lives. Along with this goes the consideration that the obvious simplifying of theological terms which has recently taken place, makes the work of exposition appreciably more direct and concrete, and in that sense more attractive.

But if doctrine is to be preached, one great truth demands to be set forth with special clarity and power, for it constitutes the heart of the Christian gospel. This is the truth contained in the death of Christ for a sinful world. And in regard to it, is it superfluous to begin by saying that we must not preach what we do not believe? Now and then one hears a speaker who makes the im-

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pression of talking beyond his own experience. In one sense doubtless we all do this, for a man may quite well be convinced of a Christian verity which transcends his own life. He may be convinced of God's care for the world at large, and His loving plans for the future of mankind. We have not of course *experienced* these things; yet their roots lie sunk in the immediate certainties of faith, so that as convictions they are but the universalized form of truth verified in personal religion. It is very different when a man consents to say things about the death of Christ which are at variance with his deepest ethical or spiritual beliefs. It is no sound defensive plea that these things are orthodox, or current in his circle, or even deducible by grammar and lexicon from the Bible. Not merely will the people discern that something is wrong somewhere, feeling perhaps more than perceiving the false note by that subtle gift of discrimination which marks the Spirit-filled community. In addition, by this failure to have a conscience about doctrine he is shutting in his own face the gateway that leads to better knowledge. Only he that wills to do the will of God (and the pursuit of truth is God's will) can know of the teaching.

But this may be assumed. It is probably much more relevant to say that we are bound to preach, respecting the Atonement, what we do believe. It is our duty to pass on all positive truth we have attained. Personally, I think this an obligation very necessary to be urged on the beginner. Observation proves that a real temptation exists for the novice—a temptation keenest probably for the best men—to obey here an impulse to silence. Such men say: We do not hold the inherited or conventional doctrine of Atonement; there is no likelihood we shall ever hold it; our best plan is to leave the subject severely alone, and concern ourselves with matters as to which our minds are made up. It is not merely that astuteness counsels the neglect of topics



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on which the preacher knows he cannot satisfy the accepted standard; it is rather that men feel they cannot preach this doctrine with passion, and no preaching which is not passionate is Christian. This is a temptation strongest perhaps for the strongest minds, but it cannot be said too emphatically that the temptation is one to be resisted. The worthier plan, the plan with most courage in it, most wisdom, and most love, is that the preacher should tell out all communicable truth which he has learnt and made his own. If he is a Christian at all, it is impossible but that he shares *some* ancient convictions on the subject. It is not possible that he should have nothing heartfelt to say on such great verses as these: "In Whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses"; "This cup is the new covenant in My blood"; "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world." These infinite words awake echoes in his mind; echoes which can be put in language and spoken to the listener. They inspire witness to Jesus Christ. Whatever the scope of that witness, whatever its limits or defects or obscurities, at least it is worth offering; it is in order that he may offer it that the preacher is called to his function by the Christian people. To bear testimony to the redeeming death of Jesus—what it has done for us and made of us—to set it forth in the light of personal conviction and as a great ethical reality, this is the honour permitted to the preacher in the Church of God. It is also the sacrifice demanded of him, for the modern evangelist has frequently come to share the experience of St. Paul that we discover what it means to be "a fool for Christ's sake" when, in conscious weakness and inadequacy, we press the Atonement on the sinful. But either way, whether spoken in triumph or in frailty, the believing testimony is incomplete as long as we omit the Cross. We are not asked to say one word we disbelieve; but we *are* asked to say

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all we know, and to say it with our whole soul. All true hearts in the congregation will be conscious debtors to the man who fulfils this duty. They will not complain that his witness is imperfect, not at least those who know most about Christ and the human mind; since in his faltering testimony they can see richer meanings than he is himself aware of.

Besides the more general argument, that we gain insight in proportion to our fidelity, there are two more specific arguments which may be noticed briefly. The first is that without preaching Atonement we cannot preach on the Bible. Doubtless we may preach about human life, in certain of its superficial and temporary aspects; we may preach the unassisted contents of our own minds—the changing moods and whims and fancies of the soul—and contrive to get through with comparatively little reference to the Cross. I have actually heard an able man conduct an entire communion service in which not the faintest allusion was made to Jesus' death. The feat might appear impossible; nevertheless he did it, and anything drearier I have never known. A pall of thick darkness came down upon our spirits as he went on and on, omitting resolutely the one thing needful. But this is not preaching the Bible. It is not preaching the facts in which the Christian religion is constituted. We do not need to say that the New Testament is all about the Atonement, for it is not. We do not even need to say that in the New Testament the Work of Christ is more important than His Person. But if we have read the Gospels, and noted the extraordinary proportion of space given to the Passion; if we have read the Epistles, on the outlook for their main drift and interest, we are obliged to say that apostolic Christianity without Atonement is as inept as the sentence without a verb. The verb is *the word*, telling what is done; and the Cross of Jesus is the great

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universal word of God, proclaiming what He does to reach and win the sinful. The solemn wonders of that Death are the apostles' unfading theme. In faith and hope and love they place mind and heart beneath its shadow, returning over and over to its measureless significance for past, present, future. In the light of it are to be read their affirmations concerning the Love of God; His inviolable righteousness; His free, unbought, exceeding mercy; the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. With that endless reiteration which, as with the poet's rapture over Love or Nature, demonstrates that the mind is dealing with an infinite object, they tell us more and more regarding the Cross, yet convey an irresistible impression that the half has not been told. It is represented in every kind of aspect and related to every sort of interest. It is interpreted as preordained of God, foretold by prophets, accomplished by Jesus only; as voluntary, and necessary and acceptable to God; as exhibiting the Father's judgment and mercy, His grief over sin, His self-sacrifice in Jesus for the sinful. It mediates pardon, it reconciles those who were at enmity, it breaks the power of moral evil, it signalizes the defeat of every hostile potency, it inaugurates the era of the Spirit. The knowledge of it has been committed to the Church as a sacred trust; the preaching of it creates the faith that overcomes the world. It is brought close to the believing heart in the Holy Table. How absorbed these men are in the treasures of redemption, and how unfailingly they relate the possession of these treasures to something which happened when Christ died! Their minds are held by what Jesus "anticipated in Gethsemane and underwent on Calvary"; in view of it they feel themselves authorized to declare the full and irrevocable forgiveness of sins and to say all but incredible things about the love of God. One feels that St. Paul need not have "determined" to know nothing among the Corinthians save Jesus Christ and

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Him crucified. Determination was unnecessary; he could not help himself.

But if this be so, if the Cross is the flesh and blood of the New Testament, so that if it be removed only a skeleton is left, this has an extremely direct bearing on the preacher's task. Here is the sacred book of the Christian religion—sacred, not because of its antiquity or its contribution to human culture, but because it is charged with truth which saves. There is a life in it which captures and subdues the soul, and which experience prompts us to name Divine. And from beginning to end it is characteristic of this book to contemplate Jesus as appointed to death for human sin. Before the Cross, He is represented as about to die; after the Cross, He is the Risen One, with the virtue of His atoning death in Him for ever. This surely is a commanding fact. It obviously raises the question whether modern preaching is in line with the creative convictions of primitive Christianity. Is there a continuity of life between the New Testament and the evangelism of to-day? Every one knows there has never been an age comparable to our own for exact scientific Bible study. Never has the Church poured out such intellectual and spiritual energy on the precise decipherment of the Scripture message. What is all this for, and in what directions is it telling? Is it to be one result of intensive Biblical research that we ascertain all about St. Paul's demonology and ignore the fact that his religion rested on, and revolved round, a crucified Saviour? Or is it that we shall know everything about both matters—the apostle's belief in devils and his estimate of the Cross—study both in a meticulously antiquarian temper, and permit to neither the faintest influence on our presentation of the Gospel? This may be derided as a caricature of the present situation; but quite seriously we are all acquainted with writers on the New Testament, read by most preachers with the necessary leisure, by whom



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the Pauline view of the Cross is depicted, as well as represented, as nothing more than an obsolete and fanatical eccentricity. Now the man who pores over the canvas with a microscope must not complain that he sees no portrait, or, if he complains, he must not be listened to. Similarly, in preoccupation with the fringes of an apostle's conceptual world, perspective may be so completely missed that great things become small, and we overlook the absorption of his mind in Him "who loved me, and gave Himself for me." It may also escape us that this testimony to the Crucified more than all else availed to still the conscience of men, and filled them with peace and joy.

In all probability, however, the abstract truth of this is not questioned. Facts elicited by Biblical Theology are too plain. But an age which has discarded the dogma of verbal inspiration may naturally desire something more by way of reason for practice than the mental habits of New Testament authors. It is worth noting, accordingly, in the second place, that without preaching Atonement we cannot satisfy the conscience or heart of man. I do not mean that those are not to be found who regard Christ as King, not Priest, or that such men have not done noble and enduring work as His good soldiers. I mean that there are men, even more numerous, for whom the Gospel must provide, who passionately crave for Jesus the Divine Priest, and who have no rest till they find and clasp Him. Still further, I mean that there are situations, terribly and inexorably real, in which the Christian who has nothing to say about vicarious atonement must acknowledge himself baffled, helpless and dumb. The best evidence of a statement like this is a concrete case. Let me give it in another's words:

"In a conversation on this subject, many years ago, with the late Professor Pfeiderer, of Berlin," says a recent writer,<sup>1</sup> "he asked me to give him an actual

<sup>1</sup>See *The Unfinished Symphony*, by Hugh Falconer. I have abridged his narrative slightly.



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instance. I mentioned that a few weeks before our talk a message came to the Manse begging me to come at once to a dying quarryman. The poor fellow was absolutely illiterate. He fastened his hungry eyes on me. What about God whom he must meet in a few hours? I spoke of God's love: in vain. I spoke of His Fatherhood: in vain. Love, compassion, mercy, Fatherhood, were too vague. It was like catching at a glittering vapour. Some instinct of Justice within him refused to be satisfied. So I said, 'God made us and loves us. But we have broken His law and are hopelessly in His debt. But He Himself has "paid our debts." His Christ died for us. There is therefore now no condemnation to those who are in Him.' I gave a rough illustration as a sort of window into a vicarious text. Could not the hungry eyes look through it and catch a glimpse of God Himself? They did see through it. 'Our debts were paid.' He could meet God in Christ his substitute. I put it to my friend: Was there not something honourable in that poor dying quarryman refusing the love till his conscience was satisfied? I can never forget Pfeleiderer's emotion as he replied in effect: If a doctrine really meets a deep human need it must be true."

One fears to spoil this story, but it calls for some brief annotation. Apart from difficulties, by no means negligible, in regard to the words "debt" and "substitute," I can believe that it may be said, in a temper very far from flippancy: Shall we take our theology from a dying quarryman? The answer is: No, but if our message is not such as will save him, such as in his extremity he can lay hold upon and cling to, it is nearly worthless. It means that instances exist, positions really occupied by guilty men, which are beyond our reach. The purpose of a Gospel is to save to the very uttermost, and a situation faces us in which it gives way. Moreover, how are we better than the dying man? Is it not conceivable that the eyes of one who "feels death's winnowing wings" may read the truth more clear than ours? The doctrine of Atonement, let it be remembered, is addressed to the alarmed conscience; it is spoken to one whose consciousness of sin is awake and urgent. Such a consciousness of sin is properly its receiving surface, and the best of men will acknowledge freely that it is only at stray moments they catch sight of sin as it must look to God. No doubt it is alleged confidently that the notion of the Divine wrath is an impossible one for the modern mind. Nothing could be more

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erroneous. Herrmann of Marburg, I imagine, is modern enough for the generality of people, and I shall always remember that day in his lecture-room, nearly twenty years since, when I heard him say that Ritschl's attempt to expel the conception of God's wrath against sin from theology was a great sin against the Christian mind. It is usually because we are not angry enough with our own sin that we deny the anger of God. And yet again, let it not be supposed that by discarding some imperfect theory of Atonement, or some rough-and-ready illustration, we have discarded Atonement as a fact. We may scrutinize as we please the rough practical presentation of it which does duty by the hospital-bed, or on the battle-field; but we are merely playing with the subject, and with the human conscience, unless we recognize that in and through these imperfect symbols men are throwing out their minds at a vast and glorious reality. Symbols have a meaning, and that which they mean is more rich, not less, than the symbolizing terms.

The moral to be drawn is that truth which men perceive distinctly in the hour of death is not true only then, but always; and that an obligation rests upon the Christian preacher to take account of this in his presentation of forgiveness.

However, two objections may be raised at this point. It may be said: I believe in evangelism with all my heart, but I see no reason to regard the use of Atonement as essential for the evangelist's purpose. Men can be brought to God simply through the presentation of Jesus as He lives before us in the Synoptic Gospels. Let Christ be proclaimed as His great nature appears in the most memorable incidents of His career—the healing of the paralytic, the words spoken to the fallen woman in Simon's house, the short conversation with the dying thief; let scenes like these be presented warmly, and they will do their work. Is it not indeed the truth that a

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broken spirit, a melting and humbling consciousness of ill-desert, is a relatively late product of the Christian life? Why assume that a Gospel of Atonement is necessary to lead men to the Father?

There is force and truth in this, but the contention as a whole still fails at the old point. It is not merely that penitents come forward in numbers—many of them people of profound moral earnestness—who insist on a message of Atonement, and whose sense of right can be satisfied no otherwise. This is a question of fact: every pastor knows it is so. But however this may be, surely it matters little when the consciousness of sin originates, at the outset of discipleship, or later. That it should emerge at all, and, once it is here, should flood the mind and absorb every thought—there's the rub! Come when it may, it must be dealt with seriously and in such a manner as to exhibit the Cross as the Divine redemptive act.

But again, a peculiar difficulty may seem to arise from the experience of not a few who embark on the study of theology. Familiar instances will recur to us in which a man who has preached Atonement with heart and will in the first fervour of self-consecration turns away from it later, and by predilection chooses any aspect of truth but that. He comes to College, and intellectual fermentation begins, and the first naive assurance leaves him. It is not meant that the old devotion vanishes, so that the more he learns the less he wants to preach, or that eventually he freezes into a correct pulpit icicle, making discourses for the satisfaction of his own mind, not to help his people. He may not be like that in the least. He may simply be an unusually fastidious, sincere and careful thinker, who is resolved not to speak till he is sure. In any case, there he is, a quite definite and actual phenomenon. What shall we say about him? Shall we say wild things regarding Colleges and study and theorizing, and the damage they

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inflict on the living Church? Scarcely; it would be indeed strange if preaching were the one vocation in which men could engage hopefully without being prepared for it. The preacher is also a teacher, and, as MacLaren puts it, this second duty "can only be done by thoughtful men, who know as well as feel, who understand as well as believe, whose calm minds hold an ordered system of belief, and who have toiled to apprehend Christ the Wisdom as well as to trust Christ the Power of God." But although we refuse to make sport for Philistines by casting doubt on the importance of professional study, one reflection does occur. It is that the temporary estrangement, at first, on a thoughtful man's part is no proof or even presumption that the Atonement is unreal; we may have to reckon it only a special case of a more universal principle, of what Henry Drummond has called "the unconscious tendency in all who pursue culture to get out of step with humanity." The impact of new ideas on an able mind brings a temptation to cherish a sort of singularity, in which remedies and consolations in line with the main march of human affections are put aside. Some day this may change. The analogy from another field suggests that probably it will; we know how "a man who has listened with a kind of frigid superiority to the small domestic talk, amongst his friends, of wife and child, discovers one day that he too is human, and is content to share the elementary experience of a man's life." True, there is at a certain stage nothing more infuriating than the admonition, "In a few years you will know better"! And yet here is a fact worth pondering: men as truth-loving and clear-headed as any, who for a time held aloof from the Atonement as if it were irrelevant to their message, came through deep movings of nature to comprehend it better, and to find it sheer power and delight. Let no man assume that he too may not take this road.



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Thus far little or nothing has been done to define or formulate the truth concerning Atonement which, it is here maintained, is central to the preacher's theme. For manifestly any insistence on a specific theory of reconciliation, as a necessary element of every preacher's equipment, would arouse the unyielding opposition of the sincere. The circumstance, indeed, that no theoretic interpretation of the Cross has persisted throughout the ages is itself proof that doctrinal constructions as such do not enter into the heritage of truth which binds the Christian generations to each other. It is certainly not sufficient to fall back, at this point, on the familiar distinction between fact and theory, and urge that men may preach the Cross without interpreting it. Yet it is legitimate to suggest that whenever the Cross has been contemplated with Christian eyes, it has meant certain quite definite things, and that for the guilty and conscience-stricken the apprehension of these things is life from the dead. Two chief points may be specified.

In the Cross, the gravity of sin is revealed for good and all. The death which Jesus died unveils to men the inconceivable evil of that sinfulness in which they are one with the murderers of Christ, and by letting it do its worst to the Righteous One, God condemned sin more inexorably than if He had on the spot obliterated the human race. No man, therefore, whom the preacher brings to stand before Calvary, and to drink in its moral significance, with heart and conscience laid open to its impression, can fail to gain a new consciousness of sin. Penitence, in its deepest reconciling power, is inseparable from the vision of Christ in death.

In the Cross, we behold the supreme exemplification of the moral principle that forgiveness can only be imparted through agony. None can pardon sin, ultimately, save he who expiates it, and through whose experience of pain the costly gift is mediated. Thus the Cross which detects sin reveals also the unspeakable love of



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God. We have the New Testament on our side in declaring that a man's conception of the Divine grace will be built to the measure of his personal appreciation of Jesus' death, and that no mind is inspired to adoring praise of the Father's mercy except as the sacrifice of Calvary—sacrifice paid not to God merely, but by God—is worthily realized. If then the preacher would evoke faith at its highest power, if he would imbue his hearers with a conception of the Divine love qualified by that infinitude which the soul demands, let him place them full in sight of Him who died for our sake, putting away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.

One may go further and contend that in the light of such thoughts the Cross may quite properly be described as necessary to forgiveness, and therefore as vital to the evangelic message of which forgiveness is the theme. In full view of the Divine Fatherhood, we are entitled to say that Christ's death was necessary as the reaction of the love of God upon human sin and misery. Vicarious love must express itself so; redemption cannot come anywhere save through the suffering of the righteous for the guilty. Assured reconciliation was beyond hope until Jesus, bearing in Himself the very grace and life of God, numbered Himself with the transgressors and took our burdens as His own. This the saints have always felt.

Quaerens me sedisti lassus;  
Redemisti crucem passus;  
Tantus labor non sit cassus.

From the nature of the case, therefore, it appears that if the Atonement is to be preached at all, it constitutes the permanent undertone of all preaching. As long as we leave it out, we fail to introduce men to the measureless grace that has appeared in Jesus; and those who condemn themselves to silence on the matter, ignoring or at all events omitting the Gospel for the sinful

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present in Christ's death, are under a nearly irresistible temptation to speak about man instead of God. Only if the New Testament and the great hymns guide us, will the message of the modern pulpit continue to be pervaded by those deep tones which men love to hear in a preacher's voice.

# Religious Freedom in Russia in the Light of History

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Before we take up the question of religious freedom in Russia, we must make clear the basic principles which are to guide the mutual relations of separate confessions in general. In this way we shall be able to judge to what extent the conditions of alien creeds in Russia accord with these basic principles.

And so, how should a religious confession consider the existence of other confessions side by side with it?

Every Church—the Orthodox, the Roman Catholic, the Evangelical Lutheran and the Armenian Gregorian, etc.,—considering that it alone is the true Church of Christ, membership in which is absolutely necessary for salvation, proclaims its own doctrine the only true doctrine, excludes the doctrines of other Churches as false, and, taking their followers for aliens, sees them in a perfectly negative light. It considers them to be persons who are in error concerning truth and is eager to bring them within its own pale. It could not be otherwise. As in itself truth is one and there can not be two contradictory truths, there can not be two true Christian Churches, differing in the substance of their doctrines. The true Church of Christ is and must be one.

Hence come the following conclusions:—

1. No Church may have any exterior jurisdiction over the followers of other Christian confessions or use com-

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pulsion in spreading its own statutes and ritual to persons not belonging to it. Both the Church and State authority of Russia complied with this rule very strictly with regard to Non-Orthodox Christians. In 1673, even the Patriarch of all the Russians declined to judge a Dane, accused of bigamy, replying to the Lutherans who asked for his verdict, that the man in question was outside his jurisdiction. Our present legislation strictly forbids separate Christian confessions to interfere with each other's religious affairs, also forbidding the clergy to administer to the religious needs of people of other confessions.<sup>1</sup>

2. On the other hand no Church is bound to administer its spiritual gifts to persons who do not belong to it. In cases where the performance of a religious act is asked for by two persons, one of whom does not belong to the Church to which the request is addressed (in mixed marriages, for instance), the Church authority, on finding the performance of the act possible, may demand that the person of the alien confession should comply with certain conditions (concerning the baptism and bringing up of children, for instance). In extreme cases the Church may perform certain acts for a person who does not belong to it (for instance, burial).

3. The acceptance of the validity of some religious act (for instance, a mixed marriage) performed in an alien Church, depends on the attitude of the authorities of this Church, whose judgment, however, must be guided by the rules of their own Church.

4. Every Church, considering that it is necessary to belong to it to be saved, can not be indifferent towards other creeds or allow indifference in the affairs of faith (we find complete religious indifference among the ancient Romans, who, allowing the people they con-

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<sup>1</sup>Volume XI, Part 1 of the Statute concerning Confessions, pp. 779, 1110; Volume XIV, the Statute concerning Prevention and Cessation of Crime, p. 77.

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quered to preserve their local worship, merely transported alien gods to Rome and placed them among their own); still less can it tolerate their proselytizing; yet it is its duty to spread its teaching amongst people not belonging to it; avoiding, however, all such means as are not proper to the Church of Christ.

5. No Church can remain indifferent if one of its members leaves it and joins another religious community. In Western Europe, the State admits that anybody has the right to leave his Church, even without joining any other Church instead, or even the right "not to believe anything at all"; but no Christian Church ever admitted any such right.

6. Compulsion of any kind is not to be admitted in questions of faith; errors must be fought with spiritual and not material weapons. Tertullian says: "It is not proper for one religion to do violence to another. Religion must be accepted by free conviction, and not by force; sacrifice must be offered to God with a free heart." St. Irenaeus of Lyons (in 202 A.D.) openly expresses the opinion that the Church is indestructible exactly because its separate members cannot be deprived of what was received by an act of personal freedom. St. John Chrysostom refers to the history of Christianity as a proof of the uselessness of compulsion, for, though Christians were martyred in every possible way, their faith only waxed stronger. When, during one of the sessions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, those who were present tried to persuade the famous monk Eutychius to give up his error, he said: "I shall do so by your order." But the whole holy assembly arose and exclaimed: "There is no faith by compulsion." "The Lord Himself," says Blunchly, "provided for freedom of faith, for He has clothed the inner life of the spirit with the protecting cover of the body. People do not see through to the inner shrine of each other's thoughts and feelings, and so they have no power to rule the faith



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of individuals." The Eastern Church in general, and the Russian in particular, was strict in following this example, and demanded free choice from its converts and a clearly expressed consent (in case they were minors, it demanded the consent of their parents). The Ecumenical Church, as the Eastern Patriarchs put it, does not force, does not do violence, but invites, exhorts and persuades by the power of the Holy Ghost.<sup>2</sup> In Russia, the preaching of the Gospel never girded its preachers with swords, never shed blood, never set pyres aflame. The Greek preacher came to Vladimir<sup>3</sup> with a picture of the Last Judgment of God and not with an army; he dealt with the soul alone; his force was the force of the word of God alone.

7. Every Church, considering that it is necessary to belong to it in order to be saved, cannot allow its members to have any intercourse with the followers of other confessions, either in sacraments, or religious rites, or prayers in general. This is perfectly just from the point of view of that Church, because if it permitted the promiscuous meeting of various confessions in Church communion, it would bring destruction on itself. Even the votaries of the New State justly remark that religious toleration, which comes from indifference to the cause of religion, is closely related to persecution, that indifference is the most dangerous form animosity for religion can take.<sup>4</sup>

8. But no Church may entertain animosity towards any individuals who do not belong to it, and it must not forget that all men are each other's brothers and neighbours. The Gospels, to which properly speaking belongs the doctrine of religious tolerance, prescribe for Christians only one way of dealing either with people who

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<sup>2</sup>Encyclical of the Eastern Patriarchs, published in 1838, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup>St. Vladimir, the monarch under whom Russia became Christian in the tenth century. *Vera Johnston, translator.*

<sup>4</sup>Berdnikoff, *The New State in its Relation to Religion*, Kazan, 1888, p. 69.

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belong to false religions, or Christians who belong to mistaken confessions: patience, friendliness, persuasion and enlightenment. And the Orthodox Church not only does not feel animosity or contempt towards those who think differently in matters of faith, but it loves them in humanity and in Christ, as those who are called to salvation and can, under certain conditions, receive the Divine Grace; it also prays for the union of all who think differently, into the one flock of the One Pastor.

### II

Having pointed out the principles which are to guide separate confessions in their mutual relations, let us now see what was the attitude of the Church and government in Russia towards the followers of alien creeds.

The Russian State lived a secluded life during a long period, trying to keep aloof from its Western neighbours, from whom our ancestors expected nothing good. As to the Russian hierarchs, they thought that intercourse with Christians of alien creeds was truly dangerous for the Orthodox faith, so that some of them (the Metropolitans George, John, Nicephor, and St. Theodosius of Pechera) in order to avoid danger forbade the Orthodox even to eat or to drink with them, in strict compliance with Church rules. Nevertheless, it is not to be doubted that the Russian people in general were noted for their rare tolerance of those who believed differently.

Of the many people who bore witness to this we shall quote Olearius, a well-known traveler of the time, who visited our country in the first half of the seventeenth century. He says: "One never hears that Russians have forced anyone to be converted to their faith; on the contrary they grant freedom of conscience to all, even though they be their subjects or slaves."

We shall also mention a few of the numerous historical facts which go to prove it.

When, under John the Terrible, the Russians estab-

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lished the rights of the newly conquered provinces in the North West, after the surrender of Dorpat (now called Yurieff), it was announced to its inhabitants (July, 1558):

"The citizens of Dorpat shall keep their religion of the Augsburg confession without any changes, and they will not be compelled to give it up; their churches with all their belongings remain as they were, as also their schools."

Such was the attitude of the conquering Russians towards foreigners of alien creeds, at the very time when Western Europe was in the midst of the fiercest religious wars, with all that followed them: wholesale burning of Protestant books and churches, the Night of St. Bartholomew, and the various *auto da fé*.

Later, after the peace treaty between Russia and Sweden at Neustadt (August 30, 1721), in which Sweden conceded to Russia its right to Livonia, Esthonia and the Isle of Oesel, the inhabitants of all these lands were allowed to keep all the rights, privileges, customs and prerogatives they enjoyed under the Swedish rule. Concerning religious matters, it was established that (Article 10):

"No violation of conscience shall be introduced in the lands that have been conceded; on the contrary, the Evangelical faith, its churches and schools and all that belongs to them, will remain and shall be maintained on the same foundation as they were under the last Swedish government, on condition, however, that in these lands the faith of the Greek confession shall be allowed henceforward to be practised freely and without impediment."

Thus the conquerors granted to the conquered complete freedom in matters of religion, bespeaking only for themselves an equal freedom in the functions of their own Greek confession, in the newly acquired countries.

In recent times, when the Procurator of the Holy Synod reported to the Emperor the rules by which the Holy Synod proposed to be guided, when examining and settling the affairs of the late Greek Uniats in the Diocese of Cholm and Warsaw, the Emperor gave his approval, July 2, 1898, and deigned to write in his own hand on the copy of the rules, the following significant words:

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"I hope that these rules will satisfy all just demands and prevent all confusion spread among the people by the enemies of Russia and the Orthodox faith. Let the Poles freely worship the Lord God according to their Latin rite; as to the Russians, from the beginning they have been and shall remain Orthodox, and, together with the Tsar and Tsaritz, they honour and love their own Orthodox Church."

Yet, for all this breadth of religious toleration, allowing freedom to all confessions, in Russia the Orthodox faith was considered to be the only true and salutary religion. It always was the dominant religion, all the others being tolerated on the strict condition that their followers should not impugn the rights of the dominant Church and lead Orthodox persons astray into their own confessions.

St. Theodosius of Pechera,<sup>5</sup> giving to Prince Yaroslaff a series of rules of conduct with regard to an alien creed (the Roman Catholic) and its followers, writes as follows:

"A man ought to avoid strange creeds in every possible way because it is possible to be saved in the Orthodox faith alone, but in the Latin or in the Saracen (Mohammedan) it is not possible.

"One must not praise an alien creed, because he who praises strange religions abuses his own, and is a man of two faiths.

"If someone says to you 'This and that faith came from God,' answer him, 'Has God two faiths?' Even if you had to die for the Orthodox faith, do so without renouncing it.

"Not only must one have no religious communion with strangers, but even no intermarrying; neither in eating nor in drinking. However, if they ask for food, feed them, but out of their own vessels, not out of yours; in case it is necessary, feed them out of yours, which you must wash afterwards and purify with a prayer."

Having written down these instructions, St. Theodosius addresses the Prince personally:

"And you, child, praise your faith unceasingly and improve in it with good works. Be merciful not only to your own Christians, but to others also; if you see anyone naked or hungry or overtaken by calamity, whether he be a heretic or a Latin, have mercy on all and deliver them from their trouble as you can, and you will not sin before God, who feeds the Orthodox Christians and the Non-Orthodox, and even the heathens, taking care of all."

Even much later our Metropolitans and Archbishops have continued to repeat, before their consecration, the

<sup>5</sup>A great worker for the Christian faith. He laboured in Kieff in the eleventh century, soon after the conversion of Russia. *V. J., translator*



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vow never to permit the Orthodox in their provinces either to marry, or to become godmothers and godfathers of, or to fraternize with, either Armenians or Latins. Alien artists and craftsmen were received quite willingly, every possible freedom in practising their religion being allowed to them, but they were not allowed to have their own churches, nor to enter Russian churches. When, in 1634, Olearius and his traveling companions entered a Russian church, they were taken out immediately and the floor was swept after them. The Orthodox also were not allowed to enter Non-Orthodox churches, or to take part in Divine service with Non-Orthodox persons. For instance, when Elena, daughter of Prince John III,<sup>6</sup> was starting for Lithuania, he instructed her, among other things, that if the Queen, mother of Alexander, her mother-in-law, happened to be in Vilna and if she went to her chamber of prayer and ordered her to follow, Elena was to accompany the Queen mother to the door of the chamber of prayer, then politely ask permission to go to her own church, but not enter the chamber. Even in everyday intercourse Russians tried to avoid foreigners. As late as the reign of the Reformer of Russia, Peter the Great (February 28, 1690), the following interesting incident took place: The Patriarch Joachim, invited to the Sovereign's table, flatly refused to be present if foreigners were admitted, and the Tsar had to make this concession. On his death bed, Joachim made a will in which, leaving to the monarchs of Russia, as his spiritual children, the injunction to remain true to Orthodoxy, he implored them not to allow Russians to make friends with followers of alien creeds, with the Latins, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and others, and strictly to forbid foreigners "coming here to the pious Kingdom to preach their faith, to talk to anybody to the detriment of ours, or to introduce their heresies, to the temptation of Christians"; he also asked

<sup>6</sup>Grandfather of John the Terrible. *V. J., translator.*



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them not to entrust foreigners with superior offices either in the army or the legislature, not to allow them to build "houses of prayer in accordance with the allurements of their heretical gatherings," and such as already exist, he said, it was better to pull down, as in them much is done to the detriment of the Orthodox faith and Russian people, and as in foreign countries there is not a single Orthodox Russian church.

Nevertheless, in Peter's reign, the condition of foreigners, especially of Protestants, changed greatly for the better. Being rather indifferent to the ancient piety of Russia and at the same time being in constant need of the services of foreigners for the realization of the reforms he planned, the great Reformer of Russia established the principle of complete religious freedom, in an Ukaz, dated April 16, 1702. The Ukaz said:

"We do not wish to force human consciences and we willingly leave to every Christian the responsibility of caring for the bliss of his own soul."

The Protestants especially were in Peter's favour. Even before his time they had found in Russia a religious freedom, civic rights, privileges and gains in social life, which they did not enjoy in their own countries. But under Peter the Great Russia became forever their new fatherland. Under him Protestantism enjoyed more than a complete religious freedom; it had his imperial patronage. He sometimes visited their churches, and, according to one source, he even sang with them their church hymns and frequently was godfather to German children. Where in the past people had only "nooks and corners" for their divine services, churches were erected open to all and new communities were founded.

During the period of German supremacy, under the Empress Anna, Protestant influence naturally became still stronger. Germans freely built their churches in Russia, had pastors from their own country, and founded schools. The same religious tolerance marked the attitude of the Russians towards the followers of other con-

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fessions; towards Armenians, among others. Towards Roman Catholics feelings in Russia were harder. This was caused by the persecutions which the Russians suffered at the hands of the Roman Catholic Poles, and especially by the frequent attempts of the Roman Catholics, particularly the Jesuits visiting Russia, to convert the Russians to Romanism.

In the reign of Catherine the Great, the government's attitude towards all confessions in the Empire was founded on the broadest principles of religious tolerance. Catherine said in her instruction:

"In such a great Empire, spreading its dominion over so many different peoples, to forbid them to have different religions, would be a defect, very harmful for the peace and safety of the inhabitants."

In 1773, in an Ukaz of the Holy Synod, it was stated of the attitude of the Empress:

"As the Most High God tolerates on earth all religions, languages and confessions, Her Majesty complying with His Holy Will, allows to all, free action, desiring only that love and harmony should always reign among her subjects."

### III

Coming now to the examination of the conditions of Non-Orthodox Christians in Russia at present, according to the law of the country, we think it useful to make the following remark. It goes without saying that every Christian country is in duty bound to respect the freedom of conscience and the religion of its inhabitants, founded on the substance of faith. Yet the principle of Christian toleration by no means demands that the attitude of the State should be exactly the same towards all the religious communities it accepts and tolerates. Justice demands that each should have its own in as much as it is connected with the truth which the State represents. The principle of justice is not a principle of absolute equality. Christian toleration is not indifference to one's own truth and other people's religious errors.

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In regions of personal religious judgment, the State must guarantee a complete freedom of conscience; in this region it can not have recourse either to sword, prison or deprivation of civic rights. But we must discern between freedom of personal confession and freedom of religious assembly in public worship and founding new religious communities. The unlimited and unconditioned freedom of such assemblies passes the limits of the demands of religious toleration; the State cannot leave public religious communities of this kind without supervision and regulation.

The attitude of the government authority in Russia since the beginning of its history, has been always defined by two principles: the preservation of the dominant Orthodox faith, on the one side, and the complete tolerance of other creeds and non-interference with their inner church life, on the other. And so it is in our days. The Orthodox faith in Russia has always been acknowledged to be the one true faith, and therefore dominant in the Empire. Such it is acknowledged to be to this day. Our fundamental laws say: "The chief and dominant religion in the Russian Empire is the Christian, Orthodox, Catholic faith of the Eastern Confession."<sup>7</sup>

As the Orthodox faith is the chief and dominant in the Russian Empire, "the Emperor, possessing the throne of all the Russians, cannot confess any other faith, except the Orthodox."<sup>8</sup> This basic law was unswervingly complied with throughout the history of the Russian polity. In the instruction to the people who were chosen to settle the Great Affair (that is, the conversion of Prince Vladislaff<sup>9</sup> to the Orthodox faith) it is said: "Since

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<sup>7</sup>Vol. I, Part I, Edition of 1906, p. 62.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid, page 63.

<sup>9</sup>A few years before the election of the first Romanoff (1613) quieted the great turmoil of the interregnum, the noblemen of Moscow thought it possible to ask Prince Vladislaff, son of the Polish King Sigismond III, to accept the throne. *V. J., translator.*

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Russia was baptized there was never a single example of a Russian Tsar not confessing the Orthodox faith and, if this was allowed, the whole Country would be in an uproar." Some of the Moscow envoys, who came to side with Sigismond, were willing enough that he should ascend the Russian throne himself, but the Metropolitan Philaret, father of the first Tsar of the house of Romanoff, insisted on the election of Vladislaff, saying: "If he is converted—he is our monarch; if he is not—we do not want him."

While watchful that the rights of the Russian Church should not be infringed, Russian legislation grants complete religious freedom to all who do not belong to it and avoids any interference with their inner religious affairs, as is clearly stated by our fundamental laws:

"All subjects of the dominant Church, whether they are born or naturalized subjects, as also foreigners in the Russian service or staying in Russia temporarily, enjoy throughout the country the privilege of the free practice of their faith and Divine Service according to its rites.

"Religious freedom is granted not only to Christians of alien creeds, but to Jews, Mohammedans and heathens also; let all the people who dwell in Russia glorify God Almighty in different tongues, according to the law and confession of their forefathers, blessing the reign of the Russian Monarchs and praying to the Creator of the Universe for the increase of prosperity and strengthening the power of the Empire.

"The dominant Church abstains from the slightest measures of compulsion when bringing those of other confessions and religions to conversion to Orthodoxy and does not threaten with any penalty those of them who do not wish to join it, acting in accordance with the Apostolic teaching."

Russian legislation does not limit itself to granting to alien Christians entire freedom of confession and performance of public worship according to their rites, but also grants to their Churches almost all the rights of the Orthodox Church, dominant in Russia, (excepting the right of spreading their doctrines).

"The ecclesiastical affairs of Christians of foreign confessions and of aliens are managed by their special ecclesiastical officers, appointed for this by the Supreme Autocratic Authority. In managing their affairs and duties, these officers act according to the rules and statutes of their religion, but at the same time they unswervingly observe the government regulations, and,



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in duty to their oath of faithful allegiance, they maintain all the sacred rights and privileges of our Imperial Majesty and the laws of the Country."

Further,

"Persons of all Christian confessions in general are allowed to marry in Russia according to the rules and rites of their Churches, without asking any special permission of the civil government, but complying with the limitations established for their respective confessions by the regulations. All matrimonial affairs are managed by 'ecclesiastical officers established within all Christian confessions.' . . . Marriages within all Christian confessions must be performed by the clergy of the Church to which those entering into matrimony belong, according to their rules."

Lastly, clerical persons and monks (where such exist) of alien confessions, equally with the ecclesiastical persons of the Orthodox Church, enjoy freedom from taxes and obligatory military service, and also certain prerogatives in the fulfilment of government, land and city council duties, according to the rules expressed in the statute of land, council and other duties. They enjoy the right to all honours. The Catholic Patriarch of Echmiadzin<sup>10</sup>, for instance, when outside his palace or the walls of Echmiadzin Monastery, has the right, according to ancient custom, to be accompanied by his guard of honour, consisting of Armenians, who reside in the Echmiadzin Monastery, of several members of the clergy, and two ecclesiastical dignitaries, one of whom carries the patriarchal staff and the other a banner with a holy image; clerical persons of alien confessions may receive official decorations for good service and crosses to be worn on the breast; and even their children enjoy the rights of hereditary honorary citizenship.

The property of alien churches and monasteries equally with the property of Orthodox churches and monasteries is guarded as government property.

The late Professor N. Korkunoff writes:

"The granting of such rights to all alien Churches places them in a position which has far more privileges than they at present have in many countries of Western Europe. In some respects alien Churches enjoy, according to

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<sup>10</sup>Armenian Gregorian Patriarch, who resides in the Echmiadzin Monastery in Southern Caucasus. *V. J., translator.*



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Russian legislation, considerably greater privileges than the dominant Church. For instance, by no means all the rectors of the Orthodox country churches receive regular pay from the government treasury, and those who do are paid a very modest sum, usually not more than 300 roubles a year. Yet all Roman Catholic priests receive pay from the government treasury. The parishioners of all Protestant denominations are bound to pay regularly certain sums for the support of their pastors. In the same way the Armenian Gregorian parishes must support their clergy in a regular way, besides paying for the various clerical ministrations at a certain established rate."

As to the relations between alien confessions, our legislation with perfect justice does not allow them to meddle with each others' affairs. "It is forbidden to one and all to enter into quarrels or fights, to insult or defame, on the grounds of religious difference." In the new law confirming the principles of religious toleration, the position of the Russian sectarians has been made equal with that of the members of alien Churches, this law officially establishing for them the name of Old Ritualists (confirmed by the Emperor, April 17, 1905, proposed by the Committee of Ministers).

On the basis of all we have said above, we must come to the conclusion, that since the beginning of the history of Russia, protection of the dominant Orthodox faith, on the one hand, and non-interference with the inner religious life of aliens, on the other, have been the two principles, which have guided the Church and the State government of Russia in their attitude towards "foreign confessions." Russia has treasured what was her own, and has not wished for what was another's.

The Emperor Alexander III left the following testament for future times:

"Dominance for the Orthodox Church; respect for every creed; an all-uniting and all-subordinating power is due to the Russian nationality; but every other nationality must have freedom in everything that does not impede this unity and subordination."

# High Church Anglicans and American Presbyterians in Shantung University

BY ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN, D.D.

THE EDITOR of THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY has asked me to describe the course of the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in dealing with a concrete case of co-operation in educational work in China with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of the Church of England. It has seemed wise to make the statement substantially in the form in which it was prepared at the time for the American Presbyterian Mission in Shantung. As the object was to explain why the Presbyterian Board advised its missionaries to withdraw their objection to the admission of the Anglican Mission into the educational union on the terms stated by the Rt. Rev. H. H. Montgomery, D.D., Secretary of the S. P. G., the reader will understand why no attempt is made to argue the question with that Society or to speak for the English Baptist Society, which is also a party to the union.

We approached the question from the viewpoint of a conviction that present sectarian divisions are not in accord with the mind of Christ, and that the widening recognition of the necessity for closer co-operation is one of the most notable evidences of growing obedience to the Spirit of God throughout Christendom. The World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 brought into clear relief the fact that these divisions are seriously hindering the effort to make Christ known

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to the non-Christian world, and it led all who attended it to feel that redoubled efforts toward unity and co-operation should be made. The Conference was in itself a telling demonstration of this longing for unity and of the further fact that foreign missionary work is the most promising sphere in which it can be made practically operative under present conditions.

The widest separation is between the High Church party in the Anglican Communion and the other Communion. These two streams of Christian thought and life have flowed apart for centuries. They have now begun to touch in a practicable co-operative effort in the Arts College of the Shantung Christian University in China. The circumstances were of special interest and led us to ask: If Anglicans and Presbyterians cannot get together in college education in Shantung, what ground is there for believing that they can get together in anything anywhere? The reasons which apply against co-operation in this particular instance are general in their application, and if they are decisive here must be deemed decisive elsewhere. The question, therefore, which confronted the Societies concerned was of unique and perhaps historic significance.

In 1908, the Rt. Rev. Geoffrey D. Iliff, Anglican Bishop of the Shantung Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, intimated a desire to unite with the American Presbyterian and English Baptist Missions in higher educational work as represented by the Arts College of the Shantung Christian University at Wei-hsien. We remember with gratification the cordial spirit which he manifested and the equally cordial spirit in which he was met by the Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries. God evidently moved in all hearts, and a mutually satisfactory arrangement was easily and amicably made, in accordance with which Mr. H. S. Cousens, of the S. P. G. Mission, entered the faculty of the College and students from the Anglican Mission were sent to the institution.

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The S. P. G. in London wrote to Bishop Iliff that the Society could approve the arrangement only on condition that the Anglican Mission should have a separate hostel, including a dormitory and chapel, for its own students. I well remember the conference which I had with the University Council and Bishop Iliff when I was in Wei-hsien in November, 1909, and the brotherly candour and mutual good-will which characterized the discussion. No difficulty was experienced in coming to a satisfactory adjustment with that truly catholic Bishop. A few Presbyterians had doubts, but February, 1910, the University Council formally approved the proposal, and the Presbyterian Board, not without misgivings on the part of one or two of its members, but with the clear conviction of a large majority that it was better to have union with the hostel than not to have union at all, took the following action, May 16, of that year:

"The Board approved the action of the University Council of the Shantung Christian University agreeing to the proposal of the Anglican Mission of the S. P. G. to erect a hostel for its students in connection with the Arts College at Wei-hsien; with the understanding that a hostel includes a separate dormitory, chapel and residence for the professor representing that Mission; and with the further understanding that the students will take the regular classes in religious subjects, attend the daily morning devotional services, and fully share in the common life of the College as represented by the Literary Societies, the Y. M. C. A., and athletics."

This yielding on the part of the University Council and the Presbyterian Board appeared to remove all difficulties in the field. In the following October, Bishop Montgomery, Secretary of the S. P. G., visited Wei-hsien and further conferences were held. His own sense of duty and his fuller knowledge of the views of his Society and its constituents led him to state the conditions of the S. P. G. in stronger terms. In response to a request by the missionaries to put them in writing, he gave them the following statement, dated October 2, 1910:

"The position of the S. P. G. in regard to joint educational enterprises is as follows:

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"It is prepared, though with opposition from certain members, to adopt the hostel plan as known in Melbourne, Sydney, Toronto, and other places, interdenominational and not undenominational. Our definition of these two terms is as follows: Undenominational means sinking differences as far as it is possible in order to meet on some common ground, a least common denominator of Christianity. Interdenominational is uniting on a different principle, namely, not desiring to sink any differences, but to ask each denomination to come with its full dogmatic system not watered down; on religious subjects no compromises; but to join in general education, in games, etc., while conserving a full Church life, and teaching the Faith dogmatically and wholeheartedly; always providing that all who are not in communion with them are treated as worthy of all respect, courtesy and honour.

"On these lines, it would appear that an Anglican hostel at Wei-hsien must be one that develops its own full, daily, religious life on quite strong lines: daily worship twice a day in a Chapel properly vested and consecrated, celebrations of Holy Communion on all appointed days whether on week days or Sundays, all the fasts and festivals of the Church's year faithfully kept, but all so arranged that there should be no interference with the educational curriculum of the College. There would be no room for common daily worship on non-Anglican lines, but occasional meetings for prayer would, no doubt, be arranged profitably on the lines of the students' union. It would appear to be absolutely necessary that there should be a chaplain in Holy Orders.

"Our idea is that these ideals are demanded of the Anglican Church. A truncated Anglicanism we have no use for. Our system is nothing if not dogmatic. Many questions of orders, creeds, etc., are closed for us; ours is a system based on the Sacramental basis. But we are dogmatic on the positive side; we do not indulge in anathemas against others. We give to others the freedom we claim for ourselves.

"A perusal (for the first time) of the resolutions of the Wei-hsien Council seems to show that they really contemplate an alliance on the undenominational basis, with some slight exceptions. They do not contemplate frank and full interdenominationalism. If I may put it humorously and without offence, I think Wei-hsien College is really 'dogmatically undenominational,' and that any deviation from this dogma is painful. In that case, I think Wei-hsien, for its own sake, must consider whether it is wise to insert into its system the Anglican pill. It may have great purgative results. It may lead Baptists and others to claim like privileges. On our side, we should welcome this as settling the interdenominational principle; but it seems to me that it is a new principle at Wei-hsien. I have been asked whether common meals break the principle. I am far from saying that it does. At present, I think the Anglican pill would have greater effect if taken at meals.

"We desire to have our full influence on any college we are allied with, but with perfect respect for others.

"In all I have said, I have tried to speak for S. P. G. and must guard myself from dictating to the Diocese of Shantung. Our influence only comes in because grants are asked from us for students at Wei-hsien. We are not in charge of any diocese and control no diocese. But there are times when we have to say to a diocese with utmost respect: Our supporters would not approve of a grant for such and such a purpose.

"(Signed) H. H. MONTGOMERY, Bishop."



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Bishop Montgomery afterwards wrote that he had no idea that his memorandum would "become a state paper," that after "a delightful evening with the missionaries at Wei-hsien, at which we spoke most frankly to each other with plenty of fun and laughter about our differences," he was asked "to send them a draft of his position," and that he did so in the same spirit of genial fellowship in which they had been talking; but that if we would bear this explanation in mind, he was not sorry that the document had gone to our Board. We thoroughly appreciated this, and we were heartily glad that it came as it did, for, as he well said, "it makes things so plain."

His statement, however, considerably upset the Presbyterian Mission and it passed the following resolution:

"Inasmuch as the statement of Bishop Montgomery, Secretary of the S.P.G., dated at Wei-hsien, October 2, 1910, indicates that the Anglican Mission is not prepared to enter the Arts College on the lines defined by the University Council, January, 1910, we feel that union at this stage is impracticable. We appreciate the clearness and candour of Bishop Montgomery's communication. We also rejoice in the fraternal spirit of Bishop Iliff and of Mr. Cousens, so abundantly manifested in their efforts to effect a union in educational work, and we continue to hope that some way may yet be found to bring about such a consummation."

This action of the Mission, together with a copy of Bishop Montgomery's statement, then came to the Presbyterian Board in New York for review, and it fell to me to handle it as Executive Secretary for northern China. I felt that when Bishop Montgomery's statement was examined leisurely and carefully the first unpleasant impression was somewhat modified. It became evident that he was under a misapprehension as to what we believed that the union involved; that he imagined that the S. P. G. was expected to compromise its historical position on points which it regards as vital; and that he felt obliged, in loyalty to his Society and its constituents and in order that future misunderstanding might be avoided, to state his views in frank and almost aggressive

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terms. Making due allowance for a certain natural vehemence of expression in the circumstances, was not his essential position that which some stalwart Presbyterians would insist upon if the proposal were to send Presbyterian students to an institution whose large faculty and student body were distinctively High Anglican? Would they not stipulate that they did not abandon their Presbyterian convictions and that they reserved the right to give their students separate religious instruction? Non-Conformists have such rights at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and Princeton University today, while making attendance at Sunday services obligatory, excuses Episcopal students who wish to attend their own service. Bishop Montgomery was quite right in referring to the American Baptists as a probable instance in point. The difference between Presbyterians and Anglicans is really less fundamental than the difference between Presbyterians and Southern Baptists. If the Missionary Society of the Southern Baptist Convention accepts our cordial invitation to enter the College union in Shantung, it will undoubtedly do so without changing one iota of its convictions on the points which now prevent its members from recognizing our baptism or communing with us in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; but no Presbyterian would think of excluding them from the college on that account. It is well known that each of the larger communions includes liberals and conservatives, high churchmen and low churchmen, and that each party laments that the other is "making shipwreck" of the faith. Liberal and conservative Presbyterians are quite as far apart as the Anglican and Presbyterian communions, and so are High Church and Low Church Anglicans. But they are in organic church union and expect to remain so. Can a communion consistently demand, as a condition of interdenominational co-operation, a unity of belief which does not exist in its own ranks?

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Let us rid ourselves of the idea that union means uniformity, that a Church or an educational institution must be confined to those who think alike in all things. This wrong and non-Scriptural conception—this idea that a Church is composed only of those who think exactly alike or are personally congenial—has split the followers of Christ into hundreds of sects. Any one can co-operate with those who fully agree with him; there is no merit in that sort of co-operation. But it takes a big soul, a mind and heart pervaded by the spirit of Christ, to work with those who differ with him. This is the sort of co-operation which, in the Providence of God, missionaries in Shantung have been given the opportunity to demonstrate as practicable.

Bishop Montgomery's distinction between the terms "undenominational" and "interdenominational" is in accord with the convictions of multitudes of thoughtful men in all communions. Some of us would not talk of entering a co-operative enterprise with a "full dogmatic system" and of "teaching the faith dogmatically;" but we agree with Bishop Montgomery when he says that we do not want to reduce our convictions to "a least common denominator of Christianity." I believe with the Rt. Rev. Charles P. Anderson, D. D., of Chicago, when he said at the Men's National Missionary Congress in May, 1910:

"It is not what we can give up, but what we can give. I have a horror of that kind of unity that would be based on a sort of residuum. I am not attracted by unity on the basis of an irreducible minimum. I do not want to belong to a Church of minimums; I want to belong to a Church of maximums—maximum beliefs, maximum duties, maximum sacrifices. The Church of minimums is incapable of producing martyrdoms. There are things that we can give up, but nobody is asking anybody to give up anything that is of value."

There are of course limitations to this line of argument which Bishop Anderson would be among the first to recognize. One of the chief reasons why the people of God are divided into so many sects is because so many

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man-made interpretations of Scripture, forms of organization and methods of procedure are conscientiously exalted as if they were fundamental verities. A union which would include all these artificial idiosyncrasies of faith and practice, and which does not ask anybody to give up anything, would be an ecclesiastical zoological garden, a mere mechanical joining of unrelated and unrelatable elements which would be quite as bad as our present divided situation. We shall not get very far on the road to the unity for which Christ prayed until each of us reconsiders upon his knees the points which separate him from his Christian brethren and solemnly and searchingly asks himself whether these points are as vital as had been imagined; whether it is probable that the Christ who promised to be with His disciples "always," and the Holy Spirit who was to "guide" them "into all the truth," made a particular group of believers the only recipient of these Divine blessings and left all other groups to their own devices, so that the only way to unite the followers of Christ is for all the others to give up their ideas and come over to its communion. Probably most of us and on both sides have some thinking and praying to do along these lines. But if we give the phrase "anything that is of value" the large meaning which Bishop Anderson evidently intended, we must heartily concur in his view.

Meantime, those of us who are not Anglicans should do that justice to their principles which we expect them to do to ours. The Anglicans have a noble vision of the union of the people of God, a union which is to include all the historic branches of the Christian Church—Protestant, Roman and Greek. For that union they ardently hope and earnestly pray. They recognize as we do the impossibilities involved in the policies of the Vatican and the Holy Synod. But they nevertheless believe that a time will come when these impossibilities will no longer exist. They firmly hold that the Anglican



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Church affords the best basis that is now known for the reunion of Christendom. They therefore conceive it to be their sacred duty to preserve that basis inviolate, at least until some better one appears. They seem unyielding to Non-Conformists because they feel that any impairment of their position to suit a particular communion on one side would jeopardize to that extent the ultimate acceptability of their position to communions on the other side, and that they have no alternative but to adhere to their historic Church through good and evil report, in the confidence that in time the scattered and separated groups of Christians will find in that Church their common point of rally and reunion. I am aware that it may be said that this is simply common sectarianism the world over, that every sect confidently expects to inherit the earth. I am aware too that many Non-Conformists feel that some Anglicans hold their position with a superciliousness toward others which is more pharasaic than Christian. But I could name other communions of which these things might also be said, and of which they have been said from the days of John Knox and Cotton Mather down to the "Wee Frees" of modern Scotland and certain Presbyterians and Baptists in America whom a desire to live at peace with my neighbours prevents me from indicating by name. At any rate, we, too, long for the union of true believers; and while we may not share the conviction of many Anglicans that it will come on the basis of their Church, we are not prepared to hold aloof from them because they adhere with unflinching fidelity to the Church which they reverently believe is called of God to be the unifying principle of a divided Christendom. Let us rather work with them, honouring their loyalty to their faith as we expect them to honour ours, and joyfully believing that the Spirit of God will in His own way and time bring us all to the desired haven of Christian fellowship.



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We may remember in this connection that, while Bishop Montgomery and his Society were dealing with questions which they regard as fundamental, these questions from our viewpoint relate to method or expediency. Would we have been justified in destroying a union rather than compromise on points which we deemed of subordinate importance as compared with the essential verities of our Christian faith? It is our belief in God, in Christ, in the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Scriptures, in sin, repentance, salvation and service which are fundamental to us. When brethren agree with us on all of these points, why should we refuse to co-operate with them because they differ with us about the orders of the Church?

After all, what was it that we were asked to give up? Nothing. Our own freedom was not to be impaired in the slightest degree. Non-Anglicans would still form about nine-tenths of the faculty and probably more than nine-tenths of the student body. The university life would go on as before. We were simply expected to recognize the right of the Anglican professor and students to have separate worship and religious instruction, which we knew would be as loyal to the teachings of God's Word in the things which we count essential as our own instruction would be. This consideration should be thrown into a strong relief. We were not asked to give up anything, but merely to permit Anglicans to enter the College without compromising convictions which they deemed sacred. We were therefore unwilling to be put in the position of demanding concessions of others which we did not intend to concede for ourselves, unwilling to admit that anything which we counted vital to our faith might be jeopardized if we recognized the right of other loyal servants of God to worship Him in the way which they deemed necessary.

It was objected that the Anglican hostel would have a bad effect upon the students by advertising our differ-

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ences. But does any one seriously imagine that these differences could be concealed by shutting Anglican students out of the College? That would only advertise them the more widely, and give the Chinese the impression that we are hopelessly divided. The Chinese already know that Christians differ among themselves; what they now need to know is that Presbyterians at least do not regard these differences as vital enough to prevent co-operation.

Is there not danger that we may magnify the harmful consequences of union on such terms? Would one or two Anglican professors in a faculty of a score or more, and a few dozen Chinese youths, who probably care little about the point at issue and who are a small fraction of a student body of several hundred men, be likely to exert a large divisive influence? The whole current of university life would be against such an effort if made. If there was any risk, it was on their side, not ours. Bishop Montgomery unhesitatingly avowed his readiness to take that risk, and confidently predicted that "the little Anglican pill may have great purgative results." But we were not prepared to admit that our own position is so weak and the force of our Christian conception so slight that we dared not enter into co-operative university relations with a sister Society, even though it could send a considerably larger number of students than we knew that it could send. The resultant separations would probably not be as wide as those which result from the secret fraternities in America and the social clubs which split into rival cliques the students of institutions which do not permit fraternities.

An analysis of Bishop Montgomery's statement shows no material change from the position explained by Bishop Iliff in the conference at Wei-hsien in November, 1909, and approved by the Presbyterian Board, May 16, 1910; with, perhaps, the exception that the instruction in religious subjects should be made by the Anglican member

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of the faculty. But this exception is a minor matter. What we deem essential is that religious instruction should be given by a Christian professor. It is a mere detail whether the Anglican students get it separately or in the general classes. The vital thing is that they get it. We naturally prefer that all students should be taught together; but surely this point is not important enough to justify the severance of our relations. If the American Baptists enter the union, as we hope they will, they will almost certainly feel, as Bishop Montgomery suggests, that their students must have some special religious instruction which they alone can give.

Bishop Montgomery's references to "fasts and festivals of the Church's year," "a chapel properly consecrated and vested," "a chaplain in Holy Orders," and "celebrations of Holy Communion on all appointed days," sound portentously controversial to men of Puritan ancestry. But a saving sense of humour will enable us to remember that Presbyterians observe such "fasts and festivals" as Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's, Easter, and, in an increasing number of places, Good Friday, on which day business in New York is now generally suspended, while New England makes it a legal holiday. "A chapel properly consecrated" is simply a dedicated church. "Vestments" have been officially adopted for the clergy in the chapel of our most conservative Presbyterian theological seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, and a large and rapidly increasing number of Presbyterian pastors wear them every Sunday. "A chaplain in Holy Orders" means an ordained clergyman of the Church of England who, from our viewpoint, has the same status as our own ordained men who can trace their ecclesiastical lineage back through the Church of Scotland to the same source as the Anglicans trace theirs. "Celebrations of Holy Communion" are observances of the Lord's Supper, which we count quite as "holy" as the Anglicans do. The frequency with which

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this Sacrament should be observed is a question on which Presbyterians themselves widely differ, historic practice having ranged all the way from once a month to once a year. We need not get excited because Bishop Montgomery applies the terminology of the Church of England to things that are in more or less common use in all the Churches. If he puts a different significance into some of them, we continue free to practise our own interpretation. His statement that "ours is a system based on the sacramental basis" indicates a principle which apparently works out into wider differences; but, as I have already intimated, these differences are as wide within the Anglican communion as they are outside of it. If they are compatible with union in a Church, they are certainly not incompatible with co-operation with Presbyterians in a college, especially one which does not teach theology or ecclesiology.

We should remember at this point that, under the rules of the Church of England and the S.P.G., the operation of an educational union does not rest with the Society in London but with the local Bishop. Bishop Montgomery frankly admits this in the closing paragraph of his statement, distinctly stating that his "influence only comes in because grants are asked from us for students" and that "we are not in charge of any diocese and control no diocese." Whatever the theory, the practice will be determined by the Bishop and his appointee on the faculty. Everyone in China knows what kind of a man Bishop Iliff is. Many of our missionaries have spoken in the highest terms of the breadth and warmth of his Christian spirit and the great satisfaction which they have found in co-operating with him. It is true that a change of Bishops might bring in a man of narrower outlook; but if experience should ever prove disastrous, Article VIII of the Basis of Union provides an easy way of ending it on due notice being given by either party. Bishop Montgomery's statement did not indicate the slightest



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desire to press the matter, and probably the arrangement could be cancelled almost any time by our purchase of the Anglican building. Meantime, we did not need to make up our minds in advance that the plan would not work. It could at least be tried.

This article should not be interpreted as a criticism upon missionaries who believed that union on Bishop Montgomery's terms was impracticable. So far from being sectarian, the very essence of their position was a desire to keep the College free from sectarianism. Many of them voted as they did with deep grief, for they were eager to have all the Missions in the Province unite in the work of the University. The first impression which the reading of Bishop Montgomery's statement made upon us was probably about the same as the first impression in Shantung. This is a very difficult and complicated question, and there are undoubtedly two sides to it. Those of us, however, who object to the Anglican position may discreetly remember that such an objection may work both ways. It will hardly do for us to protest against the Anglicans doing what they desire, while we reserve our right to do what we please. Bishop Montgomery's statement indicates his belief that the shoe was on our foot, for he said that we were "dogmatically undenominational." If we did not relinquish any of our convictions, but asked him to relinquish some of his, what was the advantage of our position? At any rate, if the effort to co-operate was to fail, let it not be said that Presbyterians were responsible for the disaster. Even if others did seem to be aggressively sectarian, was that any reason why we should be? Let us be catholic Christians ourselves, no matter what others are; and if the attempt to work together does not succeed, let the full responsibility rest elsewhere.

The alternative of admitting the Anglicans to the University on their own terms would be that this first



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and only practical effort to unite Anglicans and Presbyterians on any kind of a platform would fail; that Chinese students of the Anglican Mission would be shut out of the University; that a principle would be adopted which would probably exclude some other communions; that instead of developing a University which could exert a united and commanding Christian leadership in Shantung, we must see its natural constituency limited and perhaps divided; and that we must rest under the implication that Presbyterians insist on full rights for themselves but are not willing to work with others who insist upon theirs.

I do not wish to be understood as defending the position of the S.P.G. It is not my place to do that and I have no inclination to attempt it anyway. If it be said that my presentation of the case is one-sided, that I urged Presbyterians to yield but apparently justified Anglicans in rigidly adhering to their position, I reply that it was "a condition that confronted us and not a theory"—a concrete question whether Presbyterians should consent to co-operation in educational work on certain terms, or have no co-operation at all. We had to deal with the matter as Presbyterians addressing Presbyterians. It was therefore incumbent upon our Board to go as far as it could without sacrificing any essential position. This article is designed to explain what we did and why we did it. How far the S.P.G. ought to have gone toward us was a separate question which lay beyond our jurisdiction. If that is to be discussed, an Anglican should discuss it.

But we were not thinking primarily of the S.P.G. but of co-operation and the promotion of unity, and they appear to us to be far more important to the cause of Christ than hostels and vestments. I am aware that it may be objected that co-operation and unity are precisely what Bishop Montgomery's statement rendered impossible; but we felt that this should not be assumed in advance.

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Governed by these considerations and with the cordial concurrence of my executive colleagues, I presented the following minute to the Presbyterian Board December 19, 1910, and it was adopted with only one dissenting vote:

"Consideration was given to a written statement dated October 2, 1910, by the Rt. Rev. H. H. Montgomery, D.D., Secretary of the S.P.G., London, England, and then in Wei-hsien, China, in conference with our missionaries regarding the terms on which the S.P.G. could unite with other Societies of Foreign Missions in the Shantung Christian University. His statement was read to the Board and also the action of the West Shantung Mission which deemed union on such terms impracticable.

"The Board does not understand that when a Society unites with other Societies in educational work, such union necessarily implies any surrender or compromise of the essential principles and methods of the Church which the Society represents. We are none the less Presbyterians because we heartily co-operate with our fellow-Christians of other communions. As the foreign missionary agency of the Presbyterian Church, the Board has neither the power nor the inclination to change the essential tenets of that Church. We cordially recognize that union in such an enterprise should be on terms large enough to include reasonable variations, and not on terms so narrow as to exclude or belittle what any co-operating Society deems vital. The Board holds, nevertheless, that as Christian men confront the tremendous problems of the non-Christian world, they should feel that the questions of faith and practice on which they are in substantial agreement, and for the inculcation of which they are in China, are far more important and fundamental than the questions on which they differ. The Board regrets that Bishop Montgomery deemed it his duty to insist so strongly on these differences, but it unhesitatingly believes that his object in doing so was to guard in the spirit of Christian candour against what he feared might be a misunderstanding of the historic position of the S.P.G., and not to intimate any disposition to enter the educational union in a divisive spirit. We are the more encouraged to take this view because of the fact that union in higher education with the Anglican Mission in Shantung has been in practical operation for two years, though as yet without the separate hostel, and that by the cordial testimony of our missionaries, Anglicans, Baptists, and Presbyterians have worked together in perfect harmony for the main purpose for which the College exists, and without any sacrifice of the convictions on other matters for which the different communions stand. The desire of the Anglicans to have a dormitory for their own students and to cultivate their religious life in their own chapel does not impress the Board as a sufficient reason for not welcoming them to a place in the University; especially as the S.P.G. proposes to bear the expense which its plans involve and as its students are to form an integral part of the common student body in recitations, literary societies, athletic exercises, meals, social life, and 'occasional meetings for prayer on the lines of the Students' Union.' We are not asked to modify our convictions or our practices in any particular. The University life goes on as before. We have the same freedom to cultivate the religious life of our students as the Anglicans have to cultivate the religious life of theirs.

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Admitting Non-Conformists with their separate chapels to Oxford University did not make trouble there, and we are unable to see why admitting Anglicans with their separate chapel to the Shantung Christian University should make trouble in China. The Board not only favours the coming of the Anglicans, but it is cordially prepared to favour the admission into the University of the American Southern Baptists on the same terms, if the Baptists desire them. Union in educational work and ecclesiastical uniformity are not synonymous. The Board would deem it a calamity and a grave departure from the best traditions of the Presbyterian Church if we were to close the doors of our University to Christian brethren for no other reason than that they wish at their own expense, in their own way, and in courteous recognition of the rights of others, to conserve the teachings which they deem sacred.

"The Board therefore reaffirms its action of May 16, approving the entrance of the Anglican Mission to the University, and it expresses its entire confidence that the Presbyterian missionaries in Shantung will be willing to give the union a fair trial, and to avoid anything which could lay at their door responsibility for the failure of an effort which, however imperfect in some respects, is nevertheless the only practicable way at present of making a beginning in co-operative relations which may have larger historic significance than we now comprehend. The spirit of Christ in all hearts can make almost any basis of union a blessing to China and to the world."

It may be that our geographical distance from the region of operations, while enabling us to view the question in some broader aspects and with a more adequate recognition of the gravity of the issues involved, may at the same time lessen our ability to appreciate the local difficulties which must be adjusted on the field. We realized that it was easier for us in New York to approve of such a union than it was for missionaries in China to carry it out. But we well knew the depth and earnestness of their Christian spirit. We were sure that they were most cordially doing everything that could reasonably be done to make this union effective, and that even those who were most seriously troubled by its terms were at least willing to give it a fair trial.

The result has abundantly justified our faith both in the plan and in the missionaries who were to carry it into effect. Although the erection of the hostel awaits the removal of the Arts College to the new University center at Tsinan-fu, the capital of the Province, the union in educational work at Wei-hsien has been in successful

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and happy operation for three years since our Board's action was taken, and, including the two prior years, five years in all. If we cannot get together on all points, we are at least getting together on some; and perhaps others will develop from them. Enough has already been accomplished to prove conclusively that American Presbyterians, English Baptists and High Church Anglicans can harmoniously and effectively co-operate in educational work without any sacrifice of principle, where the men concerned have the mind of Christ. Each of these great communions is carrying into the University "its full dogmatic system," and the result is not discord but large and catholic concord.

The experience should be helpful elsewhere. The co-operation which we all desire will never spring full-orbed into being. A beginning must be made, small perhaps and very imperfect; but when an opportunity opens to make that beginning, let us meet it with deep solemnity and a willingness to make any adjustment which does not involve disloyalty to our Lord Jesus Christ. He who prayed with unutterable yearning that His disciples might "be one" will surely help them in any effort to walk together in loving service in His Holy Name.

# The Invocation of Saints

BY EDWYN BEVAN, M.A.

Among the practices of the Roman Church which the Reformed tradition has taught men to regard with detestation is the practice of asking the prayers of saints who have passed into the Unseen World. As a matter of fact the practice has ceased completely among bodies distinctly Protestant, and is revived only surreptitiously and sporadically in the Anglican communion. I want to ask whether there is anything in the principles contended for by these sections of Christendom which would preclude their reconsidering the judgment passed in this matter by the sixteenth century Reformers. Those Reformers had a great heterogeneous mass of things, good and bad, to deal with in the traditional Christianity which had come down to them from the Middle Ages, and may they not sometimes—humanly fallible men, however heroic—have cast away under the urgency of the crisis things which contained an element of real value? Can we take the sorting which they did as something judged for all time, a tradition to be accepted by all future generations without question?

It will probably appear to most Protestants as immediately obvious that the Invocation of Saints is inconsistent with the Christian view of God. The Reformers, they will say, did not repudiate it with such energy simply and solely because they found no express sanction for it in the New Testament. They felt it to be profoundly at variance with the spirit of the original Christianity. It violated the fundamental monotheism upon which Christianity was built. It obscured the close and direct



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relation in which the individual soul should stand to its Heavenly Father by interposing a crowd of semi-human mediators. We must certainly allow that Protestant feeling on the subject has been always determined by considerations such as these. And, if I may speak of things as they appear to me, in reference to the actual practice in the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant feeling is justified. I cannot see that the popular saint-worship, which prevails in some parts of the Roman Catholic world, differs essentially from Polytheism, or that the cult of the Madonna is always distinguishable in kind from that of Isis or Artemis or Lakshmi. Of course the theological theory of the Roman Catholic Church makes a distinction between the quality of the devotion rendered to the Madonna or the Saints and that rendered to God; it describes them by two different words. But whatever this distinction may mean for the more educated or more spiritually-minded in the Roman Church, I doubt whether it implies any psychological difference between *latria* and *dulia* for the great mass of the people. Even in the case of a Roman Catholic so spiritually-minded and so high in the world of letters as Coventry Patmore one finds the expression of sentiments against which I feel that Protestantism has every reason to protest—such a passage, for instance, as that in his hymn to the Virgin (“The Child’s Purchase”):

“Hem of God’s robe, which all who touch are heal’d;  
To which the outside Many honour yield  
With a reward and grace  
Unguess’d by the unwash’d boor that hails Him to His face,  
Spurning the safe, ingratiant courtesy  
Of suing Him by thee.”

Such a conception of God as an inaccessible Potentate who regards the soul approaching Him directly as an unwashed boor seems to me as un-Christian as anything can well be.

The Reformers then, we may say, had to deal with

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a practice which, as it existed, was deeply vitiated with paganism. That they hewed it off bodily, like a gangrened limb, is not to be wondered at. But now that the societies which carry on their protest have acquired a strong independent life and power of resistance, now in quieter days, one may perhaps ask whether under the practice of the Invocation of Saints did not lie a conception, for the want of which Protestantism has been poorer. The abuse, says the Latin maxim, does not do away with the use. And when we look away from the Roman Catholic practice to the Roman Catholic theory, the Protestant objection seems to me far less solid.

The Protestant objection is based upon the unique position of the Ascended Christ as Mediator. His mediation alone, according to the theology of the Reformers, does not obstruct the immediate intercourse between the soul and God, because He is not a third distinct individual coming in between God and me, but Himself within the Divine Being. To bring in a crowd of subordinate mediators, as the Roman Church does, is to infringe His prerogative.

Now the Roman theology would assert emphatically that Christ is Mediator in a sense in which no other person can be—in that sense, Sole Mediator. The question is, Does the intercessory prayer of Christ leave no room for the offering of intercessory prayer by any one else, by any of the finite individuals who exist in this Universe? This would seem to be the logical conclusion of the premises which the Protestant argument levels against the Roman Catholic position. And if the Protestant were able to draw this conclusion, his argument would at any rate be consistent. But the Protestant is not able to draw it. His fidelity to the New Testament obliges him to recognize the rightness of intercessory prayer offered by individual members of the Christian Body; for while the New Testament says

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nothing directly about the intercessory prayers of the Saints in heaven, it says a great deal about the intercessory prayers of the saints who are still on earth. A Protestant has no scruple in asking one of these latter saints to pray for him. If Christ is the Sole Intercessor, it might seem difficult to explain why a man should need the prayers of his mother, let us say, or the prayers of some friend of strong faith. The theory of intercessory prayer does involve, to my mind, certain intellectual difficulties. But whether the Protestant can solve such difficulties or not, he has to acknowledge that intercessory prayer is commanded in the New Testament, and that it did not conflict, to the minds of the apostolic generation, with the prerogative of the One Mediator. That is to say, he cannot logically object to the Catholic theory that it brings in other intercessors beside Christ. The only clear mark of difference between the intercessors to whom, illegitimately, he says, the Catholic appeals and the intercessors to whom he himself appeals is that the former have passed through death into the Unseen World, and that the latter are still in the flesh. If he is to make his contention good, it is the fact of death upon which all turns; he will have to show that death is a sufficient ground for this distinction.

It is plain that death would be a sufficient ground, if it did either of two things. If, firstly, it extinguished in persons who have passed into the Divine presence all interest in persons and events down here, there could be no question of their continuing to pray for us. Secondly, if without extinguishing their interest, it set between us and them a barrier as opaque from their side as it is from ours, so that they knew no more of our experiences than we do of theirs, then, although we might conceive of their continuing to pray for us in general, it would be vain to hope that any desire of ours to have their prayers for any particular need could be known to them. The idea, in short, that it is illegiti-

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mate or vain to ask for the prayers of a dead saint seems to rest upon the supposition that death implies on their part either an extinction of interest or a breaking off of knowledge.

Does either of these suppositions accord with the Christian view of the world?

Christianity does not offer any detailed image of the conditions into which the individual passes at death. Of the faithful it believes only this—that they have a much fuller and more immediate apprehension of God than is possible on the earth, that they are, to speak in spatial metaphors, *nearer* to God, *with* Christ. Now one view of God which has prevailed among men for many ages has been that He is a Unity transcendent in such wise above the Many of this world, that it is only by withdrawing thought and interest from the people and things round us, by getting away from them, breaking all attachment to them, that we can find Him. This view has had great currency outside Christianity, in India, in Greece; it was the dominant view in the thought of the world which surrounded Christianity in its infancy. And Christianity itself has been powerfully affected by it. Christian Mysticism owed a great deal at its origin, it is recognized, to Neoplatonism. Running through the mystic tradition in Christendom is the idea that nearness to God means remoteness from our fellow-men. The individual at his supreme moments communes with God, *solus cum solo*, in a rapture from which all the Manifold of the world has fallen away into Nothingness. If this is the true view of God and the soul, we might think of death as the great withdrawal, away from the earth and every one in it, into the white radiance of the Divine. But this view of God does not seem the characteristically Christian one. It was another one with which the Church began, and which the Neoplatonic idea could never in any age quite displace. God, to the apostolic generation, is love; He loves the



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world. The individuals who surround me are each one, as much as I am, objects of God's intense interest, each one of unique value to Him. If my drawing near to God means an increased assimilation of my will and my interests to His (and what else can it mean?), it would imply, not a contraction of my interest in the people round me, not a weakening of my attachments, but an expansion of my interests to embrace more people, and a new intensity in the love which bound me to them. The formula of the Stoic philosopher, says Charles Bigg, was "My soul and God"; the formula of the Christian is "My soul, my brother's soul, and God." The Spirit, in writings of the apostolic generation, was thought of specially as the Power animating a society, uniting all its members into one Body. The love they bore one to the other was not something which hindered their love for God; they were rather conscious of the Divine Love as an enveloping pervasive atmosphere from which their individual loves drew meaning and power. In proportion as a man grew in his inner life nearer to God, his charity became more ardent and its sphere wider. If then death implies a yet closer nearness to God, it would be consonant to suppose it implies a more penetrating, a more extended interest in men.

It is conceivable that God might have called into being only one finite consciousness to hold solitary communion with Himself. As a matter of fact, even so small a part of the Universe as our earth shows us millions of separate individual centres of consciousness. According to the Christian conception, the finite human individuals are designed to co-operate with God and each other as fellow-workers in the harmony of one spiritual system. Christ lives His life in the unnumbered multitude of His members; in them He wills and suffers and saves. In them He prays. The prayers of the living saints, as even Protestants acknowledge, do not trench upon



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Christ's own mediatorial and intercessory work; they are part of His activity in His Body the Church. The Protestant view also allows that an individual who has on earth become a member of the spiritual Body of Christ does not drop out of the Body by passing through physical death; they allow that the Church in its full extent includes, besides the faithful now on earth, millions more of individuals in another state of being. It was an Evangelical Anglican who wrote:

"One Army of the living God,  
To His command we bow;  
Part of His host has crossed the flood,  
And part is crossing now."

It allows that the activity of the Divine Head of the Church in the Unseen World can in part be described as intercessory prayer; it allows that in harmony with the continuous prayer of Christ a stream of intercessory prayer is always going up from the saints on earth. Why should it shrink from the thought that the activity of prayer is continuous throughout the whole Body; that the Church is one, not only in idea, but in the unity of one vast desire and effort for the Kingdom of God? If to die is to be "with Christ," this surely does not mean a mere passive consciousness of Christ's presence, but a more perfect participation in His Mind and Will, the Mind and Will which, all Christians believe, are directed Godwards for the good of men.

But the Catholic idea supposes, not only that the saints with Christ share His interest in men upon earth, it supposes that their prayers are guided by a knowledge of the course of events down here, of the concrete needs of individuals. Is this a reasonable supposition? Surely any other is hard to entertain. For to think of them as sharing Christ's interest, as accompanying His prayer, and being at the same time kept in the dark as to the persons and events concerned is next to impossible. And may we not say much more than this? Have

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they only such knowledge as they had before? If their being nearer to Christ means that their participation in His interests is more complete than on earth, does this not imply that their knowledge and comprehension are increased?

Love, we say, is the supreme good, and a realization of the Divine Love in a universal human society the great end for which the Church exists; then must one not feel regretfully the narrow limits within which such realization is restrained under earthly conditions, not so much by the sluggishness of man's heart, as by the small reach of his faculty of knowledge? We cannot love any one in an active sense without knowing him, and how many people under the physical conditions of our life here can we know? How broken our intercourse with our best friends is made simply by the laws of space and time! And even where intercourse is continuous, what limits are set to mutual knowledge by the imperfection of our means of communication, by the clumsiness of words! A man could indeed, if he had enough of the spirit of charity, love everybody in the sense that he was ready to serve any other individual with whom he was brought in contact, he could love every one potentially in the sense that all extension of his knowledge of another individual would be accompanied by the feeling of love, but it is only a very small number of individuals whom he ever can know enough to have the feeling of love for them as an actuality. What restriction is implied in the mere psychological fact that we can only attend to one thing at a time! Our attention is a shifting point; the Divine Mind is conceived as attentive at once to every single individual in the Universe.

Now while all finite knowledge must remain infinitely below God's perfect universal knowledge, we can conceive innumerable degrees of knowledge beyond our own. There is no reason why there should not be beings capable of attending to a hundred or a thousand or a million

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things at once. And such extension of knowledge would increase in the same ratio the possibilities of loving. The Catholic theory supposes that just such an extension of knowledge and love is part of the beatitude of Paradise. Implicitly the Protestant always thinks of the saints in heaven as shut up within very much the same mental limits as when they were in the flesh—happy, of course, and better informed, but still possessing a consciousness just of the old sort. And it therefore seems to him an extravagant supposition that they should participate in the lives of struggling individuals all over the earth. But what if the bliss of heaven means an extension of consciousness in the case of individual spirits analogous to the omnipresence of Jesus?

Tennyson, addressing his dead friend, says:

"Thy voice is on the rolling air;  
I hear thee where the waters run;  
Thou standest in the rising sun,  
And in the setting thou art fair.

What art thou then? I cannot guess;  
But tho' I seem in star and flower  
To feel thee some diffusive power,  
I do not therefore love thee less;

My love involves the love before;  
My love is vaster passion now;  
Tho' mixed with God and Nature thou,  
I seem to love thee more and more.

Far off thou art, but ever nigh;  
I have thee still and I rejoice;  
I prosper, circled with thy voice;  
I shall not lose thee tho' I die."

The ubiquity which Tennyson attributes to his friend may be taken to describe his own feeling rather than any real extension of his friend's personal life. But what if the subjective feeling corresponds in this case to an objective truth? If the ultimate ideal is, as Royce teaches, the harmonious oneness of the Beloved Community, whose animating Spirit is God, we can only conceive the mutual love and understanding between the

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members as perfect, if the Community as a whole is embraced in the consciousness of each individual member, if each, so to speak, penetrates the whole Body from his own particular standpoint. An advance towards the realization of this ideal is exactly what the Catholic doctrine about heaven supposes. The Invocation of Saints implies that their knowledge surpasses our own in two ways. It implies firstly that they can enter more fully and exactly into our individual consciousness than is possible where communication between two minds depends mainly, as under the conditions of earthly life, upon so imperfect a medium as words. No educated Catholic supposes that when he asks a saint in heaven to pray for him, his desire reaches the saint by an audible sound he makes with his lips. He must believe that the saint knows his desire by an immediate understanding of what passes in his mind. And secondly, it is implied that their knowledge is extended over a much larger field, that their attention is not restricted to following the experiences of one human individual at a time, but that their consciousness can embrace in a single act the Beatific Vision of God, their communion with the other individuals who make up the company of heaven, and the circumstances of each of the individuals who may perhaps at one moment be needing their prayers in diverse parts of the earth. If this is so, the redeemed in the presence of God can follow the struggles and pains of their brethren, the warfare of the Church for the coming of God's kingdom on earth, the unrolling of human history, with a much more penetrating and comprehensive sympathy than would be possible to any merely outside spectator. And whether such a conception of their state be true or not, it can hardly be denied that it is profoundly consonant with the fundamental Christian beliefs, common to Catholic and Protestant alike—that love, whose scope is here so restricted by the natural limitations of our faculties, is the supreme good, that death for the

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saint is the passage to greater good, and that the greater good is closer fellowship with the God whose knowledge and love extend to every being in the Universe.

Perhaps a special ground for believing the conception to be a true one is that the passage of the individual Christian to perfection and blessedness has always been held by Christians to reproduce in some sort the resurrection and ascension of Christ. Christ is the great Type to which all His members in their measure conform. "We know not what we shall be, but we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." If we desire to know more of what the beatitude of the saint will be, we are to look at His. Now if we believe, with the whole of Christendom, that Christ has not ceased, since passing from this earth, to be Man, that there actually exists in this Universe a human consciousness which is that of Jesus Christ, that Jesus lives still as Jesus—if we believe this, then we must believe that just such an extension of the faculty of knowledge as we have supposed to take place to a greater or less degree in the saint has taken place eminently in Christ. It would now be generally admitted that we have no ground for thinking of the consciousness of Jesus upon earth as transcending the essential limits of a human mind under bodily conditions. His attention moved, as ours does, from one thing to another; His knowledge was a definite quantity added to by fresh information. But the Christian Church has believed Him, since He passed to the presence of the Father, to be accessible at all moments to a prayer from any quarter, to know at all times the inner history of every individual upon earth to its slightest movements, to feel absolute, perfect and continuous sympathy with the pains of every one of His members. This can only be if the limits which characterize a human consciousness under bodily conditions no longer exist for the Ascended Christ.

But if there are with Christ a great company of the



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redeemed, co-operating with Him in prayer on behalf of their fellow-members on earth, and entering into our struggles and desires and necessities with constant sympathy, is there any less reason why we should desire their prayers than why we should desire the prayers of some good man on this side of death? And to desire their prayers is to ask for them, for if, when we ask for the prayers of a good man here, that implies the communication to him of our desire through the medium of words or signs, such communication need not be thought necessary in the case of the saints with God. Our desire would be known to them directly, as soon as it shaped itself in our mind.

However little the Protestant may be able to show a fallacy in this line of argument, he may still perhaps say two things. He may say that after all our conclusion is only a probable one at best, and that where a practice is not expressly sanctioned by the New Testament, however consonant it may be with the fundamental ideas of Christianity, he prefers to have nothing to do with it. But in the New Testament itself there is as good justification for the practice as is alleged by Protestants for many practices they sanction. The Christian Sunday, for instance, is held to draw its obligation from a single verse in the book of the Apocalypse which speaks of the "Lord's Day." It is contended that if you draw out what is implied in such a phrase as the "Lord's Day," you get authority for all the customs associated with the first day of the week. But there are passages in the New Testament, which, if their implications are drawn out, go far to justify the Invocation of Saints. In Hebrews, for instance, among those things to which we are said to "have come" in virtue of being members of the Christian Body are "the spirits of just men made perfect." This surely implies some actual spiritual contact between the saints in heaven and us upon earth, and is spiritual contact thinkable without desire for our

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good being part of the act of adoration with which they turn to God, without, in other words, their praying for us? A still more pregnant passage, if one takes it as more than poetic metaphor, is that in which Jesus affirms that there is "joy in heaven," "joy in the presence of the angels of God" over one sinner who repents. We saw that the two suppositions upon which the Invocation of Saints rests are that the redeemed in heaven have interest in men on earth, and, secondly, that they have knowledge of their experiences. Both suppositions seem to be implied in this passage. For the repentance of a sinner is an event of his inner life which could be certainly known only to those who had knowledge of his consciousness from within. That it should cause joy in heaven implies surely a vast measure both of interest and knowledge in the beings near to God. And are we to think that those who rejoice over a sinner's repentance cease to take interest in the temptations and difficulties which he encounters in his new life, that they do not accompany with at least equal interest the conflicts of the saint?

The second objection made by the Protestant might be that, however unobjectionable in theory, the practice of invoking the prayers of saints had been shown by experience to create a barrier between the soul and God, that it led to what was really Polytheism, and was therefore so dangerous that it had better be excluded altogether. Need one hesitate to admit the reality of this danger? Only we must also consider that a similar danger attends every conceivable means of grace. All means of grace are intended to help us to come into immediate relation with God: and all means of grace may divert our trust to themselves, and become merely hindrances instead of helps. The organization of the Church, the Bible, devotional exercises, may become hindrances if a man builds upon them the confidence which should rest upon God alone. Is it not equally true that, when we ask the prayers of living good men, there is a danger of our

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coming to put their prayers in the place of our own approach to God? The fact, therefore, that danger attaches to the Invocation of Saints does not prove by itself that it is wrong.

There is lastly one objection which will be felt less by the Protestant of old-fashioned orthodoxy than by those who have been affected by the modern spirit. These latter will not urge against the Invocation of Saints that sanction for it is wanting in the letter of the Bible; for they no longer regard the letter of the Bible as authoritative. They will rather assert that the practice is superstitious. They will dislike it, because it means taking as real a number of beings outside the limits of sensible experience. Any concrete or definite belief in the action of spirits is, to their mind, a recrudescence of primitive Polydaemonism. Now one feels that this objection is perfectly logical from a thoroughgoing agnostic standpoint. If you once take up the position that we have absolutely no knowledge, and must have no working hypothesis, as to anything outside the field covered by our five senses, if everything which claims to be such knowledge is mythology and every such hypothesis superstitious, then without question the idea of our engaging the interest of departed saints is mythological and their invocation superstitious. Only I do not see—and here the thoroughgoing agnostic would, I think, agree with me—how the objection can be urged consistently by any one who is in any sense a Christian. Any Christian belief of the most reduced and jejune description surely involves at least this, that Spirit in the Universe is not confined to the men and women alive on the planet at any moment of time. But if once we allow the existence of a spiritual world transcending these limits, there seems no reason why it should be more superstitious to regard it as including a plurality of finite centres of consciousness, just as our world does, than as being a unity of the kind which excludes all inner variety.

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A bare undifferentiated Theism of that kind is apparently felt for some reason by German and French Protestants of the extremer "liberal" wing not to be exposed to the reproach of superstition attaching to any view which supposes determining outlines within the unseen spiritual world. The way in which they recoil from the idea of a plurality of spirits would lead us to suppose that they were Solipsists and had never believed in the reality of the numerous persons who surround them in this sphere of things! The fact indeed that other finite centres of consciousness beside my own, and analogous to mine, exist, is certainly a wonderful thing, and one can understand that, when reflected on and realized, it should stagger the understanding. But when we have once accepted it as a fact of the sphere we know, then suddenly to start back and cry "superstition" to any view which supposes an analogous plurality in the spiritual life which exists beyond the sphere of our present knowledge—this seems curiously irrational. No one can deny that a mass of superstition of a gross kind has gathered round the Invocation of Saints in the Catholic Church; but so has a mass of superstition gathered round the belief in God. If in the latter case we do not seek to destroy belief in God, but to purify it of baser elements, then we cannot urge the superstitions attending the Invocation of Saints as sufficient ground by themselves for condemning it without further thought.

LONDON.

# Paul and Philo

"I am a debtor to the Greeks."

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON.

Though criticism has reduced the "four centuries of silence" between the close of the Old Testament and the first events recorded in the New to a hundred and sixty years, the chasm between the two nevertheless remains, and our Bibles hardly even suggest the two great facts that bridge this chasm: the influence of Greek culture on the Jewish world, and the Roman dominion over the East.

True, Alexander the Great is indicated, though not named, in the visions of Daniel: "a mighty king shall stand up, and shall rule with great dominion;" and in the sentence "his kingdom shall be broken towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled" we have learned to see the breaking up of Alexander's empire, entailing the rivalry between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, which brought myriad woes upon Israel. Yet there is here only a shadowy indication of the far reaching import of Alexander's conquests to which we owe, among other things, the existence of the Septuagint, and the fact that the New Testament was written in Greek, not Aramaic.

If we read the Septuagint, as Paul and Philo did, we should find these events quite clearly stated: "after that Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, who came out of the land of Chittim, and smote Darius king of the Persians and Medes, after he had smitten him, it came to pass that he reigned in his stead in former time, over the Greek empire. . . . And Alexander



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reigned twelve years, and he died. And his servants bare rule, each one in his place." And it is also related that Judas Maccabaeus sent ambassadors to Rome "to make a league of amity and confederacy with them."

The Greek tongue and something of Greek culture were spread by the hand of Alexander eastward to the verge of India and southward to Egypt, where the city which he founded became a center of Hellenic learning and at the same time the greatest Jewish city in the world.

Many of the best minds of the Hebrews throughout the whole area of the "dispersion," the widely extended Jewish world, were deeply influenced by Hellenic thought and saturated themselves with the poetry, the history and the philosophy of Greece. Philo of Alexandria, just before and during the ministry of Jesus, and Flavius Josephus at the close of the apostolic age, show, everywhere in their works, and by their frequent quotations, how thoroughly the more cultivated Jews of New Testament times had imbued their minds with the literature of Hellas.

Philo quotes Homer almost as reverently as he quotes the Old Testament, citing a line of the *Iliad* in proof of the unity of God,<sup>1</sup> but his favorite is, of course, Plato, to whom he so assimilated his spirit that it became doubtful "whether Plato Philonizes or Philo Platonizes."<sup>2</sup> He was also a profound and devout student of the sacred writings of Israel. These he read and interpreted, according to the spirit and method of his time, which have been thus described:

"The exegesis naturally took the two directions of literalness and spiritualizing . . . the whole method of exegesis may be summed up in the principle, that every sentence and every word of the Scripture was credited with any meaning that it could possibly be made to bear;

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<sup>1</sup>*Iliad* ii, 204: "Let there be one king; a multitude of kings is not good."

<sup>2</sup>Quoted by Jerome, as a Greek proverb.

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and the interpreter selected the literal or the allegorical sense, or any other that suited his argument."<sup>3</sup>

Philo, following this method of interpretation, found in the Hebrew Scriptures the philosophy of Plato. The Old Testament stories are "allegories," to be interpreted in a spiritual and philosophical sense, according to the great ideas and principles of the Platonic philosophy.

Plato's fundamental thought is, perhaps, that of the supreme reality of the spiritual world, invisible and eternal, on which the visible, material world is framed and modelled; there are spiritual prototypes and sources of material things. Our modern science represents a return toward this conception, seeking in the invisible ether, and perhaps in subtler principles behind the ether, the source of all visible material forms and forces.

This fundamental thought, then, of the invisible, spiritual universe, source and foundation of the visible world, Philo, following the exegetical method of his day, sought and found in the opening chapters of Genesis. God, says Philo, is "one, without distinctive quality, uncreated, imperishable, unchangeable;"<sup>4</sup> of this uncreate, immutable God, the universe is the shadow.<sup>5</sup> But God did not create the universe directly, out of nothing. He created first an "idea" of the universe; or, to put it in another way, the idea of the universe arose in the Divine Mind, as the idea of a new city, which a king has ordered to be built, arises in the mind of the architect, the wise master builder. The "idea" of the universe, this first model of the material world, is invisible, noumenal, perceptible only to the intelligence. It is formed in the Mind, Reason, or "Logos," of God.

It may be wise to quote at length the passage in which

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<sup>3</sup>C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*, p. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup>Philo, *Legum Alleg.* lib. I, 15; ed. Leopold Cohn and Paul Wendland, Berlin, 1896, Vol. I, p. 73.

<sup>5</sup>*Legum Alleg.* II; Cohn I, p. 18, l. 21.

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Philo sets forth this thought, the foundation of his philosophy:

“For God, as apprehending beforehand, as a God must, that there could not exist a good imitation without a good model, and that of the things perceptible to the external senses, nothing could be faultless which was not fashioned with reference to some archetypal Idea conceived by the intellect, when he had determined to create the visible world, previously formed that one which is perceptible only by the intellect, in order that so using an incorporeal model formed as far as possible on the image of God, he might then make this corporeal world, a younger likeness of the elder creation, which should embrace as many different genera perceptible to the external senses, as the other world contains of those which are visible only to the intellect.

“But that world which consists of Ideas, it were impious in any degree to attempt to describe or even to imagine; but how it was created, we shall know if we take for our guide a certain image of the things which exist among us.

“When any city is founded through the exceeding ambition of some king or leader who lays claim to absolute authority, and is at the same time a man of brilliant imagination, eager to display his good fortune, then it happens at times that some man coming up who, from his education, is skilful in architecture, and he, seeing the advantageous character and beauty of the situation, first of all sketches out in his own mind nearly all the parts of the city which is about to be completed—the temples, the gymnasia, the prytanea, the markets, the harbour, the docks, the streets, the arrangement of the walls, the situations of the dwelling houses, and of the public and other buildings. Then, having received in his own mind, as on a waxen tablet, the form of each building, he carries in his heart the image of a city, perceptible as yet only by the intellect, the images of

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which he stirs up in memory which is innate in him, and still further engraving them in his mind like a good workman, keeping his eyes fixed on his model, he begins to raise the city of stones and wood, making the corporeal substances to resemble each of the incorporeal Ideas.

"Now we must form a somewhat similar opinion of God, who, having determined to found a mighty state, first of all conceived its form (its types) in his mind, according to which form he made a world perceptible only to the intellect, and then completed one visible to the external senses, using the first one as a model.

"As therefore the city, when previously shadowed out in the mind of the man of architectural skill, had no external place, but was stamped solely in the mind of the workman, so in the same manner neither can the world which existed in Ideas have had any other local position except the Divine Reason (Logos) which made them. . . .

"And if any one were to desire to use more undisguised terms, he would not call the world, which is perceptible only to the intellect, anything else but the Reason (Logos) of God, already occupied in the creation of the world; for neither is a city, while only perceptible to the intellect, anything else but the reason of the architect, who is already designing to build one perceptible to the external senses, on the model of that which is so only to the intellect—this is the doctrine of Moses, not mine. Accordingly he, when recording the creation of man, in words which follow, asserts expressly, that he was made in the image of God—and if the image be a part of the image, then manifestly so is the entire form, namely, the whole of this world perceptible to the external senses, which is a greater imitation of the divine image that the human form is. It is manifest also, that the archetypal seal, which we call that world which is perceptible only to the intellect, must itself be the arche-

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typal model, the Idea of Ideas, the Reason (Logos) of God.<sup>6</sup>

"The incorporeal world then was already completed, having its seat in the Divine Reason (Logos); and the world, perceptible by the external senses, was made on the model of it."<sup>7</sup>

The Logos is, therefore a divine image of God. All things were created through the Logos.<sup>8</sup> "Behold the mightiest dwelling and city, this universe itself. For thou shalt find the cause of it to be God, by whom it came into being; the matter of it, the four elements out of which it was composed; the instrument, the Logos of God, by means of whom it was made."<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere Philo, speaking of "that incorporeal being, who in no respect differs from the divine image," the Logos, says, "The Father of the universe has caused him to spring up as the eldest son, whom, elsewhere, he calls his first-born."<sup>10</sup>

Through the power of the Logos, man was made, of contrasted nature, soul and body: "Dual is the race of men. For one is the heavenly man, and the other is the earthly man. Now the heavenly man, as being born in the image of God, is wholly without part in corruptible and earthly being. But the earthly man is made of matter, which he calls dust."<sup>11</sup> Philo thus fuses the Elohistic and Jehovistic accounts of creation into a single philosophical idea. The man of the first chapter becomes, with him, the spiritual model, the soul; the man of the second chapter, the material embodiment.

The embodiment of the soul, the immersion of the soul in matter, is, in Philo's thought, the cause of evil and sin: "When we are alive, we are as though our soul were

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<sup>6</sup>*De Opific. Mundi*, chaps. 4, 5, 6. Trans. C. D. Yonge.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, chap. 10.

<sup>8</sup>*Legum Alleg.* 1, 9; L. Cohn I, p. 66, l. 14.

<sup>9</sup>*De Cherubim*, 35; Cohn I, p. 200, ll. 7-10.

<sup>10</sup>*De Conf. Ling.* 14; Cohn II, p. 241, l. 18.

<sup>11</sup>*Legum Alleg.* I, 12; Cohn I, p. 69, ll. 1-4.



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dead and buried in our body, as if in a tomb. But if we were to die, our soul would live according to its proper life, being released from the evil and dead body to which it is bound.”<sup>12</sup> Here, Philo himself allegorizes. He means, not natural death, but a moral dying to sin and self: “a dying as to the life of the body, in order that we may obtain an inheritance of the bodiless and imperishable life which is to be enjoyed in the presence of the uncreate and everlasting God.”<sup>13</sup> We must lay a firm foundation, and build the house of the soul.<sup>14</sup>

This regeneration of our natures is brought about by the awakening of the spiritual powers in us, which “spring from the Logos as from one root, which he compares to a river, on account of the unceasing and everlasting flow of salutary words and teachings, by which it increases and nourishes the souls that love God.”<sup>15</sup>

Our regeneration is wrought through the power of the Logos: “Every man, in regard to his intelligence, is connected with the divine Logos, being an impression, or a fragment, or a ray of that blessed nature.”<sup>16</sup> “Since, therefore, God invisibly enters into this region of the soul, let us prepare that place in the best way the case admits of, to be an abode worthy of God; . . . For if, when we are about to receive kings, we prepare our houses to wear a more magnificent appearance . . . what sort of habitation ought we to prepare for the King of kings, for God the ruler of the whole universe, condescending in his mercy and lovingkindness for man, to visit the beings whom he has created, and to come down from the borders of heaven to the lowest regions of the earth, for the purpose of benefiting our race? Shall we prepare him a house of stone or of wood? . . . No, a pious soul

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid. 1, 33; Cohn I, p. 89, l. 8.

<sup>13</sup>*De Gigant*, 3; Cohn II, p. 44, l. 11.

<sup>14</sup>*De Cherubim*, 30; Cohn I, p. 194, l. 18.

<sup>15</sup>*De Posteritate Caini*, 37; Cohn II, p. 28, l. 14.

<sup>16</sup>*De Opific. Mundi*, 51; Cohn I, p. 51, l. 6.

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is his fitting abode. If, therefore, we call the invisible soul the terrestrial habitation of the invisible God, we shall be speaking justly."<sup>17</sup>

The Logos, then, says Philo, is our Saviour and Mediator: "The Father who created the universe has given to his archangelic and most ancient Logos a pre-eminent gift, to stand on the confines of both, and separate the created from the Creator. This same Logos is continually a suppliant to immortal God on behalf of the mortal race, which is exposed to affliction and misery, and also an ambassador sent by the ruler of all to the subject race. And the Logos rejoices in the gift."<sup>18</sup> Philo further develops this idea: "Why do we wonder if God assumes the likeness of angels, as he sometimes assumes even that of men, in order to help those who address their prayers to him? . . . Those who are unable to bear the sight of God, look upon his angel (messenger) the Logos."<sup>19</sup> Therefore we must "believe firmly in God our Saviour, and take refuge in him."<sup>20</sup> We must "press forward, putting aside slow and hesitating fear."<sup>21</sup> We must "rest upon the divine Logos, placing the whole of our lives as the lightest burden on him."<sup>22</sup>

Such, then, is Philo's teaching of the Logos, as the Mind of God, the Firstborn Son, the means and model of creation, the source and light of the soul, the Ambassador sent to the race of mankind, the Mediator between God and man, the power that works in us for salvation, through "a dying to the life of the body, in order that we may obtain an inheritance of imperishable life."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>*De Cherubim*, 29, 30; Cohn I, p. 194.

<sup>18</sup>*Quis Rer. Div. Heres*, 42; Cohn III, p. 47, l. 1.

<sup>19</sup>*De Somniis*, I, 41; Cohn III, p. 255, l. 16; p. 256, l. 1.

<sup>20</sup>*De Sacr. Ab. et C.* 19; Cohn I, p. 231, l. 3.

<sup>21</sup>*De Somniis*, I, 26; Cohn III, p. 240, l. 9.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.* 21; Cohn III, p. 232, l. 20.

<sup>23</sup>In making this summary of Philo's thought, I have made extensive use of Mr. C. D. Yonge's full and accurate translation.

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I would suggest that Paul, probably familiar with Philo's thought from his youth, and, perhaps, moulding his mind on that thought, thus held a world-concept which was fundamentally Plato's; enriched, however, by the superbly developed doctrine of the Logos, which is Philo's contribution to philosophy; and that, after his life and spirit had been transformed by the spirit of the Master Christ, revealed to him on the Damascus road, Paul, in setting forth what he came to know of Christ, both by his own interior communion with the Master, and through converse with Peter and John, and others of the earlier disciples, made use of the forms of thought which his study of Philo had built up in his mind, in fact identifying Jesus Christ with the Logos, and seeing in the life of Jesus "the Logos become flesh, and dwelling among us."

There is nothing improbable in the thought that Paul may have been familiar with the thought of Philo. When he went as ambassador to Caligula, in the year 40 A.D., Philo was, he says, an aged man, "gray-headed through the length of time" that he had lived. He was probably born, therefore, between 20 and 10 B.C. The works in which the "Logos" doctrine is developed, *The Creation of the World*, and *The Allegories of the Sacred Laws*, were in all likelihood completed by 15 A.D.<sup>24</sup> Paul was "a young man" at the time of Stephen's martyrdom; he was, therefore, a child of tender years when Philo's most noteworthy works were written.

Philo's reputation stood high in Alexandria, and his fame, and his fundamental ideas, must have spread throughout the Jewish world. Tarsus, whose inhabitants, according to Strabo, applied themselves to the study of philosophy with such ardour that they surpassed Athens, Alexandria and every other place where there were schools and lectures of philosophers, would, in all

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<sup>24</sup>Leopold Cohn and Massebieau support these dates.

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probability, be among the first to take up the works of such a distinguished disciple of Plato.

Paul was "a Roman born." His father must have been a Roman citizen: in touch, therefore, with the Roman element in Tarsus; with men like Athenodorus the Stoic, the tutor of Augustus, to whom, in his old age, the Emperor entrusted the government of Tarsus, and Nestor, tutor of Augustus' nephew, who succeeded Athenodorus as governor of Paul's native city. Nestor was a disciple of Plato, and Paul "may have seen and listened to Nestor."<sup>25</sup> Paul was no tyro in Greek. The vigorous style of his letters, and his addresses to Greek audiences, show a mastery of the Hellenic tongue that speaks of diligent study of Greek authors. Philo may well have been one of these.

A detailed study of his thought makes this the more likely. Like Philo, Paul thinks of an invisible spiritual world, the model and basis of the material world; "the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead;"<sup>26</sup> and again, "the visible things are temporal, the invisible things are eternal."<sup>27</sup> Like Philo, Paul thinks of the divine manifestation as "the image of God;"<sup>28</sup> "the image of the invisible God;"<sup>29</sup> and of man as "the image and glory of God." Philo speaks of the Father "to whom all things are possible," as "the great King," "the King of kings," "the ruler and Lord of the universe," "dwelling in pure light," whose brightness men are unable to bear; is not this strikingly like the phrase in the first letter to Timothy: "the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, who alone hath

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<sup>25</sup>Sir William Mitchell Ramsay, in *The Cities of Saint Paul*.

<sup>26</sup>Romans, i. 20.

<sup>27</sup>II Cor. iv. 18.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid. 4.

<sup>29</sup>Col. i. 15.

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immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto?" Paul thinks of Christ, as Philo thought of the Logos, as the Saviour, the Mediator, the Advocate with the Father, working in the heart for our regeneration. Philo teaches "a dying to the life of the body;" and Paul declares, "I die daily;"<sup>30</sup> "ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God."<sup>31</sup> Compare also Philo's words: "One is the heavenly man, and the other is the earthly man. Now the heavenly man, as being born in the image of God, is wholly without part in corruptible and earthly being. But the earthly man is made of matter, which he calls dust," with Paul's: "The first man is of the earth earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven."<sup>32</sup> As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly."

There is one part of Paul's teaching in which I think it will be most profitable to trace the thought and influence of Philo: his use of the story of Adam, and the way in which he connects that story with the Incarnation. For it is quite clear that we owe the association of Adam and Christ, man who fell, and the Man who redeemed, to Paul. Jesus himself never mentions Adam, nor makes the slightest allusion to any supposed connection between that event and his own life-work. He has come down from heaven, sent by the Father, to bring salvation, to give his life a ransom for many. But he nowhere suggests that his death is the payment for Adam's fall, the forfeit for that "original sin."<sup>33</sup>

This, I believe, is of the utmost practical importance. For, since we now know that the history of mankind goes back countless millenniums beyond the supposed

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<sup>30</sup>I Cor. xv. 31.

<sup>31</sup>Col. iii. 3.

<sup>32</sup>R. V. omits "the Lord." I Cor. xv. 47.

<sup>33</sup>"No distinct dogma of universal depravity exists in the Old Testament." C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*, p. 132.



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date of Adam, and that the story of Adam is not historical, the association of this story in our minds with the life of Jesus is likely to render our view of the latter vague and indistinct. And in fact large numbers of thoughtful men and women have lost their faith in the teachings of the Church, precisely because the life of Christ has become involved with the story of Adam, and they have been compelled to recognize that story as unhistorical. This association was the motive of the prolonged and bitter attacks on Darwin a generation ago; attacks which did much to widen the chasm between scientific and religious thought, which the persecution of Galileo had first opened.

It is, therefore, I conceive, of the utmost importance to disengage the life-work of Jesus, his Incarnation, Death and Resurrection, from association with the Adamic story. We can do this in two ways: first, by recognizing the clear fact that Jesus himself never even hints at any relation between his mission and the fall of Adam; and, secondly, by looking closer at the passages which have been held to prove that relation: passages in the letters of Paul.

In the Gospels, Adam is only mentioned once, in the genealogy in Luke, a genealogy which has all the appearance of a later insertion. Adam is again mentioned in the epistle of Jude, in connection with Enoch. Besides these two passages, which do not in any way suggest the fall, Adam is named only three times in the New Testament. Let us take these three passages in the order in which they were written, beginning with that in the first letter to Corinth: "Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in the Adam all die, even so in the Christ shall all be made alive."<sup>34</sup> We must take this in conjunction with the later passage in the same chapter: "So also it

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<sup>34</sup>I Cor. xv. 21-22. R. V. brings out the second article, but not the first.

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is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. . . . The first man is of the earth earthy: the second man is [the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly."<sup>35</sup>

Is it not clear that Paul is here following the thought of Philo, which blends the Elohist and Jehovist stories in a single allegory of the soul and the body; the heavenly man made in the image of God, and the earthly man formed of the dust? Paul is identifying "the heavenly man" with the redeeming Christ. But the "old Adam" is, for him, our own unregenerate nature, and not the traditional forefather of our race. He is speaking in terms of psychology, not in terms of anthropology.

In another passage, speaking of the old and new dispensations, Paul uses exactly the method of Philo: "It is written that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman. But he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the free woman was by promise. Which things are an allegory."<sup>36</sup> Here Paul uses the word which begins the title of Philo's greatest work, *The Allegories of the Sacred Laws*. Let us see how he expounds this allegory: "For these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all."<sup>37</sup>

This thought of a divine and spiritual Jerusalem, prototype of the earthly city, is in line with Philo's

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid. 45, 47, 48.

<sup>36</sup>Gal. iv. 22, 23.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid. 26.

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doctrine of spiritual counterparts, which in turn is an elaboration of the Platonic "ideas."

In the second passage referring to Adam, Paul explicitly declares that he is using the method of allegory: "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men. . . . even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure (type) of him that was to come."<sup>38</sup> Surely nothing could be plainer. For Paul, Adam is an allegory, a type of the Messiah.

The third and last allusion to Adam is in the first letter to Timothy: "Let the woman learn in silence and all subjection. . . . For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing."<sup>39</sup>

"Eve" shall be saved in childbearing. Surely this again is unmistakable. Paul is using "Eve" as an allegory, a "type" of womankind. Let us shed further light on this group of passages by turning now to what Philo has to say of the story of Adam, and the events of the garden. To begin with, he says: "These things are not mere fabulous inventions, in which the race of poets and sophists delights, but are rather types shadowing forth some allegorical truth, according to some mystical explanation;"<sup>40</sup> "type" and "allegory" being the same words that we have seen used by Paul.

Applying this principle, Philo thus interprets the story of the Fall: The serpent is the symbol of self-indulgence, of pleasure, because it crawls, feasts on clay, and has poison under its teeth. And it is said to have uttered a human voice, because pleasure employs innumerable champions and defenders. . . . But its juggleries and

<sup>38</sup>Romans v. 12.

<sup>39</sup>I Tim. ii., 11-15.

<sup>40</sup>*De Opific Mundi*, 56; Cohn I, p. 54, l. 25.

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deceits pleasure does not dare to bring directly to the man, but first offers them to the woman, and by her means to the man; acting in a very natural and sagacious manner. For in human beings the mind occupies the rank of the man and the sensations that of the woman. And pleasure joins itself to and associates itself with the sensations first of all, and then by their means cajoles also the mind, which is the dominant part. . . . And the mind being immediately caught by the bait, becomes a subject instead of a ruler, and a slave instead of a master, and an exile instead of a citizen, and a mortal instead of an immortal.<sup>41</sup>

Or, as Paul says, "in the Adam, all die." We cannot but be struck by the similarity of Philo's thought, just quoted, that "its deceits pleasure does not venture to bring first to the man, but first offers them to the woman," with Paul's words already cited, "for Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression;" and we must recognize that both Philo and Paul are speaking, not of a supposed historical ancestor of the human race four thousand years before their day, but of universal human experience; of the influence of self-indulgence upon the mind, which makes man a slave instead of a master, an exile instead of a citizen, and a mortal instead of an immortal.

So, in the Christ, who is the incarnate Logos, shall all be made alive. Philo shows us, as the fruit and goal of this regeneration, "the perfect man, who has rooted out anger from his heart, and is gentle to every one in word and deed."<sup>42</sup> Paul bids us look forward, striving for the same consummation, "till we all come to the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid. 56.

<sup>42</sup>*Legum Alleg.* III, 47; Cohn I, p. 143, l. 25.

<sup>43</sup>Eph. iv. 13.

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If it be true, then, that Paul uses the luminous and ripe thought of Philo to express his own knowledge and experience of Christ, we may see, in much of Paul's thought, not a dogmatic encroaching upon the simpler teaching of the Master, but rather a deeply philosophical blending of the wisdom of Hellas with the fervour of the Hebrews, showing both streams united in the person of Jesus, who is at once the Christ, the Anointed, the Messiah of promise, and an incarnation of the Logos, the Mind of God, the divine principle of wisdom and love.



# An English Mystic

BY WALTER LOCK, D.D.,  
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“Not to the dogmatics but to the piety of both camps must one look if he would measure how far-reaching is the possibility of mutual understanding”—so wrote Professor Loofs in the first number of *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY* (p. 47). I would rather say, “Not only to the dogmatics but also to the piety of both camps”—for mutual understanding must combine a common interpretation of dogma with a sympathy of emotion; but it is a great thing that while the attempt is being vigorously pushed to understand the dogmatic position of those from whom we differ, there is at the same time a revival of interest in the “mystic way.” And perhaps it is more than a lucky accident that just at this time there should have been recovered to us the works of a true English mystic.

Ten years ago there were probably not half a dozen people in the world who could have answered the question, “Who was Thomas Traherne?” His name was not mentioned in any history of mystic writers nor in Courthope’s *History of English Poetry*; yet now there are those who would rank him with George Herbert and Henry Vaughan as a poet, and who are prepared to class him with Wordsworth and Blake, and even with the writer of the *De Imitatione Christi*, as a mystic. In his recent *Mysticism in Christianity*, W. K. Fleming sums up his account of him thus: “There is no one in the whole range of mystics who looks on Nature just as Traherne does. We take a fresh breath, rub our eyes and get our

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gratitude newly back again, as if indeed we were abroad with him on some sunlit down, seeing with him God's grace in every 'spire of grass' and in his 'orient and immortal wheat.' "

We shall best see how this change has come about by recalling the facts that are known of his life. Born about 1636, the son of a shoemaker in Hereford, he was educated at the Cathedral School in that city, then at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1656; he was admitted by "the Commissioners for the approbation of public preachers" to the Rectory of Credenhill in Herefordshire about 1657; he was chaplain to Sir O. Bridgeman, Keeper of the Seal, in 1667, took his B.D. in 1669 and died in 1674 at the age of thirty-eight, being then minister at Tiddington in Middlesex. He published in his lifetime one book, a criticism of *Roman Forgeries* (1673); and also prepared for the press a treatise on *Christian Ethics*, which was published after his death, neither of which books had much sale or fame.

But subsequently two fresh incidents occurred. In 1700 there was published a volume entitled *A Serious and Patheticall Contemplation of the Mercies of God*; this was anonymous, but a slight account of the author was prefixed, not mentioning indeed his name, but stating among other things the fact that he had been chaplain to Sir O. Bridgeman. Nothing more occurred to increase his fame for more than two centuries, but in 1897 there were found exposed for a sale in a second-hand bookshop in London three MSS. notebooks, one folio, two octavo. These also were anonymous and contained partly poems, partly prose meditations: they came into the hands of Mr. Bertram Dobell, the publisher, who handed them to Dr. Grosart for examination. Dr. Grosart formed the opinion that they were by Henry Vaughan and was preparing a new edition of Vaughan's poems, which was to include these new discoveries, but he died before they were ready for publication. Mr. Dobell then undertook

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the task himself: he became convinced that they were not by Vaughan and on further search in seventeenth century literature discovered one of the poems in the anonymous volume of *Contemplations* published in 1700. The preface to this gave him the clue that the author had been chaplain to Sir O. Bridgeman; he found that one of his chaplains had been Thomas Traherne; examined Traherne's *Christian Ethics* and was convinced by the resemblance of style and subject matter that the whole of the new matter was his work: and published the poems in 1906, the *Centuries of Meditations* in 1908. Then another discovery finally proved the correctness of Mr. Dobell's hypothesis. Interest in the discovery had been aroused, and Mr. H. I. Bell, while working in the British Museum for another purpose, lit upon a MS. volume, prepared for the press but never published, and entitled *Poems of Felicity, Containing Divine Reflections on the Native Objects of an Infant Eye*, by T. Traheron, B.D., author of the *Roman Forgeries* and *Christian Ethics*: with a dedication by Philip Traheron (no date). This contained nearly all the poems published by Mr. Dobell with thirty-eight others and was published by the Clarendon Press at Oxford in 1910.

Of the poems this is not the place to speak at any length. They belong to the semi-philosophical, semi-devotional poetry of the seventeenth century, and are akin to Donne, George Herbert and Henry Vaughan. They have more of philosophy than Herbert, less of melody than Vaughan; the range of themes is small; there is great richness of similes, with elaborate conceits and much preciousness of phrase. As we shall see, they are very close akin in tone to Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* and have Walt Whitman's delight in the simple things of human life. But they are rather meditations put into rhyme than spontaneous lyrics; exactly the same thought may again and again be found in a poem and in some meditation, and

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the diction is often more truly poetical in its prose form.

The *Meditations* are a part of an unfinished work. They are entitled *Centuries of Meditations* and consist of short paragraphs, loosely connected in thought, and arranged in groups of a hundred each. Four such "centuries" are complete and there are ten paragraphs of a fifth. They are addressed to some lady friend, giving her advice as to the true way in which to win felicity. In the fourth "century" the author frequently quotes the thoughts and sayings of some friend from whom he had received the truths he was teaching; but Mr. Dobell is doubtless right in regarding this only as a *façon d'écrire*; Traherne doubtless means himself; probably as he is in this part speaking of the way to put his principles into practice he wishes to veil his own personality; the friend from whom he received these things is to him what "the man in Christ" was to St. Paul, perhaps what "the disciple whom Jesus loved" was to the writer of the Fourth Gospel.

There is no very clearly marked sequence of thought in the whole book; indeed the one drawback to it is that the writer repeats himself so often (if indeed it is a drawback to repeat beautiful thoughts often); yet a certain element of growth and arrangement may be traced. Book I dwells mainly on God's Love in Creation and in Redemption; Book II on the nature of Love and of the power of man's imagination to enter into and understand and enjoy the whole of God's work; Book III is more biographical, describing the path along which the writer had reached the goal of felicity; Book IV lays down the method of putting these principles into practice, and the way in which felicity can be preserved, even when alone, even when enduring the contradiction of sinners, but most of all when in contact with sympathetic souls.

The biographical clue supplied by Book III will guide us best to the understanding of his thought. The search

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for felicity is the one theme. When he was an infant, he seemed to have found it; he has not indeed Wordsworth's and Vaughan's theory of pre-existence, yet heaven seemed to lie about him in his infancy; he could remember in late years how before he was four years old he had a wonderful sense of God's goodness; everything seemed beautiful in nature and in human life; there was no sense of sin or restriction.

"The skies in their magnificence,  
The lovely lively air,  
Oh how divine, how soft, how sweet, how fair!  
The stars did entertain my sense  
And all the works of God so bright and pure,  
So rich and great did seem,  
As if they ever must endure  
In my esteem."

This thought explains the sub-title of the Poems, *Divine Reflections on the Native Objects of an Infant Eye*.

But at the age of four there came a change. As he grew up he found that no one seemed to care for these things; every one was bent on worldly success and comfort; and there came a day when discontent arose in his heart: if felicity really lay in these material things, could God be good who had denied them to himself, and made him of so scanty and narrow a fortune, enjoying few and obscure comforts? A feeling of loneliness and discontent filled his mind; he was still full of expectation; he listened eagerly to all news that came from foreign countries, thinking that he should hear that felicity was to be found in one of them; but no such news came. The Bible was still precious to him for its teaching that man is made in the image of God, but what this meant was still a puzzle to him. He passed to Oxford and there opened before his mind a new sense of riches, the riches of knowledge; he read widely, for he is able to quote Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Seneca, Varro, as well as many Christian writers; he learnt there that there



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were "glorious secrets and glorious persons past imagination." "Yet there was never a tutor that did professly teach Felicity, though that be the mistress of all other sciences." He had received the seeds of knowledge, but not its fruition. How was this last step reached? It came after ordination, as he moved about in his quiet country living: not that material comforts came, for he describes himself as living upon ten pounds a year, going in leather clothes and feeding upon bread and water. But the simple thought came right home to his heart that the gifts which God gives to every one are more valuable, more essential, more true signs of a personal love, than the gifts which He gives to the few; and therefore that it is not the rich and the well-to-do only, but every one of us who is the object of God's love, and who has felicity within his reach if only he will open his eyes to see and his heart to enjoy and to praise. "To prize what we have is a deep and heavenly instruction." "A daily joy shall be more my joy because it is continual. A common joy is more my delight because it is common. For all mankind are my friends and everything is enriched in serving them."

And what are these gifts? They are the gifts of external Nature, the sun, the moon, the air, the sea: each a new gift each morning; we ought to put ourselves in the position of Adam when he first saw the world created for him and lifted up his heart in thanksgiving.<sup>1</sup> They are, again, our body and our soul; the body with its wonderful mechanism of limbs, eyes, hands and heart; and the soul, the marvellous gift of imagination, which enables us to enter into and to understand and almost re-create the universe,—so entirely are we made in the Image of God.

At times his language almost implies a mere subjective existence of the outer world as though nothing really

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<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to compare the similar argument in Lucretius II, 1022-1047.

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existed except in our thought of it. This indeed would be an exaggeration of his view, but he does hold that man makes the world entirely a new thing; apart from him, it is a dead world: he makes it live, he gives it a new meaning, he re-creates it, and makes it far more precious in the sight of God Himself as it becomes the instrument of His Praise, and as man makes spiritual the services of things and their excellencies. One extract will illustrate this power of the human mind to glorify nature:

"You never enjoy the world aright, till you see how a sand exhibiteth the wisdom and power of God: And prize in everything the service which they do you, by manifesting His glory and goodness to your Soul, far more than the visible beauty on their surface, or the material services they can do your body."

. . . . .

"Your enjoyment of the world is never right, till every morning you awake in Heaven; see yourself in your Father's Palace; and look upon the skies, the earth, and the air as Celestial Joys; having such a reverend esteem of all, as if you were among the Angels. The bride of a monarch, in her husband's chamber, hath no such causes of delight as you.

"You never enjoy the world aright, till the Sea itself floweth in your veins, till you are clothed with the heavens, and crowned with the stars: and perceive yourself to be the sole heir of the whole world, and more than so, because men are in it who are every one sole heirs as well as you."

. . . . .

"Yet further, you never enjoy the world aright, till you so love the beauty of enjoying it, that you are covetous and earnest to persuade others to enjoy it."

. . . . .

"The world is a mirror of infinite beauty, yet no man sees it. It is a Temple of Majesty, yet no man regards it. It is a region of Light and Peace, did not man disquiet it. It is the Paradise of God. It is more to man since he is fallen than it was before. It is the place of Angels and the Gate of Heaven."

The same spirit adds fruition to knowledge: the study of science becomes the delighted admiration and eager examination of beautiful gifts given by a loving friend; the study of history is the sympathetic insight into and identification of ourselves with the actions of our brothers, who are friends of the same God.

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"When my soul is in Eden with our first parents, I myself am there in a blessed manner. When I walk with Enoch and see his translation, I am transported with him. I can visit Noah in his ark and swim upon the waters of the deluge. I can see Moses with his rod and the children of Israel passing through the sea. I can enter into Aaron's tabernacle and admire the mysteries of the Holy Place. I can travel over the Land of Canaan and see it overflowing with milk and honey. I can visit Solomon in his glory and go into his temple and view the sitting of his servants: and admire the magnificence and glory of his kingdom. . . . But above all these the Saviour's Cross is the throne of delights. That centre of eternity, that tree of life in the midst of the Paradise of God." (I, 55.)

". . . . By seeing the Saints of all ages we are present with them: by being present with them we become too great for our own age and near to our Saviour." (I, 85.)

Such are God's great gifts to each individual; each has to realize his dignity as made in God's Image, but this brings with it a new consequence. Traherne will have nothing to do with what he calls the heathen idea that God needs nothing. Rather God is always needing; always asking, always pleading for a response to His gifts; and in the same way "it is of the nobility of man's soul that he is insatiable"; he ought to be full of needs, crying out for love, crying out for happiness and never satisfied until he has entered into the full enjoyment of all creation, and responded to the full claims of God's Love. "Wants are the bands and cements between God and us."

If Traherne's teaching stopped at this point it would seem to teach a selfish conception of felicity, and he confesses that it took him ten years to learn the lesson of a true self-love (IV, 55). But it does not end here. The second lesson that he learnt was that there could be no "self-endedness" in felicity, for there is another class of gifts which God has given to each, namely, the lives of our neighbours, the lives of other men and women. All are our brothers and when God gives to them the same gifts of Earth and Heaven, of Body and Soul, these are fresh gifts to us for our enjoyment, as much as we should delight in birthday presents to a brother or a sister. Hence love seemed to him the natural instinct of human nature.

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"You are as prone to love as the Sun is to shine, it being the most delightful and profitable employment of the soul of man without which you are dark and miserable."

"To love what is lovely is a righteous thing."

"Nothing is so righteous and right-wise as love."

Such love is inexhaustible; it can go forth in spite of opposition and in spite of sin, and this leads to the most characteristically Christian note in the book. Sin had forfeited our happiness; but Christ, though He could not love sin, could love the sinner; and Christ's redemption meant the outflowing of Divine Love, touching man's heart, altering his nature, and putting him under fresh obligations of gratitude and praise.

"The Cross of Christ is the Jacob's ladder by which we ascend into the highest heavens. . . . That Cross is a tree set on fire with invisible flame that illuminated all the world. The flame is Love; the love in His bosom who died on it. . . . Here you learn all patience, meekness, self-denial, courage, prudence, zeal, love, charity, contempt of the world, penitence, contrition, modesty, fidelity, constancy, perseverance, contentation (= contentment), holiness and thanksgiving: with whatsoever else is necessary for a man, a Christian, or a King. This man bleeding here was Tutor to King Charles the Martyr and Grand Master to St. Paul, the convert who learned of Him activity and zeal to all nations. . . . Here we learn to imitate Jesus in His love unto all." (I, 60-61.)

### The Cross is the great appeal of love and

"Love is so amiable that it is irresistible. There is no defence against that arrow, nor any deliverance in that war, nor any safeguard from that charm."

By Divine reflections and meditations such as these he won and kept felicity for himself; he became again as a little child; and regained all an infant's simplicity of delight in God's handiwork; and so he tried to communicate happiness to others, as he moved among his simple parishioners trying to "treat every man in the person of Christ"; "seeing the value of their souls through their bodies." As Wordsworth describes another solitary,

"Spontaneously had his affections thriven  
Amid the bounties of the year, the peace  
And liberty of Nature: there he kept  
In solitude and solitary thought  
His mind in a just equipoise of love."

## AN ENGLISH MYSTIC

He is the mystic of Nature, but no less the mystic of Love. Love he describes as "the God of God"; in "human life it can attempt all and suffer all"; it is open to all, for "by choosing a man may be turned and converted into love." He may seem at times too optimistic, with too little sense of the evil and cruelty of Nature, of the meaning of pain, and of the hold of sin upon human life. Yet he has known real suffering and has found that "the sharpest trials are the finest furbishing"; he believes that "all those who are the objects of our care may become the objects of our joy"; he thinks within himself that

"The very miseries and sins and offences that are in the world are the materials of his joy and triumph and glory. So that he is to learn a diviner art that will now be happy and that is like a royal chemist to reign among poisons, to turn scorpions into fishes, weeds into flowers, bruises into ornaments, poisons into cordials. And he that cannot learn this art of extracting good out of evil is accounted nothing. Heretofore to enjoy beauties and to be grateful for benefits was all the art that was required unto felicity, but now a man must, like a God, bring Light out of Darkness and Order out of Confusion. Which we are taught to do by His wisdom, that ruleth in the midst of storms and tempests."

Again there may seem to be a touch of Puritanism in his depreciation of God's rarer gifts to man, a danger of the lower Pantheism which tends to reduce all things to one level, and is so anxious to see the goodness of all things that it forgets the betterness of many and the bestness of some. Yet this is not really so; for with him human life ranks higher than the inanimate gifts of Nature and in human history nothing reaches the level of the Love of Christ.

Mr. Dobell does not hesitate to compare the *Meditations* with the *De Imitatione Christi*; but there is a great difference. In the *De Imitatione* the love of Christ is the central thought, and there lies in the background the witness of Nature in which there is no created thing so worthless but that it can represent to us God's goodness; in the *Meditations* the gifts of external and human nature are the main ground of



## THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY

praise, and Christ and His Cross are valued as restoring to us the fruition of these. But with both love lies at the root of the personality of God and of man, and the study of either will make for union and construction as well as for felicity.







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